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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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IBN QUTEIBA'S 'UYUN AL-AKHBAR

(Continued from our last issue.)

III.

DEBARRING FROM ACCESS.

ABU HATIM from al 'Utbi from his father : 'Abdul Azîz ibn Zurâra al Kilâbi standing at the door of Mu'âwiya said : Who is ready to ask leave for me to enter today so that I may bring him in tomorrow ? He was clad in two cloaks and when he had entered Mu'âwiya's room, he said : " I pushed on towards you the skins that hang upon the hinder part of the saddles, since I found no one to be relied on except you ; riding night after day and marking the wayless deserts with traces, hope leading me on to you and sorrow guiding me towards you, the soul all the time complaining of slowness whilst unsparing exertion offered an excuse ". When Mu'âwiya had shown him regard and drawn him near, 'Abdul 'Azîz said :

- 83 " I entered the house of Mu'âwiya, the son of Harb,
" And that after having lost all hope of entering
" But I should never have gained entrance unless
" I had stopped at the abode of the humbled man
" And had refrained, notwithstanding annoyance,
" And had refused listening to word or saying,
" So I reached what I had hoped from him
" Through tarrying ; whilst one step after the other
is the travelling provision of one who makes haste."

One other than al 'Utbi said : When 'Abdul 'Azîz ibn Zurâra had entered Mu'âwiya's room, he said to him : " I travelled to you full of hope and bore unkind treatment with self-restraint. I saw at your door people whom luck had placed in front and others whom ill luck had kept far back, but it is not the thing for the one in front to be certain, nor for the one who stands behind to despair ; for the beginning of knowledge is to test ; so try and test."

And with regard to Mu'âwiya's debarring him from access the poet of Mudar says :

"He who will permit 'Abdul 'Azîz to enter today, •

"The slave of a mighty one will permit him to enter tomorrow."

Abû'l Yaqzân said : 'Abdul 'Azîz ibn Zurâra was the brave of the Arabs.

Abû Sufyân asked for leave to see 'Uthmân, but he debarred him from access. When it was said : The Prince of the Faithful debars you from access, he replied : May I never be deprived amongst my people of one who if he wishes debars me from access.

When Mu'âwiya debarred Abû'l-Dardâ from access, he said : He who comes forward to the threshold of the ruler will stand and will sit, and he who encounters a door closed for him, will find at its side a door open : if he calls he will be answered ; and if he asks he will receive.

A man said to his doorkeeper: You are the eye through which I see and the shield upon which I rely. I entrust you with my door and what do you think you ought to do with my subjects ? He said : I look at them with your eye and I treat them according to the rank they take with you, and place them according to their slowness in visiting you or their clinging to your service. I allot to them the places they deserve and classify them according to the groups you arrange for them, I keep you well informed about them and them well informed about you. The man said : You will be fulfilling your duty if you confirm your words through your actions

And it used to be said : The doorkeeper of a man is the guardian of his honour.

- 84 And I read in the Tâj, that Abarwêz said to his doorkeeper : Do not allow any one to come forward who asks for help, do not humiliate a noble one through harshly debarring him, do not raise the humble one through making it easy for him, but place people in the places of their rank. One who had gained nobility of old through the help of those who cast its seed, without himself destroying it after it had been built up, let him proceed according to his nobility of old and the beauty of his skill of late. But one who had nobility of old without being able to preserve it by bringing it to its accomplishment, nor to cast its seeds, in order to fructify them, affiliate to his fathers gently their precedence in their peculiar work and affiliate

to him in his peculiar doings what he affiliated to himself; do not give him leave to enter except from the hinder part or secretly. And if the letter of one of my officials reaches you, do not keep it away from me for even one moment, except if I am in a state in which you cannot get near me. And if a man comes to you claiming to give sincere advice, have it secretly put into writing and after that let him enter my room, having asked my permission beforehand. Once he is with me, so that I can see him, hand to me his letter; if I find it praiseworthy I shall accept; if I dislike it, I shall repel. But do not hand to me the petition of a claimant who in case I refuse will charge me with avarice, and who in case I accede to it will scorn me; except after consulting me, without letting him know that you informed me. And if a man comes to you who has some knowledge and asks to be admitted on account of this knowledge which he claims to possess, ask him what this knowledge of his amounts to, and after that ask leave for him to enter; for knowledge is like its name. Neither debar through anger, nor give leave to enter on account of your being pleased, entrust with this the king especially and do not entrust yourself with it.

Al-Heytham said: Khâlid ibn 'Ab'lullâh said to his doorkeeper: Do not debar anybody from me once I have started my majlis, for a governor does not debar except for three reasons: a lack of ability which he does not like to be noticed with him; doubt; or avarice, so as to dislike any one entering his room who will ask of him.

Mahmûd al-Warrâq took this from him when he said:

"Whenever the governor protects himself by closing his door

"And turns away from his screen those who come with special wants,

"I think there must be in him one of three, and perhaps

"I draw out through correct guessing the right thing about him.

"So I say: there is in him a manifest touch of stammering

"And in his admitting people there would be a manifestation of what is in him.

"And if it is not a stammering of the tongue, there is an overpowering

"Of miserliness which protects his possessions from claims against him;

"And if it is neither this nor that, there is a suspicion

"In which he persists when closing his door."

85 And one of the poets said :

- “ Remember well, if you used to know it
- “ That the reputation of a man is his doorkeeper
- “ For through him his good qualities become manifest
- “ And through him his faults become manifest.”

And another said :

- “ Of how many a man whose qualities are praised
- “ And on whose protection the noble ones rely,
- “ Has the doorkeeper made numerous the enemies
- “ And given to blame the power over his benefits. ”

At the door of Umar ibn al Khattâb—may God be pleased with him—a company once was present including Suheyl ibn Amr and ‘Uzeyna ibn Hisn and al Aqra’ ibn Hâbis, when the doorkeeper came out and said : Where is Suheyl ? Where is ‘Ammâr ? Where is Salmân ? There-upon the faces of the people became altered, but one of them said : “ Why do your faces become altered ? They were called and we were called, but they hurried on whilst we were slow ; and if you envy them at ‘ Umar’s door, verily what Allah has prepared for them in paradise is more.”

And one of the poets said :

- “ I shall vacate this door as long as the leave to enter
- “ Is what I see, until it becomes a little light.
- “ If we do not find a place for leave to enter your room,
- “ We shall find a way for giving up coming. ”

And another said to a doorkeeper :

- “ I shall leave a door of which you own the permit
to enter
- “ Even though I be blind about all the roads.
- “ If you were the gatekeeper of the gardens of Paradise
I should leave them
- “ And I should quickly turn my foot towards Mâlik.¹”

And Abû’l-‘Atâhiya wrote to Ahmad ibn Yûsuf :

- “ If I return after today, I am verily doing wrong.
- “ I shall turn my face to where noble deeds are sought
for.
- “ At what time can he who comes to you in the morn-
ing succeed with a want,
- “ Since half of you is withdrawn and half of you
asleep.”

And another said :

- “ And I do not take as a companion
- “ Him who places on his door a doorkeeper.

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"When I come he says : He has some work.

"And when I return I find him absent.

"And he presses his claim on his brothers

"Whilst he does not deem their claims against him
urgent.

"So I am not going to meet him till death,

"Since I never met him on horseback."

And 'Abdullâh ibn Sa'id said about a doorkeeper of Al Hajjâj's who continually used to debar him from access :

"There is verily many a piece of sincere advice in front
of which the door is kept close,

"And there is many a false pretence that is being
brought near the side of a throne."

And another said :

"The earth is not narrow for one who is eager,

"Pursuing livelihood, nor for one who is flying.

"But the earth is narrow for one making search

"Who has to complain about the unkindness of the
doorkeeper."

A man had been debarred from the door of a ruler and he wrote to him : We have recourse to Allah from low desires and short aspirations and the daily use of unrestraint. For my soul, praise be to God, is forbearing, it does not fall short of aspiration, self-restraint does not leave it if any accident befalls it, nor does greed enslave it, nor has it been shaped on dirtiness. I see that you entrusted your reputation to one who will not preserve it, and that you handed over your door to one who will deform it ; that you made interpreter of your intelligence one who will increase the number of your enemies, reduce that of your friends and who will fill the heart of your brothers with hatred against you ; since he does not recognize the value of a noble one, nor the place of a friend. He shifts the ranks since he is ignorant about them and their grade, he puts down one who is high to the rank of the humble, and raises the low to the rank of the high ; he despises the weak on account of his weakness and his eye shrinks from the worn-out and inclines towards the well-bred and adorned ; he grants precedence according to inclination and accepts bribes.

And Bāshshâr said (according to others it is by another poet) :

"The qualities of Khâlid and his deeds refuse

"Anything but the avoidance of every faulty thing,

"And if you come to the door at the time of his morning meal,

"The breakfast gives you leave to enter, in spite of his doorkeeper."

87 And this is the opposite of what another said :

"When he takes his breakfast, his doorkeeper flies

"And his door is shut without any handle.

"And out of longing for what is being sipped are about to die

"His family altogether and his companions."

And another said :

"O you who are lord of one jarib of land¹,

"But keep nine chamberlains!

"You who sit in a ruin, but have people debarred from access,

"We never heard of a doorkeeper in a ruin."

And another said :

"From what door should I ask for leave to enter

"After being debarred from access through the very door of which I am the keeper."

And Al-Tâ'i said :

"O king who is far away in sight

"But whose liberality is near those mindful of his liberality,

"Being debarred from access does not remove my hope for you,

"For the sky is being hoped for whilst it is concealed".

And he further said :

"Many a one who is inaccessible have I sought, and found him to be

"A star far remote from the party that came to the water.

"I deprived him, when I lacked his presents,

"Of my thanks, and so we became deprived both of us."

And another said :

"We lengthened our sitting at the door yesterday

"And we were sorely grieved through it

"And we blamed the servants until

"Having tested the master, we excused the servants".

A man who had been debarred from access wrote :

"O Abû Ja'far, although governorship be

"Ennobling to some people, verily you bestow nobility on it.

(1) A superficial measure.

"So do not keep away from us on account of a charge you took over

"Just as discharge from your office would not diminish your dignity in our eyes."

88 One of the scribes wrote in this sense to a friend of his: If you forgot us on account of worldly possessions, whose sky has sent moisture on to you, and whose continuous rains have become fixed for you, well, the opinions—or rather the certain knowledge—current about you—are mostly in agreement, that you are in too full possession of your bridle for it to become ungovernable: and of your soul for it to rise against you, once its sides have become soft to you and its rein tractable in your hand. For you did not gain what you gained through snatching away nor robbing, nor in a measure that seized for you anything not your due and inclined towards you anything not your share. But if you hold the belief that your right makes it possible for you, through its vigour and its capacity, to add to it harshness and scorn, so that it become small at its side and decreased from its greatness, there is no defence against this. And by God, had it not been for what the soul was tried with in making you the object of its thought and that nobody else could fill your place in it, it would have neglected you and been unmindful of your good fortune or its declining; and there would have been in your harshness something to reduce its disappointment and to cool its burning thirst. But since bounty had become perfect for you, longing for you became perfect.

Abû Hâtim from Al-'Utbi said: Mu'âwiya said to Huseyn ibn al-Mundhir, who used to enter his room along with the last of the people: O Abû Sâsân, as if your admission were not considered beautiful! Thereupon he started saying:

"Everyone of light dignity runs tucking up his garments

"Whenever the doorkeeper opens your door even one finger's width.

"But we are those that sit and tarry in sedateness

"And forbearance until he opens the door amply."

And one of the poets said about Bishr¹ ibn Marwân:

"One who turns his eye far away; but never made his gaze turn

"Out of fear of the hangers on, the door of a house nor a curtain.

(1) Bishr was Governor of Kufa from 71-74 A.H.

“ And if Bishr had wanted it, there would have been
in front of his door

“ Black stammerers or red Slavs.¹

“ But Bishr made easy the door on account of that

“ For which in the end there will be for him praise
and reward. ”

And Bishr said :

“ Don't be miserly, like Ibn Qar'a, verily he

“ Is sad out of fear, lest his liberality might be hoped
for.

89 “ When you come to him for benefaction he will close
his door.

“ And you will not meet him unless you be on the
lurking.

“ So ask Abu Yahyâ : When will you reach eminence,

“ Since with regard to every benefit you have to
swear an oath ? ”

And Ibn Harma said, praising :

“ Lenient when the deputations alight at his door,

“ Easy of access and his servants well brought-up.

“ And when you see his brother and his friend

“ You do not know which of the two is the brother
by bloodkindred.”

And a man wrote to one of the kings :

“ If even the generous make use of a curtain to veil him

“ Where is the superiority of the generous over the
miser ? ”

Whereupon another man wrote to him in reply :

“ If the generous have got little property

“ But does not make an excuse, he will adduce pleas
with the help of the curtain.”

And 'Ubeydullah ibn 'Irkrash said :

“ And verily I pity the noble when he goes

“ Full of a desire to an ignoble one, asking for
payment ;

“ And I pity him for having to sit at his door

“ Just as I pity a noble horse whom a coarse man is
riding.”

And 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Uyeyna wrote to a friend of his :

“ I came to visit you in order to fulfil a duty

“ But the curtain intervened before you, and the
screen

(1) Slavs began to be imported as slaves—a word derived from their name—into the territories of Islam about 70 H.

" Yet I am not going to fall into the pot of a people
 " Although they dislike it, like the falling of a fly."

Abû Hâtim from 'Abdullâh ibn Mus'ab al-Zubeyri ; he said : We were at the door of Al Fadl ibn al Rabî¹ when they were admitting people of goodly aspect and appearance. A Beduin, who whenever he came near was turned away, kept apart and started saying :

" I saw our doorkeeper take the choice of our shapes
 " But he does not take the choice of pure nobility
 " Had we been called in according to noble descent, I
 should have been granted precedence
 " By reason of hereditary dignity and fortune out-
 weighing and rising.

" When did you see the falcons preceded

" By bastards of bald carrion vultures and of owls ? "

90 When Sharîk al-Hârithi entered Mu'âwiya's room, he said : Who are you ? Sharîk replied : O Prince of the Faithful, I never saw in you a fault before this ; a man like you not knowing one like me among his subjects ! Mu'âwiya said : My knowledge of you became disordered : I know your face among the faces whenever you are present ; and I know your name when it is mentioned among names ; but do not know that such a name belongs to such a face, so let me know your name in order that my knowledge of you be consolidated.

Two men asked leave to see Mu'âwiya. He admitted the one of the two who was higher in rank than the other, and afterwards the other, who, when he had entered, took his seat higher up than the first. But Mu'âwiya said : Allah made it binding upon us to discipline you, just as he made it binding upon us to govern you ; we did not admit him before you and we did want his seat to be below yours ; so get up, may Allah not set up a scale for you.

Abû Mijlaz went to see 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz who had ordered him to come all the way from Khurasan,² but 'Umar never went near him. When Abû Mijlaz had left, one of those present at the meeting said to 'Umar : This is Abû Mijlaz. So 'Umar made him come back and excused himself, saying, I did not know you. He replied : O Prince of the Faithful, why then did you not ignore me ?

(1) Who was Wazîr under al Rashid and al Amin from 187-96 A.H.

(2) In 100 A.H. when the Caliph had asked for trustworthy information about the affairs of Khorasan, the name of Abû Mijlaz Lâhiq ibn Humeyd was suggested ; so Umar sent for him. s. Tabari. II 1856.

‘Ashja‘ al Sulami said with regard to the gate of Muhammad ibn Mansûr ibn Ziyâd :

“ At the gate of the son of Mansûr

“ There are tokens of generous gifts :

“ Large crowds ; and the sufficiency of the gate

“ As regards excellence is a large number of people.”

And the Arabs used to have recourse to God from bare pieces in the courtyard and bare pieces in the nightly resting-place of cattle.

And one of the poets said :

“ Why do I see their doors forsaken

“ Whilst your door is like a meeting-place of markets?

“ Do they hope from you or do they fear you or do
they look for rain

“ In your area, having come for pasturage from the
regions ?”

And another said :

“ People press at his door ;

“ For the way to palatable water is crowded.”

And another said :

91 “ Verily there is bounty where you see the pressure
of a crowd.”

And Bashjâr said :

“ He does not offer you a present on account of hope
or fear

“ But he enjoys the taste of the present.

“ The birds alight where grain is strewn

“ And the dwelling-places of the nobles are being
visited.”

A man knocked at the door of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdul ‘Azîz. ‘Umar said, Who is there ? He replied, I, whereupon ‘Umar said : We do not know one of our brothers called I.

Shabîb ibn Sheyba once came out of the palace of the Caliph and when a man said to him, How did you find the people ? he replied : I saw those that entered full of hope, and those that left, pleased.

Abul ‘Atâhiya said :

“ When I am strictly debarred from entering a man’s
house

“ I provide his doorkeepers with sufficient means of
subsistence. ”

A Beduin who was debarred from the door of the ruler said :

" I lower my soul to them in order to honour it through
them

" And nobody honours his soul without lowering it."

And Jarîr said :

" A people whose deputation comes into the presence
of the kings

" Have their moustaches plucked at the gates."

And another said :

" When I arrived at their door, I knew for certain
that we

" Are not valued highly with God nor the ruler."

And Abû'l Qamqâm al-Asadi said :

" Bring to Abû Mâlik a message from me—

" And in remonstrance there is life between people—

92 " You made enter in front of me people who had no
right

" Before this to enter doors in front of me.

" Had house and house been numbered, I should have
been the noblest of them

" With regard to house and the remotest of them from
the place of the blamer

" And I used whenever my need alighted

" At the door of your house, to gain access to it
through men."

COMPLIANCE IN ADDRESSING THE RULER AND PROVIDING HIM WITH SINCERE ADVICE.

Al-'Utbi said : 'Amr ibn 'Utba said to Al-Walîd¹ after people had become changed to him in countenance : O Prince of the Faithful, you wish me to speak on the basis of my intimate connection with you, but I surround my words with reverential fear for you. I see that you feel safe from things I fear for you : so should I be silent out of obedience or should I speak out of anxiety ? He said : Everything will be accepted from you, to Allah belongs with regard to us a knowledge of something hidden, towards which we are passing ; and we shall return and speak.—After a short time he was killed.

(1) *i.e.*, Al Walid II who ruled from 125-26 A. H. and was killed by his cousin 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn al Hajjaj—'Amr ibn Utba was a secretary of al Walids. s. Tabari, II 839.

I read in a book of the Indians¹ : A man went to see one of their kings and said to him : O king, to give you sincere advice is binding on the lowly and small, how much more so on the respectable and eminent. Had it not been for the reliance on the excellence of your opinion and on your bearing patiently with what falls unpleasantly on the ears and the hearts, in view of the soundness of the end and with a view to repairing what occurs before it becomes grave, it would verily be stupidity on my part to speak. But since, once we return, our remaining alive is connected with your remaining alive and our soul tied to yours, I could not help fulfilling my duty towards you although you do not ask me to, and although I fear lest you will not accept from me. For it is said : He who withholds his advice from the ruler, his illness from the doctor and his great sorrow from his brother, deceives himself.

ON ABJECT OBEDIENCE TO THE RULER.

One of the Caliphs said to Jarîr ibn Yazîd : I am keeping you ready for a thing. He replied : O Prince of the Faithful, God kept ready for you in me a heart bound to advise you sincerely, a hand stretched forth in obedience to you, a sword sharpened against your enemy ; so if you wish, speak.

- 93 And similarly Ishâq ibn Ibrâhîm said : Ja'far ibn Yahyâ said to me : Come to me in the morning for such and such a thing. I replied : I and the morning, we are like two race-horses running for a wager.

And similarly : one of the Amîrs gave a man an order, whereupon he replied : I am more obedient to you than the hand and more submissive to you than the shoe.

And another said : I am more obedient to you than a cloak and more submissive than a sandal.

ON SHOWING COURTESY IN PRAISE.

Khâlid ibn 'Abdullâh al Qasri said to 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Aziz : There are those whom the Caliphate adorned, but you adorn it ; and there are those whom it ennobled, but you ennoble it. You are as the poet says :

“ Whilst pearls are an ornament to the beauty of
facès

“ The beauty of your face, has become an ornament to
pearls.”

(1) *Kalîla wa Dimna* ed. Cheikho, 74.

Whereupon 'Umar said : Your companion (*i.e.* Khâlid) has been granted the word, but he has not been granted intelligence.

One of the cultured said to one of the Wazîrs : Since the Prince of the Faithful selected you for himself, he has been looking with your eyes, hearing with your ear, speaking with your tongue, taking and giving with your hand, making to go and to return on your advice. But he did not commit your charge to you without having examined you, and he made reason to prevail over passion through you after hesitating between you and those who had aspired to your grade and run towards your goal ; but your training-place caused them to fall and they proved light in your balance. He never increased your rank without your growing in humility before God, nor did he increase your power and cheer without your growing in fear and veneration for him ; nor your jurisdiction and ascendancy, without your turning away from the world even more ; nor did he draw you near him without your getting even nearer the common people. Your excessive sincerity to the ruler will never prevent you from taking care of his subjects, nor your preferential treatment of his rights from securing their rights with him, nor your insisting on his due from your making yourself responsible for what he owes. Never will the big affairs prevent you from caring for the small ones, nor your gladness at their being well and in a good state, from conceiving fear in your mind and pondering over their ends.

When Al 'Umâni, the composer of Rajaz poetry, called upon al Rashîd in order to recite to him, he was clad in a long cap and plain shoes. Al Rashid said to him :—
 14 O 'Umâni, beware of reciting to me without putting on a turban of big twist and smooth shoes. So on the following morning he came to him dressed in the way of the Beduins, recited to him, kissed his hands and said : O Prince of the Faithful, by Allah, I recited to Marwân, saw his face, kissed his hand and received his gift ; and after him to Yazîd ibn al-Walîd, Ibrâhîm ibn al Walîd, Al-Saffâh, Al-Mansûr, Al-Mahdi. Of all these I saw the faces, kissed their hand and received their gift along with many of those that are the equals of Caliphs, great Amîrs, Saiyids and chiefs ; but, by Allah, I never saw amongst them one finer to look at, one who had a more beautiful face, a softer palm, a more generous hand than you, O Prince of the Faithful. Thereupon he presented him with a big gift for his poetry and doubled it as a reward for this

speech of his. He then went up to him and rendered him cheerful until those present wished they had been in his place.

Al-Fadl ibn Sahl wrote to his brother al Hasan ibn Sahl : Allah made your lot high and made you foremost in everything good ; a winner who precedes towards the goal of every excellence ; and however remote the house may be from you, he brings you near the Prince of the Faithful, and his regard. And God restored to you thus and thus of your beneficence, and thus may Allah gather for you of religion and worldly goods, of honour and dignity the most and the best, if God will.

Al-Rashîd said one day to one of his poets : Did you say something new about us ? He replied : O Prince of the Faithful, a panegyric about you is beneath your measure and a song about you is beyond my capacity, but I deem beautiful the words of Al-'Attâbi :¹

“ What does he think about you who speaks in your
praise after

“ Sanctification and purification hailed you in the
revelation ?

“ You outstripped the panegyrics, but that our
tongues

“ Are made to speak out what the thoughts conceal

“ About a family in obedience to which alone can be
fulfilled

“ And carried out the hints given in the Book.

“ This your right hand is rushing at your relations

“ And along with it a cutting one of the swords of
India having diversified wavy marks.”

95 One of the scribes wrote to one of the Amîrs : Of the privileges of him who praises you is this : that he need not be afraid of transgressing, though he is not safe from lagging behind. He need not fear lest the defect of lying befall him, nor will his eulogies ever lead him to the limit without his finding in your superiority a help towards transgressing it. And it is of your good fortune that he who prays for you, will never lack a large number of partisans nor the help of inward intention towards the outward word.

And similarly one of the cultured wrote to a wazîr : What helps one in thanking you, is the large number of those who listen silently to it, and what draws out the

(1) s. *Aghani* XII 2 seq., where more verses of this poem are to be found.

tongue of your panegyrist is his safety from taking upon himself a sin through his eulogies and from being called a liar by those who listen to them.

And similarly, when Mu'âwiya had fixed the investiture for Yazîd¹, people got up to deliver speeches and so he said to Amr ibn Sa'id : Get up, O Abû Umeyya. Thereupon he got up, praised God and eulogized him and then he said : Verily, Yazid the son of Mu'âwiya is a hope we trust in, and an end of a life's duration with regard to which you are secure. If you ask hospitality from his forbearance, he will encompass you, if you are in need of his advice, he will lead you to the right path, if you require his wealth, he will satisfy you ; a young full-grown camel with whom others contended but who outstripped them, with whom they vied but who surpassed them ; one competed with, but coming out well, a successor of the Prince of the Faithful, but not a substitute for him." After this Mu'âwiya said : You have been expanding, O Umeyya, now sit down.

And similar to this : A man said to Al Hasan ibn Sahl : O Amîr what made me abstain from praising you is the fact of your deeds as a chief being evenly balanced, and what perplexed me with regard to them is their great number ; for there is no way to mention them all, and if I wished to mention one of them, her sister would come forward without the first having a higher claim than her. So I could not start praising them without manifesting my inability to do so.

And similarly : Another one wrote to Muhammad ibn 'Abdul Malik : That which makes me yearn for grace to last for you, and which increases my firm belief in its remaining with you, is the fact that you seized it rightly and rendered it binding through the causes that are within you. And it is of the condition of things belonging to one species to be connected with each other, as of forms to be different from each other ; and a thing will extend far into its place of production and yearn for its origin and when it encounters its place of growth and be joined to its place of planting it will expand its roots and become tall with its branch and get a firm and lasting footing and remain fast by nature.

96 And similarly another wrote to one of the wazîrs : I looked at myself when I ventured on praising you, as one who informs others about the bright light of the day and

(1) in 59 or 60 A.H., s. Wellhausen, *Des arabische Reich* 88 seq.; Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid I cr.* 104 seq.

the shining moon that is not hidden from any onlooker. And I became sure that wherever the words lead me to, I should be accused of inability and be failing in the aim. So I turned from praising you to wishing well for you, and I left the charge of giving information about you to the knowledge people possess regarding you.

And similarly al 'Attâbi wrote to Khâlid ibn Yazîd : You, O Amîr, are the heir of your ancestors and a survival of the chiefs of the people of your house. Their notch has been repaired through you, their ancient dignity renewed through you, the days of their good fame roused through you ; our hopes widened, our means of subsistence gained, our shares got hold of through you. He whose heir you are, will not be fameless, the traces of him whose way you go, will not be effaced, the abode of him whom you succeed in his rank will not be wiped out.

I read in the Tâj : One of the scribes said to the king : Praise be to God who suspended me to serve as one of the tent-ropes of the king, who raised my loneliness through his addressing me, who strengthened through him my power from weakness, who manifested my capacity among the masses of the people and adorned my standing up against my adversary in the sight of all ; who put out the eyes of the envious so as not to see me, humbled for me the necks of the tyrants, rendered strong for me the love of the subjects and let me have through him a heel to be trodden upon¹, a rank considered high and a privilege that is beautiful. And who verified through me the hope of those who trusted in me, and helped through him the power of those ready to assist me and expanded through him the desire of those who asked me for help : who brought me to the shelters of kingship, to a wing that concealed me and placed me under a cover of his that was spread over me.

I read in the Siyâr al-Ajam² that Ardashîr when his affairs had become settled, gathered the people and addressed them with an eloquent speech in which he urged them on to fellowship and obedience and warned them against disobedience and divided them into four classes. After that the people fell down prostrating themselves and their
97 speaker said in reply : May you, O king, be ever presented by God with the glory of victory and the attainment of hope and continuance of good health and beautiful increase. And may benefits keep on following each other

(1) *i.e.*, made many follow me.

(2) The Arabic translation of the *Pahlavi Kharvatai-namak*, called *khudai nama* in Neo-Persian.

with you and may favours and graces be made ample for you until you reach the utmost limit, so as to be safe from their ceasing. And may their beauty never be cut off in the lasting abode, which Allah prepared for men like you, amongst those that enjoy rank and favour with him. May your kingdom and rule last as long as the sun and the moon last, may they rise like seas and rivers rise until the zones of the earth be like each other through your gaining ascendancy over all of them and your orders being carried out in all of them. The brightness of your light shines over us, comprising all of us, just as the brightness of the sun does, and your great compassion embraces us touching our souls like the gentle breeze does. You collected the hands after they had been separated, and the words after they had differed, and you united the hearts after they hated each other, and you extinguished inveterate ill will and rancour after their fire had raged. Your excellence cannot be reached by any description, nor be defined by any numbering. Yet you were not contented with having bestowed these benefits on all of us and having assisted us with this help, you wished even to strengthen and consolidate them. And you strove for our benefit to make them lasting just as you had worked hard for setting them up, and you took upon yourself in this the responsibility for that, whose profit you hope for in the interest of those that come after us and of our offspring. And your care for us reached further than that of fathers for their children, may God whose approval you aimed at and whose wishes you strove to comply with, reward you with the best of what you sought for and intended !¹

And similarly : Khâlid ibn Safwân said to a governor who came to see him : You came and presented everyone with his share of your regard and your company and your gifts and your justice, just as if you belonged to everyone or to no one.

One of the scribes wrote to the Wazîr thanking him : There are those who thank you for the rank to which you raised them, or the wealth you gave them ; but my thanks are due to you for a soul you revived and a heart you made continue in life and a last breath you kept back by standing between it and destruction.

I read in a book : For every benefit in the world there is an end that it reaches and a term at which it stops and a limit in gratitude towards which the glance is raised,

(1) The last sentence is in *Saj*, instances of which are rarely to be met with in writings of this time.

except this benefit which escapes praise and surpasses gratitude and exceeds every measure and gets beyond every limit. It includes a large number of good deeds, of
 98 the Prince of the Faithful that left eternal glory to those of us that passed away as well as to those that remained ; it turned away from us the deceit of the enemy, abased those that envy us, and spread out for us a power we take by turns and hand over to our offspring. In taking refuge with the Prince of the Faithful, we reach a shady shade and a noble shelter and a heart of good disposition and a merciful glance. How then could the grateful among us express gratitude, and where could our pains-takings and exertions take us and when could we pay off what we owe and fulfil our duty ? And in this letter of the Prince of the Faithful there would have been enough to adorn gratitude and to exhaust endeavours ; even had there not been on his part and that of his fathers who were on the right path, both for ourselves and others that have gone, anything apart from what descended of the varieties of his nobleness and his benefits and his kind words and addresses.

COURTESY IN BEGGING PARDON.

Kisra said to Yôst the singer after Yôst had killed his pupil Fahludh¹ who had surpassed him : I used to find rest with him from you and with you from him, but your envy and the anger of your breast has taken away half my enjoyment. After that he ordered him to be thrown beneath the elephant's feet. But Fahludh replied : O king, if I took away half your joy and destroyed it, you killed the other half and destroyed it ; is not the crime you committed against your joy equal to mine ? Kisra said : Let him go, nothing showed him the way to these words except the length of time granted to him.

A man said to Al-Mansûr : Revenge is justice, but letting an offence go without punishment is grace, and we seek protection for the Prince of the Faithful with Allah lest he be contented for his soul with the meaner of the two lots, without reaching the higher of the two ranks.

When Al Hajjâj had sat down in order to kill the followers of 'Abdu'l Rahmân,² one of them went up to him

(1) Correctly Bahlabadh—Pahlapet s. Just, Iranisches Namenbuch 287, who refers to Aghani V 58, Yaqut IV 113.

(2) i.e., Abdulrahman ibn Muhammad ibn al Ash'ath who rebelled in 81 A.H.

and said : " O Amîr, I have a claim against you." " What is it ?" " Once 'Abdu'l Rahmân reviled you and I defended you." " Who knows about it ?" " I shall adjure by God those who heard it to give evidence about it." Thereupon one of the prisoners got up and said : " It happened thus, O Amîr." So Al Hajjâj said : " Let him go." Then he asked the man who had given evidence : What prevented you from expressing your disapproval of Abdu'l Rahmân's words, as he did ? He replied : My hatred against you was of long standing. Thereupon he let him go, because he had spoken the truth.

On the day of Siffîn Mu'âwiya captured one of the followers of 'Alî, on whom be God's blessing. When he was brought before him Mu'âwiya said : Praise to God, who gave us power over you. The man replied : Do not say this, for it is a calamity. Mu'âwiya said : " What benefit is greater than Allah granting me victory over a man who within one hour killed a number of my followers ? Strike off his head ! " But the prisoner said : O Allah, be witness that Mu'âwiya does not kill me on your account, nor because you consented to my being killed, but that he is going to kill me on account of having prevailed in the vanities of this world ; if he does it, pray do with him what he deserves ; if he refrains from doing it, pray do with him what is worthy of you. Mu'âwiya said : What an extraordinary fellow you are, you reviled and pained through reviling, but you prayed and were eloquent in your prayer ; let him go.

And similarly : 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân seized a thief and ordered his hand to be cut. The thief said :

" O Prince of the Faithful, I ask my hand to have
recourse

" To your pardon, lest it get to a place that disfigures
it.

" For there will be no good in the world although it
used to be loved,

" Once my right hand will have left the left one."

But 'Abdul Malik refused and ordered it to be cut. Thereupon the thief's mother came to see him and said : O Prince of the Faithful, my only one and my breadwinner ! 'Abdul Malik replied : What a bad breadwinner ; this is one of the punishments ordered by God. But she said : Let it be one of the sins for which you ask God's forgiveness. So he pardoned him.

And similarly : ‘Abdullâh ibn ‘Alî¹ made prisoner one of the followers of Marwân and ordered him to be beheaded. But when the sword had been raised in order to behead him, the prisoner who was a Syrian broke wind, whereupon the column fell down in front of the slave and ‘Abdullâh’s riding animal took to flight. He laughed and said : Go, you have been set free by your anus. The prisoner turned to him and said : “ May Allah make the Amîr thrive ! Did you ever see an emission of wind from the anus that saved from death except this ? ” “ No.” “ This is, by God, the backward course.” “ How so ? ” “ Well, we used to turn off death with the help of our spearheads and now we turn it off with the help of our anus.”

100 And similarly : Al-Nu‘mân ibn al-Mundhir² once went out after a good rain and passed by a man belonging to the tribe of the Banû Yashkur who was sitting near a waterpool. When he said to him : Do you know Al-Nu‘mân ? The Yashkurite said : “ Is he not the son of Salma ? ” “ Yes.” “ By Allah, many a time did I let my hand touch her pudenda.” “ Mercy on you, Al-Nu‘mân ibn al Mundhir ! ” “ I told you.” He had not finished his words, when the King’s horsemen overtook Al-Nu‘mân and greeted him with the formula used in greeting the king. After that he said to the man : “ What did you say ? ” “ May you refuse to do a thing for which you should be cursed, verily, by Allah, you never saw an old man who was a greater liar than the old man that stands before you, nor one viler or meaner than him, nor one who bit the prepuce of the clitoris of his mother like he did”. After this Al-Nu‘mân said : Let him go. Whereupon the man recited the verses :

“ Kings pardon great sins on account of their grace

“ And sometimes they punish for small ones, but not
out of ignorance

“ Rather in order that their grace be known and the
vehemence of their punishment feared.”

And similarly : when Al-Ma’mûn had seized Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mahdi³ he asked the advice of Abû Ishâq and al-‘Abbâs as to whether to kill him, and they advised him to do it. When Al-Ma’mûn said to him, They advise me

(1) The uncle of Abul ‘Abbâs al Saffah who took a leading part in the fight against Marwân II, the last of the Umeiyids.

(2) Al-Numan III, King of al-Hirâ who ruled from about 580-602 A.D. was the son of Salmâ, the daughter of Wâ’il ibn Atiya, the goldsmith of Fadak.

(3) Al-Ma’mûn’s uncle who had been counter-Caliph from 201-03.

to kill you, Ibrâhîm replied : As for their advising you with regard to the greatness of the Caliphate and the usual run of politics, well they did it. But you refuse to procure a victory for yourself except from where Allah made it customary for you." And in his defence he said : " Even though my crime reached such a limit as to make the shedding of my blood lawful, the forbearance of the Prince of the Faithful and his grace will allow me to gain his pardon, and besides there is the right acquired through confessing one's sin and the right of fathership in the place of a father". Al Ma'mûn replied : " Had the duty of pardoning your crime not been rendered incumbent through the tie of relationship, you would have reached your aim through the beauty of your justifying yourself and the elegance of your access". Later on Ibrahim used to say : By Allah, al Ma'mûn did not pardon me out of a feeling of kinship, nor out of a desire for keeping me alive, nor in order to fulfil his duty towards his uncle ; but he had established for himself a market for pardoning and did not want to spoil it through me.

And of the best sayings similar to this are the words of al 'Attâbi :

101

- " Hope travelled to you from far away
- " The vicissitudes of time having gathered against it.
- " My repentance turned my hope towards you
- " And my gratitude led its rein to you
- " And I took your blame to be the blame of warning
- " And made the hope of your pardon the extreme aim
of my excuse."

And the words of 'Alî ibn al Jahm' addressed to Al-Mutawakkil :

- " May God pardon you, verily reverence
- " Seek's refuge with your pardon, lest I be removed.
- " Though a sin be great which I did not commit on
purpose
- " You are greater even and higher in generosity.
- " Did you not see a slave who transgressed his proper
state
- " And a master who pardoned and one directed aright
who led on to the right way
- " And one who corrupted the thing you mended
- " But who afterwards put right what he had corrupt-
ed ?

“Forgive my fault, so He will forgive you who will always

“Protect you and turn away destruction.”

And similarly : one of the Amîrs became angry with a man, treated him harshly and left him severely alone for a while. When after that he called him in order to ask him about something, he found him lean and changed through fatigue. So he said to him, When were you ill ? He replied :

“Sickness did not touch me, but

“I treated myself harshly since the Amîr treated me harshly.”

After this the Amîr took him up again.

Another said :

“Verily the best of pardons is the one given promptly

“And the worst of punishments is that by which the measure is overstepped.”

And it used to be said : It is sufficient for punishment to be in accordance with the measure of the sin.

One of them said : If you punish, you requite, and if you pardon you do well, and pardoning is nearer piety.

And similarly a man said to one of the Amîrs : In the name of Him before whom you are humbler than I am before you, who has more power to punish you than you have to punish me ; I ask you to look into my affair with the look of him to whom my health is more acceptable than my illness, and my innocence more acceptable than my crime.

And similar to this is the saying of another : Reverence of old and repentance of late erase the evil doing that came in between them.

And similarly : Al Ahnaf ibn Qeys came to Mus‘ab ibn al-Zubeyr and spoke to him about some people he had taken prisoners. He said : May Allah benefit the Amir, if they were imprisoned on account of some falsehood, truth will set them free ; and if they were imprisoned for something that is true, pardon will encompass them. After that he let them go.

And similarly : Mu‘âwiya ordered Rauh ibn Zinbâ‘ to be punished. But Rauh said to him : I conjure you by God, O Prince of the Faithful, not to lower with me the lowliness you had raised, nor to untwist with me the rope you had twisted, nor to make rejoice over me an enemy you had humbled : may your forbearance and forgiveness

cover my ignorance and evil doing. Thereupon Mu'âwiya said : Let him go. After that Rauh recited the verse.

- "When Allah looses the knot of a thing it becomes easy."

And similarly : 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz ordered a man to be punished with regard to whom he had vowed that in case Allah enabled him to get hold of him, he would certainly punish him. But Rajâ ibn Heywa said : Allah did what you wished in the way of victory, so you do what Allah wishes in the way of forgiveness.

And similarly : Ibn al Qirriya¹ said to Al-Hajjâj in a speech of his : Pardon my stumbling and make it easy for me to swallow my saliva, for the fleet horse does not escape stumbling, nor the sword bluntness nor the forbearing one committing a fault. But Al-Hajjâj said : No, by Allah, I shall make you descend to hell ; was it not you who said at Rustaqabad : Make the kid your breakfast, lest he make you his evening meal.

And similarly : 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân ordered a man to be killed. The man said : O Prince of the Faithful, the mightier you are, the more you stand in need of God. So pardon for his sake, for through him you are helped and to him you return. Thereupon he let him go.

- 103 And similarly : Khâlîd ibn 'Abdullâh² said to Suleymân after he had punished him in the way he did : Verily power makes anger to disappear, your rank is too high for blaming, and we confess the sin. If you pardon, well you are the man to pardon, but if you punish, do it according to what we committed. He said : Until you come to Damascus afoot, there will be no pardon.

And similarly : Al-Hajjâj had prisoners beheaded that had been brought before him. When one of them said : "By Allah, if we acted wrongly in sinning, you did not well in requiting," Al-Hajjaj exclaimed "Shame to these corpses ! Was not there one among them who could have spoken well like this one ?" And he stopped killing.

And similarly : Mus'ab ibn al Zubeyr seized one of the followers of Al-Mukhtâr and ordered him to be beheaded. The man said : "O Amir, how bad it will be for you if I get up on the day of judgment to this your beautiful figure and this face of yours, by means of which light is obtained, and cling to your side and say : O Lord, ask

(1) i.e., Eiyub ibn al Qirriya who having taken part in Ibn el Ash'ath's rebellion was killed by al Hajjaj in 84. s, Tabari II 1127 seq.

(2) whom Suleyman deprived of his office in 96 A.H.

Mus'ab, what he killed me for." Mus'ab said : Release him. But the man continued : Let the life you rendered me be passed in ease. Mus'ab said : Give him 100,000. The man went on " You are for me like my father and my mother, I take Allah as my witness, that 50,000 belong to Ibn Qeys al Ruqeyyat. " " Why ? " " Because he said with regard to you :¹

Mus'ab is but a blaze from Allah
Before whose face the dark is elucidated
His rule is the rule of compassion in which there is
neither
Pride feared nor overbearing
He fears God in the things he does and lucky
Is he whose anxiety is the fear of God.

Mus'ab laughed and said : I see in you a possibility for upbringing. And he ordered him to remain near him and the man did not leave him until he was killed.

And similarly : 'Abdul Malik ibn Al-Hajjâj al-Tha'labî² said to 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân : I fled to you from al Iraq. He said : You spoke a lie, you did not flee to us but you fled from the blood of Al-Huseyn and feared for your own blood and therefore took refuge with us. Then he came another day and said :

104 I draw near in order that you may have mercy upon
me and close up my need
But I see that you turn me away, so where am I to
turn ?

And similar to this are the words of another :

Out of my grief I fled to them
But they are my grief, so where am I to fly ?

And similarly : Al-Hajjâj gave orders for a man to receive 30 lashes in his court. The man said :

" There is no shame in the punishment of the Amir
" For me, as long as I am not causing suspicion."

And similarly :

" Verily the Prince of the Faithful and his doings
" Are like time, there is no shame in what time does.,"

(1) s. Ibn Qeys' Diwan ed. Rhodokanakis XXXIX 30-32.

(2) This is the correct spelling of the nisba. s. Aghani XII 24.

And similarly : al Hasan al Basri passed by a man who was about to be slain in retaliation for one he had slain. He said to the next of kin of the slain person : O 'Abdullâh, you do not know, perhaps he killed your next of kin without intending it, whilst you kill him on purpose ; so look out for yourself. Thereupon the man said : I leave him to Allah.

And similarly : Abû Hâtim told me from Al-Asma'î from 'Isâ ibn 'Umar : Al-Hajjâj was being shot at and said, Look, who this is. Since a man made a sign with his hand as if to shoot, he was seized and taken to Al-Hajjâj, whose spirit had almost left him and who said (—'Isa continuing his story spoke with a weak voice imitating that of Al-Hajjâj—) "Is it you who shot at us since this night?" The man replied : "Yes, O Amir". "And what made you do it?" "My being misled and mean." Thereupon Al-Hajjâj said : Let him go. For whenever he was told the truth, he became tame minded.

And similarly : Abû Hâtim told me from Al-Asma'î from 'Uthmân al-Shahhâm : Al-Sha'bi¹ was brought before Al-Hajjâj who said to him : Did you rebel against us, O Sha'bi ? He said : The tract surrounding us became barren, our abode was rugged, fear did not relinquish us, sleeplessness became our eye-salve, and a disgrace befell us in which we were neither pious and careful nor wicked and strong." Al-Hajjâj said : "How well said !" and he let him go.

105 And similarly : a man was brought before Mûsâ ibn al Mahdi as a prisoner and he started upbraiding him for his sins. The man said : O Prince of the Faithful, if I put forward an excuse for the things you upbraid me for, that would be a refutation of what you say ; and if I confess the things you account against me, that would make me admit a sin I never committed : but I say :

If you hoped for rest through punishing,

Don't be sparing with reward when pardoning.

And similarly : al Hasan ibn Sahl² said to Nu'eym ibn Hâzin who had put forward excuses for a sin he exaggerated : Gently, O man, your obedience came forward, but your repentance remained behind, and there is no room for a sin between the two ; your sin is not greater

(1) the famous muhaddith who had taken part in Ibn al Ash'ath's rebellion.

(2) Wazir under al Ma'mûn 202-5.

among sins than the pardon of the Prince of the Faithful among pardons rendered.

A man said to one of the Amirs : Had I known a phrase to address to the Amir other than those used by people, I should have liked to reach this aim through something with which I should wish him well and praise his work ; but I ask God to whom the intentions of the hearts that remain invisible are not hidden, to include among the favours He bestows on the Amir, as the least of His gifts and donations that of which He gains knowledge through my good intentions placing it before Him.

I read in a letter by one of the scribes : May your days remain for ever spread out between a hope for you you reach, and a hope from you you fulfil ; until you enjoy the most lengthy of lives and reach the most excellent of ranks.

Muhammad ibn Abdulmalik ibn Sâlih went to see al Ma'mûn after his estates had been seized. He said : "Peace on you, O Prince of the Faithful, Muhammad ibn Abdulmalik is a child of your benefits, a son of your wealth, one of the branches of your great tree ; do you allow him to speak ?" Al Ma'mûn said, Yes. So he began and said after having praised Allah : "We ask Allah to let us enjoy the protection of our religion and our worldly goods and the tending of our near and far ones through your remaining alive, O Prince of the Faithful, and we ask him to add to your life from ours and to your marks from ours and to preserve you from harm through our ears and eyes. This is the place of the one who takes refuge with your shade, who flies towards your shelter and redundancy, who stands in need of your compassion and justice." After that he began to talk about his want.

A man came to Suleyman ibn Abdulmalik during his caliphate. He said to him : "What brought you to me ?" "O Prince of the Faithful, neither hope brought me to you nor fear". "How is that ?" "As for hope, it came to us and our habitations flowed over with it and the near and far among us took of it. But as to fear, we are safe from tyranny, thanks to your treating us justly and your beautiful behaviour towards us : we have come as the ambassadors of gratitude."

One of the scribes wrote to a Wazir : Any limit reached by one who speaks about your excellence and describes your days and renders thanks for your benefits, is a near pursuit as compared with the excellent qualities that

abound in you and the gifts divided up among the subjects through you. But it is incumbent upon him who knows the measure of the benefits rendered through you, to express his gratitude ; and for the one who is being sheltered by the gloriousness of your days to wish for their long continuance ; and for the one whom your wealth protects to beg Allah to make it last and increase. Allah gathered through you that which was disunited, and redressed that which was perverted and grasped the hands that deviated and turned the hearts that broke loose. So you rendered safe the road of the one who is free from blame and mitigated his fright ; but you rendered insecure the roads of the wrongdoers and closed their ways and entrances. And you kept to the right way of behaviour both the select and the common people, so that they were safe through it from stumbling and falling.

And with regard to the rulers admonishing people to be grateful to God—to Him belong glory and greatness—Shabīb ibn Sheyba said to al Mahdī : Allah, to Him belong glory and greatness, was not pleased with placing you behind any of his creatures, so you should not be pleased with anyone rendering him more thanks than you do ; and peace be on you.

(End of the Book of Government to be followed, if God wills, by the Book of War.)

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

A QUR'ANIC HYMN

Thou Lord of all Creation !
Thou King of all mankind !
Thou God of all the nations !
In Thee we refuge find
From those who follow Satan
And aid him in his plan
When he doth whisper evil
Into the heart of man.

Lord of the light that dawneth
From out the shades of Night,
O lead us out of darkness
And guide us to Thy light !
When succour from Thee cometh
Right triumphs over Wrong ;
And then 'tis theirs the victory,
Whose faith is pure and strong.

NIZAMAT JUNG

THE TRAVELLER OF ISLAM

For always wandering with a hungry heart,
 Much have I seen and known, cities of men,
 And manners, climates, councils, governments.

Abu Abdullah Mahommed, surnamed Ibn Batuta, is probably the greatest traveller in history. If he has any rival, it is Marco Polo, but even Polo had not a more insatiable passion for exploring new countries. Ibn Batuta was born at Tangier in 1304. The *wanderlust* descended upon him at the age of twenty-one, and for the next thirty years he was almost constantly on the move. In June 1325, he set out for Cairo, then one of the greatest cities in the world. The journey was a long and weary one, and Ibn Batuta, who was only a boy, was at times terribly lonely and homesick. At Tunis "there was no salutation for me : I knew no soul there. I burst into a flood of tears. A pilgrim saw this. He came forward and did me courtesy, nor did he cease to take me off my thoughts by his conversation until I was housed in the city." Little human touches like this make Ibn Batuta's record one of the most appealing books in the world. He soon, however, found consolation, for at Tunis he married, and with his wife and father-in-law, he joined a caravan bound for Alexandria. Perhaps the presence of the young lady's father was the disturbing element, but for some reason the marriage was not a happy one, and Ibn Batuta divorced his wife and married the daughter of a dignitary of Fez, who was a fellow-pilgrim ! The caravan halted for a day to celebrate the wedding. Alexandria was reached in April, and Ibn Batuta proceeded to explore Egypt. The land of the Nile was full of interest for a man of an inquiring turn of mind. He saw the forest of masts in the docks of Alexandria, the Great Mosque of Cairo, the procession of the Holy Carpet, and innumerable shrines of Muslim saints. His original plan was to travel down the coast of the Red Sea, and from there to cross

over to Mecca in order to perform the *Haj*. But the country was in a state of rebellion, so he decided to retrace his steps to Alexandria, and to go overland to Mecca after exploring Palestine and Syria. The Holy Land is full of places venerated by the 'People of the Book' Muslim and Christian alike, and Jerusalem in particular attracted him greatly, for there he saw the great Temple of Solomon, the 'Holy House' which covers the Rock whence the Prophet ascended to Heaven on the occasion of his Celestial Journey. One of the many interesting localities described by Ibn Batuta in this part of his narrative is the lovely country of the Lebanon, "the most fertile mountain on the earth, with copious water-springs and shady groves laden with fruit of every description", and here he came into contact with the curious sect of the Assassins, who dwelt in the mountain-fastnesses under the *Shaikh-al-Jabal*, or Old Man of the Mountains. The Shaikh had under him a band of *Fedavis* or Devotees, who were intoxicated with *hashish* or Indian hemp (hence the word assassin) in order to put them into a fit state of mind to remove any whom the society considered objectionable. "Through them, he strikes down those of his foes who dwell afar. Various duties are allotted to different men, and when the Sultan wishes one of them to waylay some foe, he makes a bargain for the price of blood. Should the murderer return in safety, he claims his reward: if not, it is paid to his heirs. The assassins carry poisoned knives wherewith to despatch their victims." Ibn Batuta now made his way to Damascus, where he hoped to join one of the caravans proceeding across the desert to Mecca. Of Damascus he speaks enthusiastically: the chief mosque struck him as one of the most graceful buildings he had ever seen, and he visited the cave where Abraham was born, and the grotto in which Cain bestowed the body of his brother Abel! Ibn Batuta's narrative is full of those little, humorous personal anecdotes which make a travel-book live. Here is one. At Damascus, he attended a sermon by a popular preacher. The *Imam* was dramatic rather than orthodox in his methods. "God came down to the Earthly Paradise just exactly as I am descending these pulpit steps", he exclaimed, suiting his action to his words. "It is a lie!" shrieked a rival theologian, and the excited congregation set upon the preacher and beat him soundly!

In September 1326, Ibn Batuta at last managed to attach himself to a caravan going from Damascus to Mecca

The journey was an arduous and exhausting one: the pilgrims saw on the road-side the bones of men and animals who had died of thirst, and they heard the sound of ghostly drumming in the sandy wastes. But the goal was reached without mishap, and our traveller performed in due course his first *Haj*. As the caravan was going on from Mecca to Persia, Ibn Batuta decided to accompany it, though this involved a *trek* of over six hundred miles, right across the Central Arabian Desert. At length however, they emerged, worn-out with travel, at the sacred city of Meshed Ali, the Muslim Lourdes, not very far from the site of the battle of Karbala, in Lower Mesopotamia. Here takes place every year the famous Night of Revival. Invalids from all over the world are laid on the tomb of Ali. "People then, some praying, others reciting the Holy Quran, and others prostrating themselves, wait expecting their recovery. About nightfall, they all spring up cured." Ibn Batuta now decided to explore Persia. He went to Basra, down the Persian Gulf, and then inland to Ispahan and Shiraz, and back to Kufa and Baghdad. His notes on medieval Persia are full of interest: he found the Persians, "honest, virtuous, God-fearing folk." At Al Hilla on the Euphrates he records a curious ceremony, the Invocation of the Unrevealed Imam. "Every day, a hundred armed men come to the door of the mosque, leading a horse saddled and bridled. Then they beat on drums and sound their trumpets, and say aloud: 'Come forth, O Lord of the Times, for the whole earth is filled with evil-doing and deeds of shame. Now hath the hour come for Thee to reveal thyself, so that through Thee, Allah may divide the Truth from the False.' In this way they wait until darkness drives them home." After travelling extensively in Iraq, Ibn Batuta decided to perform the *Haj* a second time, and going to Baghdad, he joined a caravan bound for Mecca. He spent two years in Mecca, studying theology, but in 1330, he set out once more, this time in a series of coasting voyages, which took him to Aden, where he saw the famous tanks, down as far as Mombosa, and then back along the coast of Oman to Ormuz, the great port and stronghold at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Everywhere, as a Mahommedan learned in the law, he was warmly welcomed. His notes on the different places visited are often highly entertaining. Here "the people are too fat: a single individual eats as much as a whole congregation." At another place "the wives are shameless, and the husbands devoid of jealousy." At a third, he narrates an excellent story of a

We cannot follow Ibn Batuta in his journey through Turkestan: he arrived in India in the month of Muharram 1333, having crossed the mountains to which he is the first to give the name of Hindu Kush or Hindu Slayer—"because of the vast numbers of captives who perish while crossing them." What a vivid picture of the terrible raids of the early Mahomedan invaders from Central Asia does this simple word conjure up! Ibn Batuta duly reached Delhi, where he entered the service of that extraordinary monarch, Mahommed Tughlak, as Kazi, on a salary of one thousand rupees a month. Mahommed Tughlak was a brilliant and versatile scholar and a patron of learning, but madly capricious and as bloodthirsty as Caligula. "No day did his palace-gate fail to witness the elevation of some object to influence, and the torture and murder of some living soul." Rebels were skinned alive and their living flesh cooked with rice, and for a mere freak, the Emperor changed his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, compelling the wretched inhabitants to leave their homes at a moment's notice. A paralytic who failed to obey the order was shot out of a catapult, and a blind man was dragged at the heel of an elephant. Strangely enough, Ibn Batuta stayed eight years with this despot, and has left behind an invaluable account of his experiences.

In 1342, however, the *wanderlust* descended once more upon our traveller; he was, moreover, heavily in debt, and anxious to get away. The Emperor of China had sent an embassy to Delhi, and Ibn Batuta obtained permission to go back to China with it. He travelled from Delhi to Cambay, and from Cambay to Calicut by sea, meaning to catch a junk for China at the latter place, which was at that time the chief port in Southern India for trade with the Far East. Here, however, disaster overtook him, the junk was wrecked, and he was left stranded on the shore. It was highly inadvisable to go back to Delhi and face the wrath of the capricious Mahommed Tughlak, so he decided to pay a visit to the Maldive Islands. Here, in "a land where it was always afternoon", he settled down among the palm-trees for what was, for him, quite a lengthy period of about a year and a half. He took unto himself four wives of the country, and became the head Kazi. Ibn Batuta's account of the Maldive Islands has never been surpassed by any writer, ancient or modern; but trouble arose, and the urge coming strongly upon him once again, he divorced his wives and set out for the

Coromandel Coast. On the way, however, he was driven by the wind on to the shores of Ceylon, and took the opportunity to make the arduous climb up the great peak upon whose summit is the "Footmark of our Father Adam" (August 1344). Ibn Batuta never went far without meeting with adventures: he was shipwrecked on the Coromandel Coast, and again, while on his way to visit old friends in Malabar, he was attacked by pirates who gutted the ship, and landed in Calicut with nothing but the clothes he wore. Nothing, however, deterred him, and in 1341 he once more set out for the Far East.

The year 1341 opens a new chapter in Ibn Batuta's travels. He first took ship to Bengal, a voyage of forty three days, and landed at Chittagong: but his stay was a brief one, and he soon embarked on a vessel bound for Sumatra, a voyage of about forty days. At Sumatra he changed into a Chinese junk, bound for the great port of Zaitun or Amoy, which is famous on account of its connection with Marco Polo. The Moor's account of his travels in China is rather vague and confused, but he visited Canton, and perhaps also Hangchau and even the capital, Cambaluc and Pekin. Ibn Batuta was delighted with China, though he was rather disgusted at the partiality of the Chinese for pork, and his descriptions of the Flowery Land in the fourteenth century make captivating reading. 'It is the safest and pleasantest country in the world. Although it is a nine months' journey from one end of the Kingdom to the other, the traveller, even if he has money with him, need be under no apprehension: there are officials with armed guards at each halting-place.' There were hostels and almshouses for the old and infirm attached to the temples. Every citizen in a big town had a garden and a field, and his house stood in the middle of the plot: there were no rows of houses as in the modern street. Ibn Batuta had a capacity for friendship, and moreover, he found an influential supporter in the Chinese ambassador whom he had met at Delhi. Other acquaintances also appeared: one day he saw a man staring at him intently, and he recognized an old Indian acquaintance, and the meeting moved both to tears. Altogether, therefore, his stay in Zaitun was an agreeable one, and he had unusual opportunities for studying Chinese life at close quarters. All good things, however, come to an end, and in 1346, Ibn Batuta set off for home. On his return journey, he once saw that mighty bird, the *Rukh*, flying with an island in its talons—probably a mirage,

for Ibn Batuta is an honest, if credulous observer—and he revisited Sumatra, Persia, and Iraq. Owing to the Plague, his movements were curtailed, but he stayed at Cairo and Jerusalem, and made the *Haj* for the fourth and last time. He reached Fez in November 1349, after a quarter of a century of wandering. “The *dirhems* of the West,” he remarks philosophically, “are small in size : but then, you get more for them !”

One would have thought that, now at last, our Moor would have been cured of his *wanderlust* ; but no, in 1352 he needs must set out once more. This time his face was turned west and southward ; he visited the ancient Moorish Kingdom of Cordova, and saw Gibraltar (*Jabal Tarik*, the Hill of Victory) first then besieged by Alphonso XI of Castille, and the glorious Alhambra, rising like the dawn from the builder's hands. Then, crossing the Straits, he plunged into the wilds of Central Africa, saw the houses, mentioned by Herodotus, built of rock-salt, and penetrated to Timbuctoo. In 1354, he returned, and by royal order, he dictated his narrative, to Mahommed Ibn Tuzai, the Sultan's Secretary. In spite of his privations and adventures, he died in his bed, at the ripe old age of seventy three, in 1378.

Ibn Batuta is, as I have said already, the world's greatest traveller. His only possible rival is Marco Polo. He travelled continuously for thirty years, visiting the whole Muslim world, and covering over 75,000 miles,—an almost incredible record in the days when means of transport were limited to horses, camels, and crazy boats no bigger than a cockleshell ; when decent roads and maps were non-existent ; and when land and sea were infested with marauders who preyed upon the traveller, in the absence of any strong central Government. But one great asset the Moor had, and that was the wonderful freemasonry of Islam. Nowhere in the Christian world could the pilgrim find himself equally at home, as Ibn Batuta was at the court of Uzbeg Khan in Russia, in Delhi or Peking, in Sumatra and Central Asia. Ibn Batuta was a shrewd and careful observer, and although his notes were lost when he was shipwrecked on the Malabar Coast, he is astonishingly accurate. He had a keen sense of humour, and never fails to note down the idiosyncrasies of the people he encountered. His accounts of Mahommed Tughlak, the Maldive Islands, and the Negro Kingdoms of the Niger, to mention only a few, are of first-rate historical

and geographical importance. "This Shaikh" the narrator concludes, "must be owned by any unbiassed person to be the Traveller of the Age : and should one entitle him the Traveller of the whole Body of Islam, he would not exceed the truth." Few, I think, will disagree with this verdict.¹

1 Ibn Juzai's narrative, *Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Ghara'ib al-Amsar wa'Adja'ib al-Asfar*, was only known in imperfect copies until the French captured Constantine in Algeria in 1837, when Ibn Juzai's autograph MS. fell into their hands. It has been edited and translated by M. M. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, a monumental work in four volumes. Paris 1853-9, 3rd ed. 1893.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

INDO-PERSIAN AND MODERN INDIAN PAINTING

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF F. ROSENBERG.

(Translated by L. Bogdanov.)

NOT all the seeds which fell from the tree of art on the fertile soil of India have given equally glorious sprouts. Well known is the magnificence of the Muslim architecture fructified by the genius of the trans-Himalayan peoples. Sculpture, both that branch of it which became subservient to the needs of architecture or, rather a supplementary feature of it, as well as independent statuary, have developed into a definite free and highly artistic style, which is often considered to be nothing short of the highest achievement of plastic thought. Matters stand differently with regard to painting. Owing to the comparative impermanence of its materials, it is more difficult to trace its origins and the various stages of its evolution on Indian soil, than to do so with regard to its sister-arts.

We know that the architecture of Northern India had been gradually fertilized from abroad. The style of her palaces was borrowed in ancient times from Achemenian Persia. It is not exactly known to what an extent India may have been influenced by Sasanian Persia, but, taking into consideration the lively communications which existed between the two countries, one may presume that, during that period as well, it was India who profited by that intercourse.

The period of Islamic influence begins from the moment of the invasion of India through Persia by the Arab hordes in 705. Since then, a gradual infiltration into India of Islam and Islamic art has been at work. The place of the Arabs is later taken by the Turks, who invade India through the mountain-passes of Afghanistan. The campaigns of Mahmūd of Ghazni at the beginning of the

XIth century open the era of minor Turkish dynasties in Kashmîr, Sind, Dehli, etc. The descendants of Chingiz Khan are ousted by Mamlûks, *i.e.*, their own slaves, who, in their turn, fall under the onslaught of the hordes of Tamerlane. In the middle of the XVth century one of his descendants, Babur, the local ruler of Ferghana, succeeded in amalgamating under his rule most of the minor principalities of India and in founding the empire of the Great Mughals, which reached, both in the domain of politics and in the domain of arts, its highest development towards the end of the XVIth century in the reign of the great Akbar and his immediate successors.

The plastic art of India is the outcome of later ancient Indian art as preserved in its Gandhara variety. The oldest monuments of Indian painting that have reached us are the fresco-paintings in the Ajanta caves (probably of the Ist-VIIth centuries) and in Bagh, and the similar Sigiri fresco-paintings in Ceylon. They show certain affinities with the Central-Asian style of Khotan and Turfan, in so far as the direct influences of the Far West and the Far East do not appear in the latter. As regards the common characteristics, which are neither Chinese, nor Byzantine, and appear both in India and in Central Asia, the question arises whether they are not Sasanian. The portrait of Khosrow II with his wives or the reception of the Persian envoys in Ajanta certainly cannot be considered as Sasanian. The possibility is not excluded, however, of the portrait of Khosrow having been copied from a Persian original.

There exists literary evidence which leaves no room for doubt as regards the artistic value of the painting of Sasanian Iran, as well as of that of the pre-Sasanian period. A successive connection between the Græco-Bactrian, the Arsacian and the Sasanian art has to be admitted *a priori*. One can judge of that style by what has been preserved in sculpture, in metal work and in ceramics. The far-famed art of Mani (IIIrd century A.D.) and of the Manichæans is certainly not free from Iranian influence. Yet, one is entitled to think that syncretism in that art is as prevalent as in the doctrine itself of the "prophet of light", and that it would hardly be possible, were even a great amount of materials available, to disentangle the skein of its component parts and details.

During the first millenium of our era the chief mediators between Western Asia and the Far East in the exchange of values commercial, spiritual and cultural were

in the first instance the Soghdians, who professed chiefly Buddhism, but were partly also Manichæans and partly Christians. Their place was later taken by the Uigurs. No unimportant rôle in the transmission of cultural achievements was also played by Nestorian Syrians, who were often employed by Muslim rulers, as early as the VIIth century, as secretaries, surgeons, and in the capacity of men of business in general : it is only natural that in their capacity as clever scribes they should have enriched the art of painting by their own traditions and, more especially, the art of illustrating books, which since the time of Mani had been held in great respect both in Persia and in Central Asia.

After the victory of Islam, the area occupied at present by Turkistan and Khorasan became the centre of the Persian spirit in art as in other domains, whereas the West was fully under the sway of Arab artistic norms.

In the Xth century, under the powerful rule of the Samanid dynasty (874-999) an obvious spiritual revival took place in the East, with Bukhâra as its centre. From there it spread to Merv, Balkh and Ghazni. The patronage accorded to arts and more especially to poetry by the cruel Mahmûd of Ghazni is well known. The great Firdausi belonged to the galaxy of poets who adorned his court. It is related that the Sultan, who was impatiently watching the progress of the poet's work on the "Book of Kings", had special premises built for the poet, which were adorned with pictures representing ancient kings and knights. It is also told that a son of the same Mahmûd of Ghazni had a room decorated with obscene pictures. We do not know of what kind or style those pictures were, but one may suppose that fresco-painting is meant. Hardly any conclusion can be drawn from the fact that for Firdausi himself Chinese art seemed to be the ideal in painting. In the first instance, Firdausi uses the word *chin* to denote not only China, but, and that mostly, everything Buddhist, also for Manichæan and in general for Central Asian. Furthermore, in his time China was considered to be the classic land of arts. An old legend says that the miraculous bird Simurgh flew once over China and let fall one of its feathers. Since then China became the land of artistic perfection. As regards the fresco-paintings in the house of Firdausi, they most probably were composed in the contemporary style of Persia. No doubt, the three and a half centuries which divide Sultan Mahmûd from the last Sasanian king did not pass without

some change occurring in the art of Persia. That art was certainly modified, underwent an evolution, was enriched by the new achievements of the Byzantine school and of the Arab schools with centres in Damascus, Baghdad and Cairo, as well as by certain values obtained through the communication with the Far East. Between the epoch of Sultan Mahmûd and the earliest Persian picture-manuscript which has reached us there lies an interval of three centuries. During that period a hurricane of events had swept all over Persia, which certainly had also affected the domain of art. Under its influence there came the crisis that prepared the ground for the wonderful blossoming of the pictorial art, which reached its zenith at the beginning of the XVIth century when its productions became of universal importance. The crisis we are alluding to was the invasion of Persia by Chingiz Khan, which turned the greater part of the country into a mass of smouldering ruins. After the bloody wave had receded, it seemed as if it had swept off altogether from the surface of the Persian land both its art monuments and the artists themselves along with their artistic tradition. The horrors of desolation, the wretched economical conditions, the distrust towards the foreign and heterodox barbarous rulers, the absence of demand and of orders,—all this taken together was bound to lead to the stagnation of artistic effort throughout the country.

A century went by, the wounds were healing up. The conquerors had been able in the meantime to cover the nudity of their barbarism with the fig-leaf of the culture of the conquered people. The rulers themselves and those of their immediate surroundings were actually imbued with that culture and, ennobling themselves by the profession of Islam, became real Persians. Persia recovered from the first shock, and it became clear that not all was irretrievably lost. Tens of thousands of painters who had been carried off by the conquerors (from Samarqand alone, according to Ibn-Batûta, 30,000 of them were deported and presented as gifts to allied princes by Hulagu Khan) had obviously had time to return and to transmit their tradition to the younger generation. The old bottles were filled with new wine, and when, after further violent concussions, the cultural centres of Persia towards the end of the XIVth century began to revive at the signal of the powerful hand of the ruler of the world, Timur,—the new artistic style was found. Towards the end of the XVIth century the historians of art discovered that some

explanation was needed to account for the birth of art in Persia. They were so puzzled by the seemingly sudden appearance of the new style in painting that they deemed it necessary to invent the legend of a Chinese master Ustad Gung (*i.e.*, "the dumb one", "one who did not know the language of the country"), who, it was alleged, happened to be in the retinue of Chingiz Khan at Samarkand and who was the first to teach Persians the art of painting till then unknown to them. From him, through Jihângir of Bukhâra and through Pir Sayyid Ahmad of Tabriz, the tradition is supposed to have been transmitted to the great Bhizâd. In reality, there never was any such suddenness in the revival of Persian art. The Mughal conquerors, who had already become acquainted with Chinese culture, used to keep a large staff of court-painters. With their innate sensitiveness, the Persians easily understood the superiority of the Chinese art, which, as we have seen, was considered in the time of Firdausi an inaccessible ideal. It is possible that at the outset their imitation of the Chinese masters was not devoid of political considerations. Yet very soon the Persian artists were able to assimilate their manner, the Far-Eastern elements of which were gradually remoulded and developed by them to suit their own national tradition, which further resulted in the creation of something entirely new, wholly their own, and in a strict sense Persian. The fall of Baghdad did in no way mean the death of the Baghdad school; it still continued working, adapting itself to the new currents which reached it from Persia. There exists information that, as early as Timur's time, a master 'Abdullah of Baghdad, of whom, however, nothing is known beyond the mere name, enjoyed high repute in Samarkand.

A very limited number of specimens of paintings of the Mughal period has reached us. F. R. Martin, the author of a standard work on art, entitled "The miniature painting of Persia, India and Turkey", London, 1912, says that only six manuscripts with pictures of that period have been preserved in Western libraries. To these six there must be added one very old manuscript, dated A.H. 733 (1332 A.D.), of Firdausi's "Book of Kings" of the Public Library of St. Petersburg, which contains 29 miniatures. The place where the MS. was written is not known, but the handwriting is of the Arabic type, which points to its Western origin, possibly to Baghdad. The pictures are the more interesting as they seem to belong to an intermediate style between that of Baghdad

and the new Mughal manner. The type of faces is often definitely Mughal, while the central figures of kings and knights are represented in the old manner, mostly with pointed beards, as on Mesopotamian and Syrian miniatures, and as there, so also here the influence of Byzantine art is very much felt. A similar duality prevails also in the clothes; the warriors wear Mughal coats-of-mails and helmets, while the peaceful citizens are clothed in gowns of a mixed Byzantine and Arabian type of richly ornamented brocade. The predominating shades are red and gold. The background, whenever not red, is composed of a thick tangle of interlaced rather uncouth flowers and fruits. The Chinese conventionalities in the rendering of clouds and water are still absent, absent also is the manner of representing hills, which is known from Timurid and later pictures. The angels of the left side of the double frontispiece are Syrian. The vividness of the lines, however, the movement felt in the figures of men and horses show already the vivifying influence of the Far-East. The execution of the pictures is far from being first-rate, in some of them it is simply coarse. The state of preservation is not always satisfactory. Owing to technical considerations, the idea of reproducing any specimens of that style has had to be abandoned. Similar reasons have also prevented us from giving any specimens from another manuscript of the *Shâhnâma* (of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences), which is about a century younger than the above mentioned copy of the Public Library (A.H. 849—1445 A.D.). Here we have to deal with a further stage of the evolution of Mughal painting, with an early stage of that style which was developed under the successors of Timur and which is therefore called Timurid. That style reached its culminating point several decades later in the productions of Bihzâd, the head of the Herât school, later the head of the Tabriz school. Plates 1 and 2 belong to the epoch when the art of painting reached its highest development under the Safavids: the manuscript from which they are taken is dated A.H. 931 (1524 A.D.) Plate 3 (A.H. 978—1568 A.D.) shows already some characteristic signs of the period of decay, which definitely begins in the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great (1586—1629).

Owing to its geographical situation between Asia Minor and Central Asia, Persia has been from time immemorial the meeting ground of all the manifold spiritual and cultural currents generated and developed in the womb

of the immense continent of Asia. Persia has always been that miraculous "caldrón" in which, as justly pointed out by the late Dr. Kremer, were mixed, modified and received a peculiar kind of individuality all the raw and half-raw materials supplied by the West and the East, by the North and the South. The evolution of syncretism leads unavoidably to eclecticism. This latter is a characteristic feature of the Persian spirit. The impress of eclecticism lies on all its manifestations, is evident in the religion and in the philosophy of Persia, in its literature and in its art. Even the population of Persia presents a most variegated racial and ethnical medley. Anthropological, archæological and linguistic data all point to an exceedingly intensive intermixture, which is still at work even in our days on the territory of Iran. We have already tried to show elsewhere¹ that the pre-historic population of Persia stood racially in some relation to those Japhetic peoples which inhabit at present its Western, Northern and partly also its Eastern borders.

We have already mentioned that as early as the beginning of the VIIIth century Islam and, in its wake, Islamic art began to penetrate into India. At a later epoch rulers belonging to the local Turkish dynasties, as far as one can judge from the monuments that have reached us, developed quite a keen architectural activity. Nothing, however, is known of Modern-Indian Islamic painting previous to the time of the Great Mughals.

The difference between Persian miniature-painting and the Modern-Indian is that for the latter the centre of gravity lies not in the illumination of manuscripts, but in independent pictures collected into albums. The fact that the art of miniature portrait-painting was practised in non-Islamic and pre-Islamic India is proved by the Nepalese and Bengali Buddhist miniatures. These are, unfortunately, of a comparatively late period, the earliest of them belonging to the XIth century. Still, according to the opinion of S. F. Oldenburg, one can judge by them of the character of the preceding period of Indian art up to the VIIth century. In this case we are naturally interested only in the older specimens of that art, the more modern (XVII-XVIIIth centuries) being merely imitations of Tibeto-Chinese and Modern-Indian originals. In the absence of other material, one may take these miniatures

(1) "Yafeticheskii Sbornik", 2 fasc., published by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

of the XIth century, or rather certain details of their composition, to be the sole connecting link between the Ancient Indian paintings of Ajanta and the Modern-Indian art of the epoch of the Great Mughals.

As regards the above-mentioned albums, the fashion for them originated in Persia at the beginning of the XVIIth century, and was, very soon after that, adopted in India. They were mostly made for the sovereign and the grandees of his court, but were also appreciated by the opulent classes of the public at large, for whom they played the same rôle as in our days the Chinese and Japanese wood-engravings, the mechanical reproduction of which was at that time unknown in India.

Such albums with their motley contents throw a very characteristic sidelight on the standard of artistic taste which was prevalent in the court circles of that time, when the grandees deemed it their duty to follow the example of their sovereign, patron of arts. The historian Bada'ûni tells us that Akbar used to compel his intimates, much against their own will, to collect pictures and to patronize painters. A great number of such albums were quite early brought to Europe, chiefly, naturally, to England. The India Office Library possesses sixty-six such albums; there are many also in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington, in the Bodleian Library Oxford, and in the British Museum, where one of them bearing the class-mark 1661-1662 evoked in 1777 the admiration of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who pointed out six of the pictures as the most remarkable.

The Public Library of Russia possesses only five such albums. The history of the album, from which plates 4 and 5 are derived, is somewhat vague; definitely known is only that it was purchased in Tehran and, after being brought from Persia was presented by the Emperor Nicholas II to the "Russian Museum," whence it was transmitted in 1921 to the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This album is quite typical of such collections of pictures. Along with first-class specimens of the Indo-Persian and Modern-Indian school, one finds in it compositions which have very little to do with art, uncouth copies of European paintings or even engravings, and, what is even worse, absurd imitations of European masters with additional details in Eastern style (plate 5). Like most of the collections of a similar kind, our album boasts of a magnificent binding.

The prices for pictures in India at the time when the art was at its height under Akbar and more especially under Shâh-Jihân, were incredibly high ; one of the pictures pointed out by Sir Joshua Reynolds was valued at Rs. 200, at that time equal to £ 25. The existence of such high prices, which were obviously considered in Europe as not warranted by the quality of the work, explains, according to Martin, the fact that only few specimens of Indo-Persian paintings of the XVIIth century, as compared with those belonging to the Modern-Indian school, found their way to Europe. The first in time (1640-50) to reach Europe was probably that portrait of Akbar, or, according to Binyon, of Jihângîr, which obviously so impressed Rembrandt that he found it necessary to reproduce it in a whole series of drawings. More numerous in Europe are the specimens of the XVIIth century national Modern-Indian paintings, for which Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has introduced the term of *Rajput-painting*. These pictures appeared first at Oxford, obviously as a result of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the court of Jihângîr in 1615/18. The album of Archbishop Laud is dated 1640.

Modern-Indian painting may be divided into three different groups, each of them connected with one of the three chief religions of India ; Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. The so-called Rajput art is considered to be the direct successor of Hindu art, whilst Mughal, *i.e.*, Indo-Persian Painting represents Islam. Percy Brown on pp. 7-8 of his "Indian Paintings" (Heritage of India Series, Calcutta, no date) sums up his impressions of these categories as follows : "Buddhist and Rajput painting was symbolic in signifying the spiritual life of India ; the dominant note of both was religion, and the chief feature was mysticism, The aim of the Buddhist artist was to visualize the ideals of his creed . . . all the beautiful sentiments of the Buddhist religion . . . Rajput painting, while aspiring towards the same high ideals, . . . reflected the beliefs and customs of the common people, thus producing an artistic folklore . . . in a portable and popular manner . . . Mogul painting was . . . secular, . . . realistic and eclectic . . . It exhibits the same technical traits as the Rajput art. It strives after no spiritual conceptions . . Some of the illustrative work deals with the mythical, but the Mogul miniatures are, in the main, material. It excelled in portraiture"

The two above-mentioned tendencies in art have to be taken into consideration for the whole of the period of

the Great Mughals. One is a tendency introduced by a foreign conqueror, a great admirer and a keen *connoisseur* of art, the other is local, is supposed to continue the national Indian tradition in art, and is intelligible to and accessible for the wider masses of the population. The Persian painting with its innate impressionism, its boldness of line and colour, has none of the soft, deliquescent and sweetish mannerisms of the Modern-Indian painting of the same epoch. The Persian school was paramount at court. Under the guidance of Persian artists, and later under the guidance of their Indian disciples, a huge staff of painters of very different merit were at work copying Persian originals and imitating Persian Models. Gradually as the art was decaying in Persia itself in the XVII century, and as the Indians acquired more skill and ability in it, certain details of a local character began to be introduced, consciously or otherwise, into the Persian style. These admixtures were mostly confined to decorative details, to landscape, etc., and little by little the two styles became amalgamated, which resulted in the origin of what we call the Indo-Persian or Mughal style. The same phenomenon happened also here which one can witness in architecture : a gradual infiltration of the Indian spirit into the Arabian and Persian conception of the structural art resulting in the creation of that peculiar variant which could have grown up only on Indian soil.

One might think that, given the obviously only faintly developed artistic taste amongst the Indian magnates and the fact that they were living under a despotic government, their patronage of one or the other of these two styles in art must have depended on the political currents of the moment. Yet, nothing absolutely is known about any rivalry, not to speak of any actual strife, between the two schools, which, on the contrary, lived peacefully side by side without in any way interfering with each other. The one was the aristocratic art catering for the refined tastes of the court nobility and expressing itself chiefly in dainty portraiture, in the representation of court functions, or of battle and hunting scenes, a purely worldly art, so to say. The other was popular, adapted in its topics and by its simplified objectiveness to the understanding of the wider masses, representing genre-scenes of familiar or rustic life, sometimes recording some mythological or religious legend. Without attempting any art criticism of these two directions in painting, one can easily distinguish them by the very subjects which they treat. The possibility is not

a priori excluded that the same Indian artists may have worked, according to demand, either in one style or the other. One of the most prominent investigators of Indian art, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, finds in Rajput art, *i.e.*, in the art of the national Indian school, two further "phases": a popular one and an aristocratic one, both of them containing numerous intermediate degrees. The second phase, according to him, reflects the heroic traditions of the Indian epic and the court ceremonial; the same phase is said to reflect also racial ideals.

As has been said, the Persian and the Indian schools lived peacefully alongside each other, without any obvious rivalry, without any hostile departures. Such, however fell to the lot of the art critics and investigators of the XIXth and XXth centuries. Two camps have been formed among them, the European and the nationalistic. The latter, without denying the fact of the influence of pre-Hellenic, Hellenistic, Persian and, in more recent times, also of European art, are trying to give pre-eminence, before all foreign influences, to the Indian artistic tradition, seeing in the Indianization of the foreign artistic elements only a kind of ennobling spiritualization, in short an improvement. At the head of this direction there stand E.B. Havell and the already mentioned Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. To this group belong also, among others, William Cohn, one of the editors of the *Ost-Asiatische Zeitschrift*, and Laurence Binyon. All these investigators have achieved renown by their important works in the domain of Asian art. The other camp consists of more cautiously and sceptically inclined representatives of the preceding generation, like Gruenwedel, Foucher, Vincent Smith, Oldenberg, Griffith, and others. Both camps display a certain amount of heat in dealing with the matter.

A fully objective attitude in the domain of æsthetics is naturally impossible. Yet, whenever that domain becomes the subject of scientific investigation, individual feelings in judgment ought to be as far as possible restrained. To anathematize the "pernicious principles" of the Renaissance or to declare the Gandhara art to be "an æsthetically unpleasant chance episode in the powerful life of Indian art" can hardly convince the reader of the scientific attitude of the investigators.¹

(1) Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his pamphlet on, "Hindu Art: Its Humanism and Modernism. An Introductory Essay", 1920, conveys the information that in recent years futuristic circles have been formed in India with the motto "Back to the past" and "Down with the East" etc. One must suppose that such circles have originated quite independently from analogous tendencies in Europe.—

The dispute in the microcosm of Indo-Persian painting, at the outset, seems to be a storm in a tea cup. Yet, the underlying factor in that controversy is the old difference of opinion with regard to the value of the æsthetic norms of the Græco-European and the Asian artistic conception, and, ultimately of Western scientism and Eastern intuition.

The Rajput school of painting, and more especially its aristocratic branch is brought into connection with that supposed national Indian school, which produced the highly artistic fresco-paintings of the Ajanta caves, which belong to the period between the Ist and the VIIth centuries A.D. The fact, however, is that nine centuries elapsed between the earliest productions of the Modern-Indian school and the latest creations of the Ajanta art, which are supposed to belong to the VIIth centry A.D.¹ To bridge that gulf one naturally has to have recourse to guess work, a course which is adopted by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. Speaking of Rajput painting he says that "in Rajputana and in the sub-Himalayan Punjab the old Hindu India continues to live under the protection of the Hill-Rajputs . . . Just as Hindi goes back to Prakrit and is related to Sanscrit, so also does Rajput art go back to the classical painting of Ajanta, which it continues". In support of his statement he quotes the historian of Chinese art, Muensterberg, who in Volume I of his well-known work, "*Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*" calls Rajput art "a purely national continuation of the art of the temples of the Vth century, with their strictly antique lines". The classical mural paintings of Ajanta are, however, not autochthonous. May one see in them a reflection of the Ægeo-Mykenean or of the Egyptian and Assyrian styles, as Coomaraswamy himself is inclined to admit? Or have they developed under the influence of some Alexandrio-Coptic style, as was suggested (but later abandoned) by Strzygowski? Was that art formed under the influence of the expressionist Central Asian art of the type of Dandan Uluk or Idikut-shahr, which could have penetrated into Northern India under the protection of its foreign Central Asian rulers? These questions cannot as yet be solved, but there is hardly any doubt as to the presence of an enormous number of foreign elements in the frescoes of Ajanta. As regards the relationship between Rajput and

(1) As one of the earliest typical specimens of Modern-Indian art, if not the earliest, may be considered a miniature dated 940 A.H. (=1533 A.D.) representing court-entertainments in the time of Sultan Muhammad Toghluq (1225-45), which is preserved in the Calcutta Art Gallery.—

Ajanta painting, the only literary confirmation of this, as far as we know, is the testimony of the Tibetan historian Taranatha, who wrote in 1608, and who says that in the VIIth century in the important art school which flourished in Southern Rajputana a new perfected style in art was introduced which naturally presupposes a preceding period of some length during which that art was being developed. Topographically and chronologically that art might have stood and probably did stand in a certain connection with the art of Ajanta. Yet, no monuments of that Rajput art of the VIIth century have reached us, and so the question has to remain open. No mention of the possibility of establishing a connection between the Modern-Indian and the Ajanta art, by means of the Nepalese miniatures already referred to, is made by Coomaraswamy.

In the wake of the triumphal progress of Buddhism through Central Asia towards the Far East followed naturally also Buddhist art. The excavations of Khotan, Kuhar and Turfan, the monuments of Buddhist art in China, Corea and Japan, witness to the magnificent development of which it was capable in the hands of peoples endowed with strong artistic capacities.

If one even admits that the later Rajput mural paintings (of which two varieties are distinguished : the *Pahari* and the *Rajastani*) together with the miniature paintings of the "aristocratic", *i. e.*, religious and mythological, character which are supposed to be dependent on them have certain elements in common with the art of Ajanta, one cannot overlook the fact that in the "popular" paintings of the XVII and later centuries these common elements have been obliterated beyond all recognition.

The art of China, Central Asia, Ajanta is essentially expressionistic, the Persian, Indo-Persian and Modern-Indian arts are impressionistic. Impressionism aims at seizing and recording, as exactly as possible, the greatest number of impression-nuances received directly from nature. It uses for it a rich palette and a free play of lines. Expressionism, on the contrary, discards whatever is casual and depending on the interplay of light and shade. It selects what is essential and typical, and the artist, using austere lines and boldly delineated surfaces, transmits to canvas, or rather to the wall, the resulting synthesis of his artistic conception. Modern-Indian miniature painting, although it has been subjected to a great extent to the influence of the nationalistic currents of India and to the prestige of European art, is in our opinion



PLATE 1. The game of Polo.
Persian painting, beginning of the XVI c.



PLATE 2. The Shah setting out for a hunt.
Persian painting, beginning of the XVI c.



PLATE 3. Divs and paris.
Persian painting, end of the XVI c.



PLATE 4. The Great Mughal Jihangir receiving tribute.
In the upper part of the picture a prince surrounded by his teachers.
Indian painting, beginning of the XVI c.



PLATE 5. Indian imitation of Italian master.
Beginning of the XVII c.

but a variant and an epigon of that impressionistic. Indo-Persian court-art introduced by the early Great Mughals, which reached its highest development under Akbar, Jihângîr and Shâh-Jihân.

L. BOGDANOV.

IBN-AT-TATHRIYA

“ *The Poet of the Dairy.* ”

II

The following Love-Song, addressed to “ *Habîbâh* ” has also been ascribed to Ibn At-Tathriya :—

TO HABIBAH

“ Oh what a thing is love ? What mighty pain ?
 “ What will men not do a woman’s love to gain ?
 “ And yet their strivings often are in vain.
 “ Oh woman, woman ! Thou art e’er man’s bane !
 “ Our thoughts, our passions, ever to thee tend,
 “ And to obtain thee all our efforts bend ;
 “ So ’tis with me, *Habîbâh*, for I long,
 “ I sigh for thee, for thee I tune my song,
 “ In all the world I see no form but thine,
 “ My one desire is but to make thee mine ;
 “ Thy lovely face, as perfect it doth seem,
 “ Anointed daily with the richest cream ;
 “ Thy ruby lips, when words they utter,
 “ Are sweet as honey mix’d with butter,
 “ Thy lovely milk-white teeth, in crescent bow,
 “ Like string of shining pearls set in a row,
 “ A glance from thee, a look from sparkling eyes,
 “ Is like a gleam of fire, straight from the skies ;
 “ Oh ! how I long to clasp thee to my heart,
 “ Oh, wretched fate ! that keeps us thus apart.”

It will be noticed in the above poem that cream, (*kaymak*), butter (*zubdah*) and milk (*halib*), or to be exact, *abyad* (“ milk-white ”), are all mentioned. This and other passages alluding to dairy produce, even as symbols in poems attributed to Ibn-at-Tathriya are cited in a

(1) *Habîbah*, loved one.

Turkish work by Nâzim Nûrî, published in Constantinople in 1274, A.H. (1856), as corroborative evidence of the tradition that the mother of the poet was a *Sutji kari* (a milkmaid), and in that work the author continually refers to the poet, either as *sutji-karioglu*, or as *Zan-i-shir furush zadah*, in the latter case using a Persian term, not an uncommon thing in modern Turkish literature, particularly in romances, poetry and works dealing with poetical matters.

The work also relates the following anecdote :

“ A young girl, about fifteen years of age, whose parents resided in Cairo, accompanied them on a visit to Damascus, where Ibn-at-Tathriya was then residing. She heard the poet reciting some verses of his own composition and, enthralled by his handsome features, his captivating manners, the easy flow of his conversation, and the elegance and charm of his verses, fell profoundly in love with him. Day after day, she formed one of the congregation of females and others, who gathered round the poet to listen to his recitals. At length, however, the time arrived when her parents had to return to Egypt. With a sad heart she left Damascus and the poet behind ; but, as Romeo declared :—

‘ Stony limits cannot hold love out ;

And what love can do, that dares love attempt.’¹

After travelling three days journey from Damascus, she managed to elude the vigilance of her parents and disguising herself in male attire, she joined a caravan then *en route* for Damascus and returned to that city. She stated that her name was Yûsuf (Joseph), and that she was a student of literature and poetry, and seeking Ibn-at-Tathriya begged him to accept her as a pupil. Not suspecting the sex of his would-be pupil the poet consented to her plea and ‘ Yûsuf ’ became a member of his household, sleeping on a mat at the door of his bedchamber, and rendering such slight services to him as it was customary for a pupil, under such conditions, to do.

This condition of things continued for several months and would, probably, have continued longer, had not Zeinab-bint-at-Tathriya, the twin sister of the poet, herself no mean compiler of verses, become suspicious of the sex of this exceedingly attentive and attractive-looking young pupil of her brother. As the Italian proverb runs :—

(1) Shakespeare,—*Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Sc. 2. (Romeo to Juliet).

' *Chi ama, teme.*

Amore di sospetti fabro.'

' Who loves, fears.

Love is the maker of suspicions.'

Zeinab taxed 'Yûsuf' with being a female ;

' Good actor thou, and well disguis'd, thy secret to
conceal,

But woman's eye can pierce the veil and the truth
thus reveal.'

The infatuated girl vehemently protested that the charge was false. On receiving this emphatic denial, Zeinab demanded and obtained an interview with the then reigning Khalif, Al-Walîd-ibn-Yazîd-ibn-'Abdul-Malik-ibn-Marwân¹, who ordered 'Yûsuf' to be brought at once before him. She duly appeared, attired as a boy.

On being asked by the monarch to which sex she belonged she replied, in verse, thus :—

" Oh ! mighty one, by Allah chosen, Islam's sceptre
to sway,

" To maiden's plea of innocence, give heed, I pray,
this day.

" I am not male, 'twas Allah's will that I a maid
should be,

" His will, also, that I should love in faith and purity.

" Rich robes are thine, on throne thou sittest, but
still a man thou art,

" I wear attire, to baulk desire, and thus I play my
part

" In innocence of coarser things, to thus more know-
ledge gain,

" Dost thou not learn new facts each day, thus o'er
Islam to reign ?

" When love's well-timed, 'tis not a fault to give the
heart full sway,

" Else why did God, the merciful, implant in heart its
ray ?

" My love is pure, 'tis not for man, but for the poet's
lay

" Sex love doth die, but love for art can never pass
away ;

(1) Al-Walîd reigned from 86 to 96 Hegira (705-715, common era). During his magnificent reign there were many Muslim conquests in Central Asia, Sind, Asia Minor, Africa, and Spain.

“ Is it a crime, when Allah wills, this call thus to
obey,

• “ Caliph, proclaim me innocent, oh ! do not say me
nay ! ”

The recital of these lines greatly impressed the Khalif, who was a lover of poetry, and a patron of Ibn-at-Tathriya; he was also struck with the girl's beauty, ingenuity and acuteness, and he not only acquitted her of any wrongdoing, but commanded that she should be taken into the royal harem as an honoured guest and she subsequently became the bride of one of the royal princes.”

“ 'Tis Fatç that flings the dice, and often there is seen,

“ A queen made peasant-girl, a peasant-girl made
queen ! ”

Zeinab-bint-at-Tathriya, as can be readily understood, was greatly annoyed at the course which events had taken, and is said to have delivered herself of these lines :—

“ A wise man said, a maiden's hair drags stronger than
a chain,

“ A pretty face, a silv'ry tongue, may thus a kingdom
gain ;

“ When man is weak and woman fair, then woman
waxes strong,

“ And man is slave to woman's wiles, and knows not
right from wrong.”¹

The following piece is ascribed to Ibn-at-Tathriya by that known traditionist and compiler of curious anthologies, Abû-'Abdullah al-Marzubânî² in his *Mo'jam ash-Shu'ara* (Dictionary of notices on the poets), and is also to be found in the *Hamasa* ; but by some persons it is attributed to 'Abdullah-ibn-ad-Dumaini al-Khathami³ :—

(1) The saying “ The hair of a woman draws stronger than an iron chain ”, is ascribed to the Khalifah 'Alî.

(2) Al-Marzubânî was born in the month of Jumâda-ath-thâni A.H. 297 (Feb.-March 910) and he died on Friday, the 2nd of Shawwâl, A.H. 384 (9 November 994). It was he who first collected and revised the poetical works of the Omayyad Khalif, Yazîd, the son of Mo'awia, the son of Abû-Sufyan : they form a small volume of about 60 pages.

(3) 'Abdullah-ibn-ad-Dumaini al-Khathami was one of the early Islamic poets and lived probably in the first century of the Hegira. Having learned that Muzâhim-ibn-Kais of the tribe of Salut was making clandestine love to his wife, he assassinated the lover, and subsequently smothered the woman. When his daughter wept at the untimely fate of her mother he killed her also, and pinned on her corpse the lines :—

“ Curs'd was the woman who did give thee birth,

“ Return curs'd one unto the cursed earth.”

"My life and my family I would willingly sacrifice, for the safety of her who, when unjustly accused and wronged, knew not how to answer.

"So astounded was she, that she did not endeavour to justify herself as one would do who is innocent, but remained as one who had been stricken dumb. Her silence caused the people to exclaim: 'How very suspicious!'"

In the same work (the *Mo'jam as-Shu'ara*) al-Marzubâni cites as Ibn-at-Tathriya's work a piece consisting of nine verses, which commences thus:—

"Though you ardently long to see Raiya,

"You postpone the day of your meeting with Raiya!

"Yet both she and you belong to a branch of the same tribe!"

In this piece, which is to be found given at length by Abû-Tammân in his *Hamasa*, the poet attains to the very pinnacle of elegance and tenderness.

The story of the manner and place wherein, and the reason why Abû-Tammân composed the *Hamasa* is interesting:—

A certain prince, 'Abdullah-ibn-Tâhir, who was gifted with superior abilities, a lofty soul, and great discernment, was in the highest confidence of the Khalif Al-Mâ'mûn¹, who appointed him governor of Khorasan. The poet Abû-Tammân at-Tâi² left 'Irâq with the object of paying his court to 'Abdullah and after a long and extremely fatiguing journey reached his destination, where he waited on 'Abdullah-ibn-Tâhir and recited to him his splendid *Qasidah* rhyming in *Ba*³.

He was detained for a considerable period in the prison at Tabala, a village on the road leading from Mecca to al-Yaman. It is situated on a very fertile spot and is frequently mentioned in historical relations, proverbs and poems. Al-Khathami was subsequently released as there was not sufficient evidence, under Muslim law, to convict him. At a later period he was killed by the son of the man, whom, in his jealous rage, he had murdered.

(1) 'Abdullah al-Mâ'mûn was a son of the Khalif Hârûn al-Rashîd. He was born in the year 170 of the Hegira on the very day whereon his gifted father ascended the throne. His mother was a Persian slave-girl. Mâ'mûn was khalif from 198 to 218 A.H. (818-83, A. D.). His life was commendable and his reign (with few exceptions) was just and illustrious.

(2) Abû-Tammân Habîb-at-Tâi, the celebrated poet, was born at Jasim, A.H. 190 (805 b. A.D.) and died at Mosul in A.H. 281 (845 b.).

(3) *Ba* or *Be*. The second letter of the Arabic alphabet. It expresses *two* in arithmetic, Monday as the second day of the week and

It was on this journey that Abû Tammân composed the *Hamasa*; for, on arriving at Hamadân¹, the winter had set in, and as the cold is excessively severe in that country, the snow blocked up the road, and compelled him to stop and await the thaw. During his stay, he resided with one of the most eminent men of the place, who possessed a library wherein were some collections of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and other authors. Having then sufficient leisure, he perused these works, and selected therefrom the passages from which he formed his *Hamasa*.

There is considerable difference of opinion among Arab biographers and historians as to the authorship of the verses commencing "Though you long to see Raiya". In the *Hamasa* of Abû Tammân, it is placed towards the commencement of the section which contains the *Saj achik* or amatory poetry. That author, however, attributes the poem to As-Simma-ibn-'Abdullah al-Kushairi.

Abû 'Amr Yûsuf-ibn-'Abd al-Bair, the author of the *Istiab*, which work contains the history of the Companions of the holy Prophet, says in another work of his, the *Bahjat al-Majalis* ("The beauties of conferences") "Most of the literati consider As-Simma to be the author of "Though you long to see Raiya". He then gives all the verses, which are to be found in the *Hamasa*, and adds: "Some persons, however, attribute them to Kais-ibn-Darih²;

the constellation *Gemini*. By way of abbreviation it is put likewise for the month *Rajab* (the seventh month of the lunar year), especially in the dates of letters.

(1) Hamadân (generally believed to be the ancient *Ecbatana*) is situated at the East base of the Elvend Kirk, at the meeting place of two pass-roads across the Zagros mountains, leading by Kangavar to Kermanshahan. It is situated 185 W.S.W. of Teheran. Near it is the Tomb of Ibn Sina (Abicenna), and the traditional tomb of the Jews, Mordicai and Esther.

(2) Abu Zaid Kais-ibn-Darih al-Laithi, belonged to a Bedouin family which lived in the desert outside Medina, and was the foster-brother of Husain, the son of the Khalif 'Ali. He married Lubna, the daughter of Al-Hubab, but as their union was not fruitful, he was forced by his father to divorce her after ten years of cohabitation. He then took another wife of the same name, but sore against his will and, soon after, he died of grief for being separated from his first love.

"Grief tore his heart and made his tears o'erflow,

"Death brought relief and ended thus his woe."

He composed on Lubna a number of poems, passages whereof are given in the *Kutab al-Aghani*. He died in or about the 65th year of the Hegira (684-5, A.D.).

others consider them as the production of Al-Majnûn,¹ but the majority say that As-Simma is the author—Allah knoweth best ! ”

Thus we see that the authorship of these verses is in doubt, they being variously ascribed to Ibn-at-Tathriya, As-Simma-ibn ‘Abdullah al-Kushairi, Kais-ibn-Darih, or Al-Majnûn.

“ A choice of authors here we have, each one of might
and fame ;

“ Yet what device of mortal man can fix the right
one’s name?

“ So still in ignorance remain, and there compelled
to rest,

“ Our only consolation is that Allah knoweth best.”

Al-Marzubâni mentions Ibn-at-Tathriya in his *Muwaththak*, and says : “ Abû’l-Jaish recited to me the following lines as the composition of Yazîd-ibn-at-Tathriya :—

“ After nightfall, my camel moaned through grief and
longing for its companion ;

“ Oh, what dismay I felt, whilst her moans cast despondency into my heart !

“ I said to her : O friend ! Suffer with patience ;

“ The female of every couple must, sooner or later, be
separated from the male.”

This poem has been put into English verse thus :—

(1) Al-Majnûn (“ the insane, the possessed ”) is the surname whereby was designated a poet whose love for Laila has become proverbial. His name, it is said, was Kais-ibn-al-Maluh and he was the son of a proud and noble chief ; Laila was a member of a humble tribe. Chancing to see Laila, Kais fell violently in love with her, and sought her in a lengthy search wherein he became insane. His father at last discovered the stronghold of Laila’s father, and asked her hand for his son : but her father refused to wed his daughter to a maniac. Laila goes forth hoping to encounter Majnun wandering in search of her, and is seen by a prince named Ibn-Salam, whom her father compels her to marry. Laila, declining to give marital rights to Ibn-Salam, is imprisoned by him, but escapes and meets Majnûn in the desert. Not able now to make her his wife he sends her back. She dies of grief, and Majnûn a little later expires at her graveside. His corpse is buried beside her.

“ For her he lived, for him she died,

“ In death united, side by side.”

Zaida the faithful page of Laila, the day following the interment of Manjûn has a *basar* (vision) and sees therein the lovers, hand in hand, together happy in Paradise. This story has been versified by several Persian poets, notably by Nizâmi (537-600, Hegira ; 1141-1202). A large number of Arabic amatory poems are ascribed to Majnûn.

- " It may be Death, it may be Fate, that snaps the
cords that bind.
- " Against such fate, we cannot strive, accept indeed
we must,
- " But we can hope to meet once more, and in that
hope we trust.
- " He turn'd his head, and then he said, " Thanks for
your words so true.
- " Your Prophet great, he once did state, that *we* are
people too,
- " And if for men, I think that then, *haywanat* may
aspire,
- " In future state, with their own matè, to have what
they desire.
- " The faithful steed may hope indeed in Garden sweet
to dwell.
- " Allah is just, and, therefore must reward all us as
well."¹

Al-Marzubâni also quotes the following verses which he attributes to Ibn-at-Tathriya :—

- " How can I receive consolation when I am kept apart
from you ?
- " From you who are the most amiable of all the
beings who walk the earth !
- " My soul is sore afflicted and your dwelling-place is
far away !
- " My life is in your hands, if you wish to take it !
- " My wounded soul you can heal, if you choose to
heal it !
- " When you showed me *shafaqat* (compassion) for a
man sore afflicted; you knew full well that, were
I to visit a distant land, my soul would never
admit of consolation and forget you !"

Another piece, cited by Al-Marzubâni as the poet's, runs thus :—

- " When I went to visit her, I adorned myself with
ornaments, through fear of hostile spies, but she appeared
in all the full radiance of her beauty.

(1) *Naqat* a female camel : *akhur* a stable : *haywanat*, animals.

In the 6th sura, entitled *Al-Anam* (cattle), of the Qurân, revealed at Mecca, it is distinctly stated :—

" There is no manner of beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but the same is a people like unto you."¹ According to Islamic belief, animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection, that they may be brought to judgment and be punished for the injuries they did one another in this world and rewarded for their good and meritorious actions.

"I never salute her first, and, to escape the spiteful malice of those detestable spies, I never enquire from them how she is."

The same author gives a great many more pieces composed by Ibn-at-Tathriya, one of which runs :—

"My true love has my heart, she hath it all alone,

"My love so strong, so burning, soon would melt a stone.

"Beloved one ! for my heart, in change let yours be given,

"Two hearts shall then be one and ne'er apart be riven."

Space will not permit of more extracts from the numerous poems quoted by Al-Marzubâni.

In the *Ansab-al-Ashraf* ("Genealogies of the nobles") the author, Abû-Bakr Ahmad-ibn-Yahyâ-ibn-Jâbir-al-Baladuri¹ says, after relating the events of the year 126 A.H. (743-4, A.D.) and the death of the Omayyad Khalif, Al-Walîd-ibn-Yazîd-ibn-'Abdul-Malik-ibn-Merwân,

"Whilst those things were doing on, Al-Mundalith-ibn-Idrîs of the tribe of Hanîfah was killed, and with him, Yazîd-ibn-at-Tathriya was also slain². This sad event happened near a village called Al-Falaj and situated, I believe, in the province of Yamâmah."

In a work, written by that earnest and painstaking collector of traditions, Abû-Bakr al-Hazimi, the Hâfiz wherein he discourses on the origin of the place-names in the Jazîrat-ul-'Arab he says :—"Falaj is a large village belonging to the Banû Jamela and possessing a mosque and minbar. It is also called Falaj al-Aftaj, and is situated

(1) Abû-Bakr, otherwise known as Abû-Ja'far, or Abû'l-Hasan-ibn-Yahyâ-ibn-Jâbir al-Baladuri was a native of Baghdad. His grandfather, Jâbir was secretary to Al-Khasib, minister of the finances of Egypt for the Khalif Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. He himself was a poet and transmitter of historical information. Towards the end of his life his mind became deranged and he was confined, and, owing to his sudden outbursts of frenzied violence, chained up. He died in his asylum, in the Khilâfat of Al-Mo'tamid, between 256 and 279 of the Hegira (870-892 A.D.). He composed many satires and was one of those who translated works from the *Pahlevi*.

(2) From the *Kitab-al-Aghani*, it appears that the tribe of Hanîfah and that of Oqa'il had, for some time, anterior to this particular date, been carrying on against each other a war of surprises and predatory incursions. It was in one of these encounters that Ibn-at-Tathriya was killed.

in Yamâmah¹. According to another authority Falaj is a six days' journey from Hajar, the capital of Al-Bahrain and nine days' journey from Mecca.

Abû Ishâq az-Zajjâj, who was known also as *Al-Mu'allim sarf wa nahu* ("The Grammarian") and was a man of solid information on philological and religious subjects and the author of many works,² says in that portion of his *Ma'ani 'l-Quran* (which contains his observations on the 25th surah, "Al-Furqân", revealed at Mecca) :—

"Ar-Rass, a valley in Yamâma, is named also Falaj." This may be the same place whereat the poet was slain. A place of almost the same name is mentioned in the following verse :—

"They whose blood was shed at *Falj* were the men !

"The best of men, O Omm Khâlid !"

(1) Abû-Bakr al-Hazimi, the Hâfiz, whose full name was Abû-Bakr Muhammad-ibn-Abî-'Othmân 'Mûsa-ibn-Othmân-ibn-Mûsa-ibn-'Othmân-ibn-Hazim al-Hazimi al-Hamadâni (*native of Hamadan*), surnamed Zain ad-Din (*Ornament of Religion*) was distinguished by the exactitude of his information as a Hâfiz and the eminent sanctity of his life. He studied law at Baghdad. He learned traditions from eminent men in Hamadân and Baghdad. He then undertook to collect traditions himself and, with that object, visited a number of cities in 'Irâq, from whence he proceeded to Syria, Mosul, Fars, Ispahan, and most of the towns of Adharbaijan. He wrote down traditions under the dictation of nearly all the sheikhs at these places, and devoted his attention specially to this branch of study and attained therein great eminence and a high reputation. He composed on this and other subjects a number of instructive works, such as the *Nasikh wal Mansukh* the annulling and the annulled verses, a work on Geographical Synonyms and the names of places, etc. He resided at Baghdad. He died there on Monday the 28th Jumada-al-Akhir, 584 (25 July 1188 A.D.).

(2) The full name of Abû Ishâq az-Zajjaj was Abû Ishâq Ib-râhim-ibn-Muhammad-ibn-as Sâri-ibn-Sahl az-Zajjâj. He was originally a glass-grinder, and was consequently styled Az-Zajjaj ("the glassman"), after he had quitted that trade to study philology. He was the author of the following works :—(1) Treatise on the figurative expressions of the Qurân ; (2) The Book of Dictates ; (3) Treatise on Logic, with a commentary by himself ; (4) Different treatises on *Asl al halimat* (etymology) ; *Ilm al-'urud* (Prosody) ; Versification ; the Muslim schools of thought, the nature of man, and the horse ; an Abridgement of Grammar ; a work on the relation between the first and fourth forms of Arabic verbs ; treatise on nouns which are of the first or second declension ; an explanation of the Arabic verses cited as examples by Sibawaih in his grammar ; a book of Anecdotes ; a treatise on the influence of the constellations on the weather, etc. He died at Baghdad, on Yaum-al-Juma' (Friday), the 19th of Jumâda-ath-Thani, A.H. 840 (October, 922, A. D.)

But, in this name, the letter *a* is omitted after the *l*. It is a valley leading from Basra to the Himâ or reserved grounds, of Dariya, which is a village near the thrice holy city of Mecca.

A Faljah is mentioned in the following lines from a poem composed by an anonymous Arab of the desert :—

“ In the morning, at Faljah, the hills stand out clear
and fair

“ And fair are the tents, set on hills on either side
there,¹

“ They say that at Faljah the soil is e’er brackish and
bare

“ And the water is salt and not clear, as it is elsewhere

“ Though the land there be barren and, therein, salt
has a part,

“ Faljah, to me, is e’er dear, and ever sweet to my
heart.”

The spirit of the above poem reminds us of those lines of Burns :—

“ Their groves of sweet myrtle let foreign lands reckon,

“ Where bright-beaming summers exalt their perfume ;

“ Far dearer to me yon lone glen o’ green bracken,

“ Wi’ the burn stealing under the long yellow broom”².

Faljah is the name of two places, one lying between Mecca and Basra and the other in the valleys of Al-Aqîq.

The combat, wherein Ibn-at-Tathriya was slain, took place in the same year in which Al Walîd-ibn-Yazîd (Walîd II) met his death. Al-Walîd was killed, having reigned but little more than a year, on Thursday, the 27th Jumâdah-ath-Thâni, 126 (16 April, 744) at Al-Bakhr.

Abû ’l-Hasan at -Tûsî says, in speaking of this combat, that the *bayrak* (standard) was borne by Yazîd-ibn-at-Tathriya when Al-Mundalith-ibn-Idrîs was slain and his followers were routed. Ibn-at-Tathriya stood his ground, sword in hand, with the standard firmly planted in the ground by his side. He was dressed in a silk gown, which got entangled in the branches of an *oshara* tree. This caused him to stumble, when four men of the enemy’s host rushed at and overpowered him, and kept striking at him with their swords and spears until he died. This

(1) In the original Arabic this line runs :—*Wa khaimu rawabi hillataiha ’l-Munassabu.*

(2) Robert Burns.

combat is mentioned subsequently in the account of Al-Walid's death in the same year ; so the date of the death of the poet must have taken place between that of Al-Walid and the end of the 126th year of the Hegira.

The *oshara* is a thorny plant producing gum. Its botanical name is *asclepias gigantea* and it belongs to the *asclepiadaceæ* or milkweed family. These plants are mainly tropical, many of them African and Indian climbing shrubs, usually with milky juice, which frequently possesses strong emetic and purgative qualities. It includes the milkweed (*Asclepias*), carrion-flower, so called from its repellent odour, the Wax-plant (*Heya*), and other handsome greenhouse plants, the Indian Sarsaparilla (*Hemidesmus Indicus*), and several fibre-plants, such as species of *Calotropis* and *Marsolenia*, a species of the latter also yielding a blue dye resembling Indigo. This botanical family is closely related to the *Apocynaceæ*, and embraces over 200 genera, and nearly 2,000 species, which are widely distributed throughout the warmer portions of the globe, being especially numerous in Africa. Flies, ants and other insects are attracted by these plants, and eggs are often deposited upon the flowers. Frequently the flowers obtain immunity from these visitors by sticky secretions. The substance formed in many cases resembles bird-lime in properties, though its chemical constitution is not fully ascertained ; in others it is allied to gum-arabic, or cherry-gum ; whilst in others again it is a resin or a mixture of resin and mucilage known by the name of gum-resin. Occasionally this purpose is served by latex, which readily escapes from the brittle tissues and coagulates on the surface into an adhesive substance. This last method obtains particularly in certain *Asclepiads*, and in many species of Lettuce (such as *Lactuca angustana*, *sativa*, *scariola*). The involucral scales which enclose the flower-heads of these plants are smooth and tense, and abound in latex. No obstacle prevents creeping insects, especially ants, from climbing up to this point ; but as soon as the ants reach these scales on their way to the flowers, and touch the turgid investing cell-layers, they rupture the walls of the latex-tubes (which in some instances actually project as tiny hairs on the surface) with the claws of their feet, and the milk runs out in little droplets. Their feet and abdomens are smeared with latex, and when the ant bites at the substance of the scales in self-defence its head also becomes involved in the sticky mess. It seeks to free itself of this encumbrance in a variety of ways, but

the result of all these struggles is merely a further rupturing of the epidermis and discharge of latex, which adds to the embarrassment of the ant. Some of these creatures manage to escape and drop to the ground, others, not so fortunate, are glued in the coagulating latex, where their dead bodies may be seen decorating the involucre of the capitulum. Some species of *Asclepias* yield fibre from their stems, and the silky fibre of their pods has many uses. The fibre of the stem in some species is strong and has been used for making ropes; the lint in the pods has been utilized for pillows, etc. While fine and silky, it lacks twist and cannot be used for spinning. *Asclepias cornuti*, or *Asclepias Syrica*, and *Asclepias tuberosa* (pleurisy root) are common plants, the latter possessing diaphoretic, carminative and expectorant properties, and used in medicine for pectoral affections such as pleurisy and bronchitis. The young shoots are sometimes used as a substitute for asparagus, to which they bear some resemblance. The plant was styled *Asclepias* on account of its medicinal properties, from Asclepius, "the father of medicine"¹.

Abû'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni says, towards the commencement of the volume (*dirwan*), wherein he has given the collection of Ibn-at-Tathriya's poetical works, that he was killed by the Banû Hanîfah under the Khilâfat of the 'Abbasids. That is to say at a period at least six years later than the death of the Omayyad Khalif, Walîd II. This, however, does not seem probable.

We have no certain date for the birth of the poet, but in one biography it is stated that he was just seventeen years old when he first recited his verses before the Khalif,

(1) *Asclepiades*. A Greek physician, born at Prusa or Cius, in Bithynia. He lived at the beginning of the first century B.C., and was, at first, a teacher of oratory at Rome, and friend of Lucius Crassus, the famous orator, but later, without any preparation, a practitioner of medicine. What he lacked in real knowledge he supplied by clear-sightedness and understanding of human nature. He made unlimited use of wine, recommended frequent baths, dieting, and exercise, and denounced the excessive use of emetics and purgatives. In all this he followed largely Cleophrastus, son of Cleonbrotus, a physician of the third century B.C. He taught that all disease arose from an inharmonious distribution of the small, formless corpuscles whereof the body is composed. He is said to have been the first to distinguish between acute and chronic diseases, but his knowledge of anatomy was apparently slight. Seventeen treatises of *Asclepiades* are mentioned. The fragments of his writings, which have been preserved, were edited by Gumpart, *Asclepiadis Bithyni Fragments* (Weimar, 1798). Consult also G. M. Reynaud, *De Asclepiade Bithyno Medico ac Philosopho* (Paris, 1862).

Walîd I. The exact date when this event took place is not recorded, but other circumstances seem to point to it being in the third year of Walîd's reign, that is to say about the 89th year of the Hegira (708 A.D.), and the Turkish work, already alluded to, fixes the period of the "Yûsuf" incident in the last year but one of Walîd's reign (A.H. 94-713 A.D.) If these dates and statements are to be relied on, then the poet would be about 54 years old when he met with his death.

Yazîd-ibn-at-Tathriyah "lived in stirring times and his fortunes seem to have materially changed according to the change of rulers. During the reign of Walîd I he was a favourite at the Court, basked in the smiles of royalty, and was the recipient of many princely gifts.

The Khilâfat of Walîd (86-96, A.H. = 705-715 A.D.) was glorious both at home and abroad. In no other reign, not excepting that even of the great 'Omar, was Islam so spread abroad and at the same time so consolidated. In the opinion of Weil, Walîd was "the greatest and in every respect the most powerful and illustrious ruler amongst all the Commanders of the Faithful", while Sir William Muir says of him :-

"From the borders of China and the banks of the Indus to the Atlantic, his word was law. In his reign culture and the arts began to flourish. He enlarged and beautified the mosques of Medina and Jerusalem, and founded one at Damascus which still exists. He established schools and hospitals, and made provision for the aged, blind and lame. He frequently visited the markets; and so encouraged manufacture and design that people began to take an interest in their advancement. Roads, with wells at convenient stations, were made throughout the kingdom, and the comfort of travellers, notably of pilgrims to the Holy Places, specially cared for. More perhaps than any other Khalif, he knew how to hold the balance between the Arabian tribal rivalries, and ruled at large with a powerful hand. Looking at it from first to last, we shall not find in the annals of the Caliphate a more glorious reign than that of Walîd" ¹.

Suleimân, the successor of Walîd I, who reigned only about two years and a half *i.e.*, from the end of the 96th to the commencement of the 99th year A.H. (715-717), was not a patron of learning, but a cruel, dissolute and

(1) In Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., "*The Caliphate. Its Rise, Decline and Fall*," Chap. LI, pp. 373, 4. (3rd edn.)

jealous man, extremely vain of his good looks, and it is said that he never invited Ibn-at-Tathriya to his court, because some one had extolled the good looks and talents of the poet in his (Suleimân's) hearing. Handsome in mien and feature, it is related of Suleimân that one day, arrayed in a green robe and turban, he regarded himself in a *mira'at* (mirror), and said, "Am I not a kingly youth?" An *'abdah* (slave-girl) stood admiringly. "What thinkest thou?" he said to her. "I was thinking", she sang in plaintive verse, "that thou art the best of joys, if thou wouldst but remain; yet for mankind there is no continuing here. No blemish can I see in thee that is in other men, excepting only that thou, like them, must pass away." Her words were prophetic for Suleimân died within the week.

If Suleimân differed from Walîd, 'Omar II, who succeeded him in the Khalifate, differed incomparably more, not only from both, but also from all other Khalifahs of the House of Umayya. "An unaffected piety, tinged albeit with bigotry, led to uprightness, moderation, simplicity of life, and to a rule that was eminently just and peaceful." In his first oration, from the minbar of the principal mosque in Damascus, he invited only those to join his company who would help in doing that which was right and just. Orators and poets soon discovered that his court was no place for them, while it was thronged by devout mullahs and good-living Muslims.

'Omar II was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Yazîd, son of 'Abdul-Malik, who reigned, ingloriously, for a little over four years (101-105 A.H.=720-4 A.D.), and was succeeded by his brother Hishâm, an exemplary true-believer, who banished from his court all things inconsistent with the profession of Islam and who ruled for a score of years with a mild and upright administration of the Law.

The contrast between the first three above mentioned Khalifs—Walîd, Suleimân and 'Omar II, was cleverly depicted in the following short poem, ascribed to Zeinab, the talented sister of Ibn-at-Tathriya, and said to have been written by her within a few days after the accession of Yazîd, and sent to that monarch :—

"When Walîd occupied the throne,
 "Then learning came into its own;
 "When Suleimân was on us thrust,
 "Learning, alas! gave place to lust;

Another poem ascribed to Zeinab is also to be found in the diwan of Abû-Tammân's poems. It is a Qasîdah which commences with these words :—

“ O vernal whole !

“ Thou from whom the erstwhile inhabitants have
departed !

“ Alas ! it is too true that the rains and the gales

“ Have brought and effected upon thee,

“ That dire destruction which they intended.”

The following *marthiyah*¹ is ascribed to Zeinab-bint-at-Tathriya, and is said to have been chanted by her, on hearing of her brother's death :—

“ 'Tis of the dead, beloved dead, that now I sing,

“ Of voice, now silent, that, in verse, was once the
King ;

“ No single maid enshrin'd herself within his heart,

“ He lov'd, not one, but all, the whole and not the
part ;

“ His brain ne'er clouded he with fiery mad'ning wine,

“ His verse flow'd as a stream, sprung from a source
divine,

“ For money, ne'er cared he, he scorned all such dross,

“ He never stooped to gain it and never mourned its
loss

“ No enemy made he, to all he was a friend,

“ No slander e'er spoke he, the slandered he'd defend.

“ Two buds upon one stalk, twin children of one,
mother,

“ Together we were born, a sister and her brother,

“ Together, reverence to our parents, we e'er gave,

“ By love united we from cradle to his grave !

“ Art thou, my brother, then, for ever fled ?

“ Must I then mourn, in unavailing woe,

“ For thee, my brother, number'd with the dead ?

“ Thy lips, with eloquence, no longer flow,

“ Thy soothing voice, my heart no longer cheers,

“ All now, for me, is left, anguish and tears.

(1) *Marthiyah* (plural, *Marathi*). A mourning or funeral song.

*INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE,
PIEDMONT AND SWITZERLAND FROM THE
BEGINNING UP TO THEIR EXPULSION FROM
NARBONNE AND LANGUEDOC IN 759 A.C.*

PART III.

FRAXINET, the centre of Muslim Colonies. Muslims cross the Dauphiné and Mont Cenis, 906. Occupation of the Alpine passes, 911. 'ABDUR-RAHMAN en-NASIR LI DIN-ILLAH, 912-961. Crossing of the Pyrenees and occupation of Gascony. Recapture of Marseilles. Cisteron, Gap, Embrun, the centres of Islamic activities. Frontiers of Liguria reached. Muslims in the Valais; passage between France and, Italy blocked, 939. Whole of Switzerland occupied; the Grisons. Geneva and the Jura reached. Occupation of Fréjus and Toulon. Muslims keep St. Bernard according to a treaty with Hugh Count of Provence. Muslim stronghold at Frescenedellum in Piedmont. They reach St. Gall near Constance. Evacuation of St. Bernard, 960. HAKAM el-MUSTANSIR B'ILLAH, 961-976. Polish of Hakam's court. Muslims evacuate Grenoble, and Gap, 965. Fraxinet lost, 975. HISHAM el-MU'AYYID B'ILLAH, 976-1009. Almanzor. Invasion of the Antibes, 1003. Attempt to retake Narbonne, 1019. Lerins invaded, 1047. Evacuation of southern Italy and Sicily, 1050.

THE period of French history which we are going to review now has a number of factors similar to those of the previous period, for there also we see the same cruel scenes and the same degree of impetus in the attack. There is, however, one great difference between the two, for while the first series of attacks is aimed only against the coast of the provinces which lie on the frontier, these later onsets have a much wider expanse, and extend from Dauphiné right up to the borders of Germany. A Frenchman, while reading the accounts of this period of the history of his country, no doubt yearns to refresh his memory by bringing to his mind's eye all that has been grand and patriotic in the sons of the soil either before or after this epoch of Muslim domination! How a patriotic son of France would feel humiliated to see these vast lands whence have sprung such a concourse of the brave and the heroic, delivered over to the mercy of those Asiatic peoples in whose character the average Frenchman could not see an iota of generosity which might act as a palliative to their excesses!

We have now reached somewhere about the year 889, when Dauphiné and Provence belonged to one Boson, who had adopted the title of the King of Arles in spite of the fact that he did not belong to the Imperial dynasty of Charlemagne, and was thus regarded as a mere usurper. The result was that while he was made the target of incessant attacks, those among the rich and the powerful who wanted to play their own game, took advantage of the general confusion then existing in the land in order to carve out large principalities and lordships for themselves. Under these circumstances it was only natural that the Mussulmans should not meet any obstacle in their onward march.

The following is an account of the colonization of Provence by the Mussulmans as given by contemporary chroniclers. We may here mention that we have ourselves verified it on the spot¹.

It so happened that twenty sailors started from Spain in a small fragile craft bound for the Provencal coast, but were overtaken by a storm and were driven into the Gulf of St. Tropès also called the Gulf of Grimaud, where they quietly disembarked without being seen. Round that arm of the sea stretched a forest, parts of which still exist, which was then so dense that even the most intrepid could penetrate it only with the greatest difficulty. Towards the north could be seen a chain of mountains, rising one above the other in furrows, which dominated a large part of lower Provence a few miles from the sea. At nightfall the Mussulmans invaded a village which was situated quite close to the sea shore, and after massacring the inhabitants, spread over the country round about. When they arrived at the heights which crown the gulf on the northern side, and when their gaze ranged to the sea on the one side and the Alps on the other, they were not slow to perceive how easy it would be to turn this place into their permanent home; for while they could bring all they needed by way of the sea, the land route opened to them such parts of the country as had so far been immune

(1) *Vide*, above all, Luitprand, in Muratori: *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 425; the chronicle of Novalèse Abbey, *ibid.* Vol. II, part 2, p. 730; and Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, p. 48. Most of the modern Italian writers think that the Muslim colony was situated in the country of Nice near Ville Franche, on the spot where St. Hospice castle was built afterwards. *Vide* the discussion on the subject in Muratori's collection, Vol. X, pp. ciii, cv, ff. But the course of events as well as the site itself seem to put us in great doubt. Also *vide* Bouche's observations in his *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, pp. 170 & 772.

from foreign domination and were entirely undefended ; moreover it was clear that if need be they could take shelter in the great dense jungle which surrounded the gulf on all sides.

These adventurers then made an appeal to all their compatriots whom they could find in the neighbourhood and even sent word to Africa and Spain for help. At the same time they set themselves to serious work, and in a very short space of time all the heights in the vicinity were covered by castles and fortresses of which the most prominent is called *Fraxinetum* by contemporary writers. It was named thus no doubt owing to the *Fraxini* or Ash trees which were probably found nearby. We are of opinion that the site of Fraxinet is covered by the modern village of Garde-Frainet which is situated at the foot of the mountain nearest the Alps. There is no doubt that the importance of the site of the village must have increased considerably, for it is the solitary route whereby it would be possible to maintain communication between the coast and the northern plains. Even now we can see the remains of some formidable works on the top of the hill, such as parts of a wall and a reservoir cut in the solid rock, and some parts of ancient ramparts¹.

When the fortress had been completed, the Mussulmans began to attack the neighbouring villages. Soon afterwards the lords of the surrounding country began to request them to take part in their private quarrels, and when they had finished with the powerful personages against whom they had taken action they almost invariably rid themselves of those who had called them and proclaimed

(1) Today there are no ash trees to be seen in these parts ; but M. Germond, an Attorney of St. Tropès, thinks that there was once a forest of these trees adjoining the Gulf, that there was a Roman village called *Fraxinetum* and that the Saracens destroyed this village selecting a spot on the top of the hill which they called Fraxinet. As regards the site of this stronghold, M. Germond thinks that the site generally pointed by common tradition was only a kind of advance guard from which could be seen the plains of lower Provence. He says that the high ground is only three hundred feet in circumference so that it could not have sufficed for more than a hundred persons at the outside ; and that the real fort was half a league nearer the sea on the top of the hill now called Notre Dame de Miremar, where the remains of big moats can be seen even today.

Bouche has remarked that a number of places were named *Fraissinet* or Frainet, and as matter of fact it seems that wherever the Muslims erected a stronghold in Dauphiné, Savoy or Piedmont, they named it after their chief fortress. We think that Bouche is correct in his surmise, for even now there are a number of places of this name in countries we have enumerated.

themselves masters of the country. The result was that in a very small space of time a large part of Provence was opened to their forays. Such was the terror which their presence inspired that one saw ample evidence forthcoming for the oft-repeated saying that one Muslim was enough to put a thousand to flight¹.

Soon the terror became general² and after the Mussulmans had laid waste the plains they proceeded towards the Alpine range. We are now nearing the end of the ninth century when the kingdom of Arles was ruled by Louis, son of Boson, who was then absent in Italy, where he had gone to help the enemies of Béranger, King of Lombardy, thus leaving his own kingdom defenceless in order to conquer others' territories. He was, however, taken prisoner by his rival who had him blinded, so that he became entirely unfit to govern his people any more. At the same time the Normans continued their ravages in the heart of France, and an idea of their strength will be formed by the fact that only a few years before they had been able to capture Paris with the loss of barely a handful of their soldiers³. In addition to the Normans, the pagan Huns who had been driven from the banks of the Danube, overran Germany and Italy, destroying everything which came in their way, and were now only waiting for an opportunity to attack France itself.

By the year 906 the Mussulmans had crossed the defiles of the Dauphiné and having crossed the Mont Cenis, had made themselves masters of the Novalèse Abbey which

(1) *Vide* Luitprand. The Qurân says (surah VIII, v. 66): "If twenty among you make up their mind to conquer, they will subdue two hundred infidels, and if you are a hundred, you will overcome a thousand."

(2) A tablet discovered in 1275 in the tomb of St. Magdeleine at Vèzeley, had an inscription to the effect that the body of the saint had been transferred to this place from the town of Aix in Provence during the reign of Odoïn owing to the fear of the Muslims. *Vide*, with regard to this subject, *Histoire de Hainaut* by Jacque de Guyse, Vol. VIII, p. 203 ff., and Bouche: *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, p. 703. The author of the *Art de vérifier les Dates* says that the body was transferred during the reign of Eudes of Aquitaine about 730; but we must remember that the Vèzeley abbey was not founded till 867. *Vide Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, p. 466. Thus, so far as this tablet is concerned, there can be no question that it was Eudes, count of Paris the same who adopted the title of the King of France about 897, who must have removed it.

(3) Regarding this there is a poem in contemporary Latin by Abbon, which has been published with a French translation and notes by M. Taranne, Paris, 1834 in 8vo.; but such was the utter isolation of different parts of the country that the Mussulmans are not mentioned even once in the whole piece.

was situated in the valley of the Suse on the Piedmontese frontier. The monks of the Abbey had barely the time to escape to Turin with the relics of the Saints and other valuable objects with which the Abbey was replete, such as the library which was extraordinarily rich especially in classical works. When the invaders arrived there were only two monks left in charge of the monastery, and when the Saracens arrived these two were given a sound beating, while the invaders ransacked the convent and the village situated nearby and set fire to the local churches¹. It was in vain that the inhabitants who were able to resist the onslaughts, took to the mountains in the direction of the convent of Oulx between Suse and Braiancon ; for the Muslims found the Christians wherever they went and killed them in such large numbers that the place was henceforth named the *Plain of Martyrs*².

In some places the Christians joined hands in order to face the Muslim invaders, and even took some Muslims prisoners and sent them to Turin. But it so happened that one night the prisoners broke their chains and set fire to the convent of St. Andrew where they had been imprisoned. The fire spread to such an extent that a large part of the town was almost on the point of being given up to the flames³.

Not long after this the communications between France and Italy were broken, so that in 911 the Bishop of Narbonne who was called to Rome on urgent business could not start back owing to the fear of the Muslims⁴ who had occupied all the passes of the Alps, and if any one fell in their hands, there was a chance of his being put to death, or else of his release on the payment of a very heavy ransom. From these mountainous abodes they made

(1) *Vide* the chronicle of the Novalèse abbey, in Muratori's *Rerum italicarum scriptores* Vol. II, part 2, p. 730. The chronicler (at p. 748) counts among the chapels of the destroyed church of the abbey, that of St. Heldrad, an old abbot of the monastery, who lived about the commencement of the ninth century. The Roman Catholic church celebrates the festival of St. Heldrad on the 13th of March. The author of the Bollandiste collection thinks that he was born near Nice ; but the village of Lambesc near Aix in Provence also claims to have been his birth-place.

(2) Or rather, the "Multitude of Martyrs" (*Peuple des martyrs ; Plebs Martyrum*). *Vide* the collection of the charters of the Oulx abbey, published by Rivantella with the title of *Ulcienſis ecclesiae charterium*, Turin, 1753, in fol. pp. x, and 151.

(3) Pingonius : *Augusta Taurinorum*, pp. 35 ff.

(4) Catel : *Memoires de l'histoire du Languedoc*, p. 775.

frequent descents into the plains of Piedmont and Montferrat¹.

In the meantime, in 908 some Muslim adventurers came to the coast of the Languedoc near Aiguemortes and ransacked the Abbey of Psalmodic which had been rebuilt after having been destroyed once before in the reign of Charles Martel².

For a long time Islamic Spain had been a prey to internecine wars. In 912 the throne of Cordova descended to 'Abdur-Rahmân III, who fully deserved his surname 'the Great' owing to the quality of his rule, which was beneficent and at the time awe-inspiring. During the fifty years in which he was the master of Spain, he was successful enough to unite all the Muslim provinces under his own sway and his Empire attained a very high degree of prosperity. It was he who, among all the leaders of the Iberian peninsula, was the first to adopt the title of Khalifah and that of the Commander of the Faithful.

Sancho-Garcia, King of Navarre, and Ordogne, King of Leon, allied themselves to Kaleb, son of Hafsûn, who was master of Toledo and the country situated on the banks of Ebro, and with the help of warriors from the south of France these allies resisted the might of 'Abdur-Rahmân for some time and thus became the virtual guardians of the French frontier on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees. But in 920 the uncle of the Khalifah who was also named 'Abdur-Rahmân, surnamed El-Mozaffar or the Victorious, defeated his opponents, crossed the Pyrenees and laid waste a considerable part of Gascony right up to the very gates of Toulouse. War continued as before in all its terrible ferociousness on the other side of the Pyrenees entailing a series of invasions of a like nature; but when El-Mozaffar was once coming back after one of his expeditions, he was taken by surprise by Garcia son of Sancho, who recovered from him all the spoils which he had in his possession³.

In Provence and Dauphiné as well as in the Alpine regions a cry of indignation arose against the high-handed action of the Mussulmans. It was, however, in vain that in the absence of rulers who might have supported the

(1) Luitprand, in the Muratori collection, Vol. II, part 1, p. 440.

(2) Dom Vaissette : *Histoire, du "Languedoc"*, Vol. II, p. 45, and Preuves p. 52.

(3) Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 374 : and Pagi : Criticism of the annals of Baronius, year 920, No. 6.

popular cause, some of the brave men of the country tried to withstand this all devouring torrent ; it was in vain that they tried to pursue the invaders ; for, as there was no unity among them, all their efforts came to naught and most of them had to meet a most unhappy end.

The country round Garde-Frainet was entirely devastated, and as the Muslims found themselves surrounded by ruins, they became more pitiless and regarded these regions as another pawn in their hands. When its turn came, Marseilles had its principal religious edifice destroyed ; Aix was invaded, and in their fury the invaders had a number of persons flayed alive,¹ while the Bishop of Aix whose name was Odolricus, fled to Rheims which now came under his immediate charge. The Saracens carried off the women of the country and threatened to perpetuate their own race through them. There are reasons to believe that more than one Christian, trampling under foot all the laws of religion and honour, made common cause with the Mussulmans and took part in their attacks.

Such was the terror instilled into the minds of the people by the Muslims that the rich and the powerful among the inhabitants of the country were forced to leave all their possessions in order to remove the danger which threatened them in their homes. They considered as proper places of shelter only the tops of mountains, hearts of the forests and such places as were situated at great distance from inhabited localities. St. Mayeul, a scion of a rich family, owing a large property at Valencoles in the present department of Basses-Alpes, had to leave for Burgundy in order to stay there with some of his relations,² and St. Liberal, who succeeded St. Benedict, was forced to go back to his own native place, Brive-la-Gaillarde. The churches of Cisteron and Gap were given up to the ravaging hands of the invaders, while at Embrun the invaders put to death the Archbishop, St. Benedict, the Bishop of la Maurienne and a number of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who had taken refuge there³. An ancient deed mentions three fortified towers near Embrun

(1) Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 696 : Bouche : *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, p. 736 : and Jacque de Guyse : *Histoire de Hainaut*, Vol. VIII, p. 201.

(2) *Vie de St. Mayeul*, in the Bollandiste collection, May 11, pp. 670 and 679.

(3) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. III, p. 1067.

which were regarded as the centre of their activities by the local Mussulmans¹.

In this period, so unhappy for the Frenchmen, there was not a vestige of trade or commerce left, and there was little communication going on between various countries of the European continent. It was, however, customary among the pious men of France, Spain and England to go on pilgrimage to Rome at least once in their life-time in order to visit the tombs of the apostles there. Moreover the Bishops of Christendom regularly maintained their relations with the Holy See. But ever since the Muslims had barred the passages of the Alps, travellers were exposed to frequent danger and it was no use arming themselves or going in caravans, so that not a year passes when the Chroniclers do not mention one unfortunate occurrence or other².

The Normans had taken possession of Normandy by peaceful means, and they soon settled down to the ordinary pursuits of life. It was now the turn of the Huns, who crossed the Alps, rode like lightning through Dauphiné and Provence, and destroyed everything they found in the Languedoc. The Huns came from the land of the Scythians of old, and like their forefathers as well as the Tartars of the modern world, hardly ever left the backs of their horses, and fought their enemies with bows and arrows. They knew neither how to lay sieges nor how to fight on foot, but they invariably charged their enemies with great fury and dispersed immediately afterwards. Contemporary authors represent them as living on raw meat, quenching their thirst by drinking blood and cutting out the heart of the vanquished opponent with their teeth. As they came from the extreme north of Europe and Asia, the common people of Western Europe regarded them as the very Gog and Magog mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, now sent by the Divine Providence in order to avenge the sins of man. As the year 1000 A. C. was approaching, many among the Christians, specially the followers of the ancient Millennaries, thought that the end of a corrupt world was fast approaching. A bishop of Verdun who wanted to clear his own doubts, consulted a monk who assured him that Gog and Magog were to be followed by other barbarians in their

(1) *Histoire topographique etc. des Hautes Alpes*, by M. de Ladoucette, 2nd. edition Paris, 1834, p. 262.

(2) Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. VIII, pp. 177, 180, 182, 192, 194, etc.

terrible misson, while the Huns were merely an isolated people¹. There is, however, no doubt that in a very small space of time the Huns covered Languedoc with ruins, and so terrible were their ravages that men forgot all the crimes that had been committed before their arrival.

In 924 Hugh, regent of the Kingdom of Arles in the name of King Louis, founded a monastery near the city of Vienne. The charter which he granted to that foundation says : " Our own sins have been the cause of the deprivation of the venerable religion of Christ as well as the former honour of the Church of which no trace now remains. These evils have been felt far and wide not only by the cruel prosecutions on the part of the pagans but also by the covetousness of many a renegade Christian ; and it is for this reason that We have considered proper, etc²."

Piedmont and Montferrat were in no wise free from the ravages of the Mussulmans. The Chronicler of the Abbey of Novalèse³ describes how one of his uncles who was a soldier by profession, was going from la Maurienne to Verceil when he was waylaid by a company of the Muslims in a forest near the latter place. They soon came to blows, and in the scuffle which followed, a number of persons were wounded on both sides ; but as the Mussulmans numbered more than the Christians they were in the end victorious, and they captured many Christians from whom they demanded a ransom. Among those who were thus taken prisoners by the Mussulmans were the chronicler's own uncle and his servant. It so happened that his grandfather was on the way to interview the Bishop when he saw the servant taken through the town in chains ; and as he was not aware what had brought him thither, he offered his own cuirass of triple tissue as the price of his freedom. But when he came to know that his own son was also a prisoner in the hands of the Muslims, he ran the length of the town and had to appeal to the goodness of his friends in order to subscribe his ransom.

The chronicler adds that about this time the Mussulmans advanced right up to the borders of Liguria. We read in the works of the contemporary writer, Luitprand, that the ' Barbarians ' who had already invaded the town of Aquì in Montferrat (which was well known for its baths) in 906, came back under a chief named Sagitus in 935, but were defeated by the local inhabitants and cut to

(1) *Vide* D'Archery's *Spicilege*, edition in fol. Vol. III, p. 369.

(2) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX p. 689.

(3) Muratori ; *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 733.

pieces. Luitprand also reports that some adventurers arrived from Africa in the same year, *i.e.*, in 935, massacred the males and took women and children prisoners¹.

About this time the Huns crossed the barrier of the Rhine and invaded Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy and Champagne, and after besieging Sens advanced right up to the Loire. At Orleans they were met by Ebbon and the warriors of Touraine and Berry who forced them to retrace their steps. The barbarians thereupon followed the road to Switzerland and made it the centre of their depredations in the surrounding countries².

Up till then the Valais, a district with a pleasant climate, in which were found the products of the temperate as well as of the cold regions, had been left undisturbed by these terrible invasions. It was in this remote district that the successor of St. Libéral to the See of Embrun as well as a part of their clergy had taken shelter. But in 939 the Mussulmans reached this valley as well and put everything to fire and sword. The celebrated abbey of Agaune, sanctified by the martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban legion, which the generosity of Charlemagne and other rulers had helped to embellish, was destroyed beyond recognition³.

The Muslim adventurers became more and more courageous every day, and soon the Tarantine country fell a prey to their ravages. It happened that a caravan was going from France to Italy and when it reached the passage of the Alps, the Muslims fell upon it and killed or wounded a number of the Christians, forcing them to retrace their steps⁴.

(1) *Vide* Luitprand, in Muratori, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 440 & 452.

(2) As regards the invasion of the Huns, *vide* the collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. X, pp. 6, 23, 34, 44, etc. It seems that this invasion was identical with that described at length in the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*, which calls the invaders *Wandes* or *Vandales*, Vol. I.

(3) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, p. 793. According to certain authors this abbey had been destroyed once before, *i.e.*, in 900 A.C., as well. *Vide ibid.*, p. 792. Moreover there is a Latin inscription in the church of St. Pierre, a village situated between Martigny and Sion on the slopes of Mount St. Bernard, the tablet of which seems to have been put up by Hugh, bishop of Geneva when he built the church in 1010. The inscription reads as follows :

Ismælitæ cohors Rhodani cū sparsa per agros,
Igne, fame et ferro sæviret tempore longo,
Vertet in hanc vallem pœninam mersio falcem :
Hugo præsul Genève Christi post ductus amore,
Struxerat hoc templum, etc :

Vide Schiner : *Description du département du Simplon*, sion, 1812, p.134.

(4) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VIII, p. 194.

And now the whole of Switzerland was overrun by the Hungarians and the Mussulmans simultaneously. After the Muslims had made themselves masters of Valais, they advanced right into the country of the Grisons, where they ransacked the Disentis abbey which had been founded by a disciple of St. Columban and was well known throughout the country.¹ The same fate attended the church at Coire.² We are moreover told how the Mussulmans reached the Lake of Geneva and proceeded to march towards the Jura Mountains. At the time with which we are dealing Switzerland formed a part of Trans-Juran Burgundy, and we read how Bertha, mother of the young King Conrad, retired to a solitary tower which stood near the modern city of Neuchatel.³

About the same time a desperate struggle was taking place between the kings of the Asturias and Navarre and the Khalifah of Cordova, and it was so sanguinary that in the strife for the town of Zamora only, more than a hundred thousand lay on the field of battle.⁴ In the end, although the Christians won the day, they realised that 'Abdur-Rahmân who had smothered all the rebellions within his Dominions and who had brought the Muslim forces within the peninsula under his control, was an adversary to be reckoned with. An Arab author recounts how 'Abdur-Rahmân had a hand like Moses, meaning thereby that he could alike make the rocks spout out water, split open the waves of the sea and make himself master of all nature. He also adds that the Khalifah,

(1) Sprecher : *Chronicon Rhetia*, Bale, 1617, pp. 68, 197, ff.

(2) In 940 Bishop Waldo complained of continuous ravages committed by the Muslims. The effect of these ravages could still be traced in 952 when Otho passed through Rhetia *en route* for Italy. There exists an inscription of 956 which describes how Otho gave certain goods to the bishop as indemnity for the loss he had incurred. *Vide* the German collection published at Coire, named *Collecteur*, 1811, p. 235. The grant was confirmed in 965 and 972. *Vide* Herrgott : *Genealogia diplomatica auguste gentis Habsburgicae*, Vol. II, part 8, p. 84.

(3) *Vide* Muller : *Histoire des Suisses*, Vol. II, p. 117, French translation.

(4) The king of Navarre whose soldiers appeared on the battlefield was named Garcia, but the Arab authors mention only his mother, who was apparently regent of the kingdom. They call her *Touteh*. *Vide* Maqqari.

• A German chronicler says that the Queen 'Toia' achieved a great victory over the Mussulmans in 939. *Vide* M. Pertz : *Monumenta historiae germanicae*, Vol. I, p. 78. [Maqqari Vol I, p. 234, says that the battle was fought in 237 A.H., i.e. 851 A.C. Tr.]

carried the banner of Islam farther than any of his predecessors.¹ It was lucky for the Christians that about this time the African provinces (*i.e.*, the country now under the suzerainty of Morocco) were in turmoil, so that 'Abdur-Rahmân felt a great desire to extend his power and authority beyond the seas. Moreover, an Empire was being built up just then along the coast of Tunis by certain leaders who claimed to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad's daughter, Fâtimah and who therefore dubbed themselves Fatimides. The result was that the discontented provinces became an apple of discord between the two kingdoms, and the forces of 'Abdur-Rahmân and his successors were consequently diverted towards the South.²

In 940 Fréjus, then a town of considerable extent and a port of call for ships from all parts of Western Europe, was captured by the Mussulmans, who thereupon banished the entire population of the place. The same treatment was meted out to Toulon, which later on became such

(1) Maqqari No. 74, fol. 88 ff. [We have not been able to find the passage in the published edition of Maqqari, in which the Arab author is alleged to have described Abdur Rahman working miracles like the Prophet Moses. It is, however, related how in 338 A. H. (949 A.C.) an embassy arrived at the capital of the Khilafat from Constantinople [Ibn-i-Khaldûn fixes the date as 336 A.H. not 338 A.H.], and was received with great pomp and *eclat* according to the description given by Maqqari. When the Imperial ambassadors arrived in the presence of the Muslim Khalifa the awe of the whole setting was such that not even the most learned could get up and deliver the required oration, and even such a giant of literature as Abû 'Alî el-Qâfî, Sâhib-ul-Amâlî who was then staying at the Palace as the guest of the Khalifah, was awestruck and could not continue. Upon this Mundhir ibn-i-Sa'îd el-Batuti got up and delivered a speech *ex tempore*, which was at once a most interesting and lucid piece of oratory. In this speech the orator begins by mentioning how 'Abdur-Rahmân has followed in the footsteps of the Prophet Moses in uniting a disintegrated and weak people and in making his Empire of Andalus strong and respected. For details, *vide* Maqqari, 1860, Vol. I. pp. 235-240. Tr.]

(2) [The author seems to be a little prolix and ambiguous here. The facts are as follows. In 297 A.H. (909 A.C.) 'Ubaidullah el-Mahdî, the Fatimide, conquered the province of Africa from the Aghlabites and founded the Fatimide Empire. His successors cast longing eyes at Spain which was reported to them to be easy of conquest. 'Abdur-Rahmân felt the danger from the south and while on the one hand he helped the Idrisides of Morocco against the Fatimides, on the other adopted the title of the Khalifa of Islam in 317 A.H. (929 A.C.). What he really counted was not to extend the limits of this Empire but to ward off the danger which beset Spain from the establishment of the Fatimide State. The provinces which are mentioned by the author were really ruled by the Idrisis who were entirely independent of foreign control. The Fatimides wanted to control them, hence the opportunity of 'Abdur-Rahmân to interfere in African affairs. Tr.]

a dread of the barbarians. The Christians, placed as they were between the mountains and the sea, had to leave their habitations and betake themselves to the mountain-tops. There was absolutely no limit to the excesses of the foreigners, who turned a land, but lately so flourishing, into an expanse of terrible loneliness. The most important towns were destroyed, castles demolished, churches and convents burned to ashes. As an old charter says, the "abode of human beings became the haunt of beasts", and one reads in the contemporary chronicles that the country was full of wolves to such an extent that it was difficult to travel about with any security.¹

In the meantime Hugh, who had now become Count of Provence, and who had evidently taken no lesson from the example of King Louis, went to Italy in order to claim the crown of Lombardy. When the cries of his subjects were reported to him, he immediately retraced his steps towards the Alps and declared he would take no rest until he had driven the Mussulmans altogether from the land. It was necessary at the outset, however, to capture the Castle of Fraxinet, through which the Mussulmans were able to keep up their communication with Spain and Africa, and which was also their inland centre. As this stronghold had to be attacked both by sea and by land, Hugh sent word to his brother-in-law, the Emperor of Constantinople, requesting him to send a few ships of war as well as some 'Greek Fire', which seemed to be the most effective engine of war against the navy of the Mussulmans.²

(1) We read in the charter of the Abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, dated 1005, the following:

"Cum omnipotens Deus vellet populum Christianum flagellare per sævitiam paganorum, gens barbara in regno provincie irrucens, circumquaque, diffusa vehementer invaluit, ac munitissima quæque loca obtinens et inhabitans, cuncta vastavit, ecclesia et monasteria plurima destruxit, et loca quæ prius desiderabilia videbantur in solitudinem redacta sunt et qua dudum habitatio fuerat hominum, habitatio postmodum cæpit esse ferrarum." *Vide* Dom Martenne: *Amplissima Collectio*, p. 369. On the other hand, the following is an account of the condition of the church of Fréjus according to a charter grant about the time when the country was after all rid of the foreigner:

"Civitas Foro-Julienensis acerbitate Saracenorum destructa atque in solitudinem redacta, habitatores quoque ejus interfecti, seu timore longius fuerunt effugati: non superest aliquis qui sciat vel prædia, vel possessiones quæ ecclesia succedere debeant: non sunt cartarum paginæ, desunt regalia præcepta. Privilegia quoque, seu alia testimonia, aut vetustate consumpta aut igne perierunt, nihil aliud nisi tantum solo episcopatus nomine permanente." *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, *Instrumenta*, p. 82.

(2) *Vide* Luitprand, in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 462.

It was in 942 that the Greek fleet arrived in the Gulf of St. Tropès, while Hugh hurried home with his army. The Muslims were attacked with the greatest energy and vigour, and had their ships and their works on land entirely destroyed by the Greeks, while from the other side Hugh advanced and forced his way right into the castle compelling the Saracens to take themselves to the neighbouring heights.¹ When everything seemed to point to the final end of the Muslim power in France, Hugh heard that his rival Béranger, who had escaped to Germany, was thinking of coming back in order to advance his claim to the throne. Hugh, thereupon, not considering the great evils which weighed so heavily on his unfortunate subjects, ordered the Greek fleet to turn back home immediately, while he allowed the Mussulmans to keep in their power all the positions which they were holding at the same time stipulating with them that they should occupy the summit of the Great St. Bernard and other Alpine heights and would not allow his rival to cross over into France. Here Luitprand suddenly stops in the middle of his chronicles and addresses Hugh in the following vein : “ How strange, indeed, is the manner in which thou defendest thy dominions ! Herod, in order not to be deprived of his worldly kingdom, scrupled not to kill so many who were innocent ; on the contrary thou, in order to attain the identical object, allowest them to escape who are without doubt criminals and fit to be put to death. Verily thou hast forgotten the great wrath of our Lord with Ahab King of Israel, who had spared the life of Benadab King of Syria, when the Lord spake unto him thus ; ‘ As thou hast let him live whom I had condemned to death, thy soul will suffer for his sin and thy people for his people.’ ” Luitprand then turns to the Great St. Bernard and addresses the mountain as follows : “ How strange art thou who leavest the most pious to die and shelterest the villanous Moors ! Miscreant ! Thou dost not blush to lend by protection to those who dare to shed Christian blood and live on brigandage ! I am at a loss for words ! Be thou consumed by lightning or broken into a thousand particles,

(1) *Vide* Luitprand's account, *ibid.*, p. 464. We find in the various incidents of this siege detailed in Delbène's work *De regno Burgundiae transjuranae et arelatis*, Lyons, 1602, in 4to, and these details have been copied by a number of writers. But Delbène does not quote any authority ; and these details as well as a large part of his work seems to have been the product of his own imagination. We will come back to this work later,

or better still replunged into Eternal Chaos.¹”

From this time onwards the Mussulmans became braver and braver, and it seemed as if they had settled down in Europe for ever. They began to marry the girls of the land they had now made their own and adopt its native culture, while the local potentates exacted only a small tribute from them.² Those who had made the tops of various hills their home did not fail to despatch such travellers as displeased them in any way, and exacted a heavy price from others. “The number of the Christians whom they put to death” says Luitprand, “was so great that few can make a correct estimate of those who were killed.³”

The Great St. Bernard was then called Mount Jupiter, whence the word Montjoux has been derived. It is situated between the Valais and the Valley of the Aosta and is on the direct line of communication between Switzerland and Italy. The Muslims, after becoming masters of this extremely important point, poured out into the neighbouring lands.

The same kind of ravages were committed in the county of Nice which then formed part of the kingdom of Arles, as well as on the whole of the Genoese coast. It seems that a body of the Mussulmans settled down in the town of Nice, and even today there is a part of the town which is called the Saracen Quarter.⁴

(1) Luitprand says :

Mons transiri Jovis, mirum
 Haud suetos perdere sanctos,
 Et servire malos, vocitant
 Heu ! quos nomine Mauros.
 Sanguine qui gaudent hominum
 Juvat et vivere rapto.
 Quid loquar ? ecce dei cupio
 Tete fulmine adjuri,
 Conseissusque chaos cunctis
 Fias tempore cuncto.

As it is easy to gather, the evidence could not have been direct ; and Muratori, who has published Luitprand's chronicle in his great collection, apparently ignored it altogether when he compiled his Italian annals : for when he comes to the year 942, he mentions an alliance between Hugh and the Mussulmans of Fraxinet, he says that he does not know where the Mussulmans had settled down. As a matter of fact whatever Muratori says about the incursions of the Muslims in Italy and France is generally defective.

(2) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. LX, p. 6.

(3) *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 207, and Luitprand's chronicle, in Muratori's great collection, Vol. II, p. 464.

(4) Durante : *Histoire de Nice*, Vol. I, p. 150.

Lastly Grenoble and the rich valley of the Graisivaudun was occupied by the followers of Islam, while the Bishop of Grenoble retired to the Priory of St. Donat on the Rhône, a few leagues north of Valence, with the relics of the Saints and the wealth of his Church.¹

We have reason to believe that the Muslims of Piedmont erected a number of fortresses in their new home and made them the centre of their numerous expeditions as well as places of refuge from the enemy. The chronicler of the Novalèse Abbey mentions one of these strongholds which he calls Frascenedellum. This may correspond to one of two different places; there is firstly a place called Frassineto near the Po, a short distance from Casal, which was once named Fraxinetum either owing to a forest of ash trees close by, or else in imitation of the better known Fraxinetum of Provence; or it may have been the site of a fortress now called Fenestrelle. Whichever surmise may be correct, we will quote the account of the Novalèse Abbey chronicler who is bound to have been well informed in that he was himself a resident of the place he has described. About the time when the Mussulmans occupied Frascenedellum Castle and made it the centre of their forays, a native of the country, Aymon by name, somehow or other got himself admitted to their ranks. Now as a rule the Saracens took with them women and children, mares and cows, jewels and other precious articles, on which they could lay their hands. One day they found among the booty a woman of striking beauty, who fell to Aymon's share; but it so happened that one of the officers superior to Aymon in rank claimed her and took her from him by force. Aymon, in order to avenge the wrong done to him, went and persuaded Count Rodbaldus

(1) We are not aware of the exact date of the capture of Grenoble by the Muslims; but in view of the fact that an inscription tells us that even in 954 it had been a long time since the place was occupied, it could not have been much after 845. The following lines have lately been deciphered on a slab found on the facade of a belfry built by Bishop Isarn of Grenoble, bearing date LMIII, i.e., 954 (sic.):

Per Mauros habitanda diu Granopolis ista
Lipsana sanctorum præsulum ab orbe tollit.

We have taken this inscription from a thesis on the environs by M. Jean Claude Marin, called *Histoire chronologique de Jovinzieux de nos jours St. Donat*, Valence, 1812 in 8vo. We think that M. Martin has read and interpreted the inscription a little incorrectly. 'In any case what uncertainty there may have been, has been removed by a passage in a hymn which used to be sung in the priory and which M. Martin himself quotes:

Quum a Mauris habitanda Grannopolis esset,
Lipsana Sanctorum præsulum habere cavet.

who at that time dominated Upper Provence, to come and rid the country of the foreigner.¹ The Count welcomed Aymon's suggestion most heartily and appealed to the Lords and warriors of the land, and when he had collected them he attacked the Saracens at all their places of retreat, at last freeing the land of their yoke. The chronicler finishes his narrative by remarking that Aymon's family still lived during his lifetime.²

About this time, in 952, the Huns had invaded Alsace and menaced the country round about Mount Jura. Conrad, the master of Burgundy, the Franche Comté, Switzerland and Dauphiné, thought it would be well if the Muslims could be played against the Huns. He therefore wrote to the former as follows: "These dacoits of the Hungarians! Why do they want to grab the land which is in your possession? Is it not better that we two should join hands and drive them out of the country?" In almost the same breath he said to the Huns: "Why do you always hold back from me while the Mussulmans have the richest and the choicest valleys in their possession? I promise that if you help me in driving them out I shall put you in their places." Conrad also pointed out to the Huns the exact place where the two armies might meet. When the appointed day arrived, Conrad took all his troops with him, and when he saw the Muslims and Huns at each others' throats and noticed that they had lost their energy considerably, he fell upon them and perpetrated the most horrible carnage and bloodshed conceivable, so that those among them who escaped his sword were sent to Arles and sold as slaves.³

We do not know where this battle, which at first sight does not seem very probable, took place. We know that the centre of the Muslim power was then in Provence and that the Huns poured into France through Alsace and the Franche Comté, so that they must have met somewhere in Savoy. As a matter of fact, this part, which was then called the Maurienne, was in the possession of the Mussulmans for a long time⁴, so much so that certain writers have fearlessly put forward the theory that the name,

(1) This is probably Rotbaldus II Count of Folcarquier who lived about 945. Vide Bouche: *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 30.

(2) Muratori: *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 736.

(3) Vide Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, p. 6: also M. Pertz's collection, Vol. II, p. 110.

(4) We gather from a letter of Bishop Billiet of St. Jean de Maurienne who made the history of the country the special subject of his study, that even now there are many places which recall the era of the

La Maurienne, was derived from the Moorish occupiers of the country, although we know for a fact that it was known by that name even in the sixth century.¹ Perhaps it is this fact which, with a certain alteration in nomenclature, is described in the *Roman de Garin de Loherain*. This romance tells us that the Maurienne was then under the rule of a prince named Thierry who, when hard pressed by the Muslim potentates, begged the king of France for help.² The French warriors, the most prominent among whom were the soldiers from Lorraine, came to Lyons and descended the valley of the Rhône right up to its confluence with the Isère. They then directed their steps towards the north-east and found the Mussulmans stationed in a valley called *Valprofonde* where they cut them to pieces.³

About this time the Muslims overran the whole of Switzerland and advanced right up to the gates of the town of St. Gall near the lake of Constance. They had become so familiar with mountain warfare that, according to a contemporary writer, they even surpassed the buck of the desert in the lightness of their feet. They no doubt constructed a number of towers in the neighbourhood, the remains of which are still to be seen today. The same author deplores that such an utter demoralisation had set in among the Christians that one could easily compile a large book on the subject! At last the head of the abbey of St. Gall, named Walton, dedicating himself to the service of the community, took with him a certain number of courageous men armed with lances, scythes and hatchets, and cut the invaders to pieces

Muslim occupation of those parts; for instance, in the neighbourhood of Modane there is the *Vallon Sarrazin* and the village of *Frenay*. We have already noted that Bouche is of the same opinion. [There is a Ferney near Geneva, which is now called Ferney-Voltaire on account of its associations with the great French philosopher. Tr.]

(1) *Vide* the collection, *Historiens de France*, Vol. II, pp. 11, ff.

(2) By a remarkable anachronism, the poet supposes that all these facts took place during the reign of Pepin the Short. *Vide* our Introduction.

(3) *Vide* the *Roman de Garin*, Vol. I, pp. 73 ff; also, the *Histoire de Hainaut* by Jacques de Guyse, Vol. VIII, p. 270. If we believe Delbène's *De regno Burgundiar*, p. 124, the Mussulmans were in occupation of Savoy for a much longer time. They remained masters of the Cules Castle on the banks of the Rhône opposite Seyssel and were driven away from these parts only in 970 by a Saxon warrior whom Delbène calls Geraudus, and whom he considers to be the forefather of the regnant House of Savoy. But Delbène's veracity is doubted, and as Guichenon observes in his *Histoire de Savoy*, the castle of Cules was not built till much later.

while they were asleep. Some were taken prisoner while others succeeded in escaping. Those who were taken prisoner were brought to the abbey, where they entirely refused to take any nourishment or even to quench their thirst, and in the end died of sheer starvation.¹

While this victory, coupled with the overthrow of the Huns by the Germans which henceforth reduced them to utter impotence, gave the Swiss and their neighbours a certain amount of rest, it at the same time threw into greater relief the troubles of Dauphiné, Provence and the affected parts of the Alpine region. Moreover, so long as the Muslims had their foothold in France where they continuously received help from their brethren overseas, there was no hope of rest from their continuous devastations. The Christian ruler who then played the most important part in European politics was Otho, King of Germany, later Holy Roman Emperor, who earned by his inherent capabilities the title of '*the Great*'. Otho, entered into diplomatic relations with the most prominent rulers of his time, especially the Khalifah of Cordova, who was regarded as the protector of the colony at Fraxinet. A contemporary writer describes with great admiration the numerous presents which Otho received from the four corners of the Globe, and mentions among other things lions, camels, monkeys, ostriches and other animals foreign to the lands of France and Germany.² Taking charge of the cause of the Christians, Otho decided to send an embassy to Cordova. Unfortunately 'Abdu'r-Rahmân had used some expressions derogatory to Christianity in a letter which he had previously written to Otho, so that Otho now considered it his duty to choose a man for his diplomatic mission who might not only take part in the controversy but who might actually try to convert the Khalifah himself. He thereupon hit upon John, a monk of the abbey of Gorze near Metz.

This happened in 956. Both Christian and Arab authors unite in extolling the magnificence of the court of Cordova. The whole of Europe was filled with admiration at the fine arts, manufactures and the polished manners

(1) Chronicle of the abbey of St. Gall in M. Pertz's collection, Vol. II, p. 137. The chronicler sometimes calls the Huns *Agareni*, a name which is applied to the Mussulmans by certain contemporary writers, and thus confuses his account. But at least in this particular place he names the Saracens specifically.

(2) Witikind, in Meibom's collection, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, Helmstädt, 1688, Vol. I, p. 658.

of this centre of Islamic Spain. 'Abdu'r-Rahmân maintained direct relations with the Emperor of Constantinople, the Pope and a number of the Christian princes of Spain, France, Germany and the Slav countries. The Arab authors relate how Christian potentates paid homage to the Muslim Khalifah and deemed it a great honour if that sovereign should deign to allow his hands to be kissed by their representative at the court of Cordova. Whenever any such embassy arrived at the capital, especially when the ambassador of the Emperor of Constantinople was received there, 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ordered the utmost magnificence to be displayed; the richest of carpets were spread in the streets which the ambassador was to tread, the royal bodyguard, to the number of a few thousand, was ordered to stand at attention on both sides of the thoroughfare, and the princes as well as the great officers of state stood at the foot of the throne at the time of the reception of the distinguished guest. Everywhere Imams delivered sermons from the pulpits of the mosques extolling the glory of Islam, while poets, whose writings were appreciated all over the country, did their best to touch the innermost sentiments of the people by their choicest words and phrases.¹

Although John's embassy was not received with the same enthusiasm, it cannot be said that its reception was devoid of all solemnity. We have got a description of this embassy written by one of the monk's disciples, and as it throws a lurid light on the contemporary condition of France and Spain, it would not be out of place here to quote a few passages from it.

John was accompanied by one other monk, while the presents which the two carried with them were furnished by the abbey itself. John walked up to Vienne in Dauphiné, from whence he took a boat down the Rhône to the sea, and thence to Barcelona. At the time with which we are dealing, Catalonia was a French dependancy and the frontier between the Muslim and Christian territories passed through Tortosa where one crossed over to the dominions of the Khalifah of Cordova. The Muslim governor of Tortosa who knew of the embassy beforehand, immediately allowed John to enter Muslim territory, and the monk had no difficulty in proceeding towards the capital.

(1) Maqqari, Vol. I, pp. 233-240. In order to understand the scientific basis of these relations, *vide* introduction *supra*, as well as the French translation of the account of the Arab author Abdul-Latif by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, p. 496.

On his arrival at Cordova the Khalifah ordered all his travelling expenses to be paid out of the royal treasury ; he was received at the court in a superb manner and was put up at a house situated a couple of miles from the Royal Palace.

The Khalifah soon came to know the nature of the instructions which the monk had received from the Emperor. He really wanted to prevent any discussion taking place, as such a discussion would but be disagreeable to all the parties concerned, so he requested the monk not to deliver Otho's letter to him at all and to regard it as entirely non-existent. He said that it was not proper that two personages of such a high station as he himself and the Emperor, should enter into discussions about such matters, and that the laws of the land entirely forbade anybody whatsoever, be he ruler or man-in-the-street, to utter anything in any way derogatory to the Prophet.¹ All these arguments, however, were of no avail, and when the Bishop of Cordova came to see the monkish ambassador, the latter abused him unceremoniously for his weakness and for the submission of the native Christian to the Muslim in certain principles of life, such as abstention from eating pig-meat and the circumcision of Christian children. When nothing could dissuade the monk from giving vent to his opinions the Khalifah entirely refused to have anything to do with him ; and when the monk insisted on an interview, the Khalifah sent word to him that he had sent one of the Spanish bishops to Otho three years before, and that the Emperor had kept him under his surveillance all this time, so that what he intended to do was to keep him as his guest for nine years, apparently because his own embassy sent three years ago consisted of three persons.

Anyhow depending on the instructions he had received, the ambassador was convinced that the Khalifah would send a new envoy to Otho in order to know whether he was still of the same opinion as before. But the difficulty was to find someone who might be willing to carry on this diplomatic mission, for there was not a Mussulman who wished to face the difficulties and inconveniences of such a long and arduous journey. As a matter of fact the religion of the Muslims lays down the minutest details

(1) *Vide supra*, p. 143. We read in the Ottoman code the following : " Whoever utters a blasphemous phrase against God, His attributes, His holy Prophet, or His holy Book, would be put to death without delay."

Vide Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 8vo. edition, Vol. VI, p. 244.

of the ways of life, so that they have ever disliked being in the midst of a non-Muslim population.¹ It was for this reason that the Muslims generally appointed Christians as their representatives abroad, many of whom belonged to the religious orders, who, by their beliefs and their social manners, could come into direct contact with those to whom they were sent with the least amount of difficulty. In the end, the Khalîfah found a Christian layman, one who could speak both Latin and Arabic with equal facility, who was selected for the mission, and was later on made a bishop by way of award.²

Over the border, Otho's son and son-in-law, who owned a part of the Emperor's land in fief, had revolted, so that Otho had to collect all the material at his disposal in order to subdue the rebellion. Thus when the Spanish ambassador laid bare the state of things then existing, Otho had to make all the concessions that were demanded of him. The Khalîfah thereupon agreed to receive the monk of Gorze, and a day was fixed for the royal audience.

This monk had spent his days at Cordova with the greatest possible simplicity. The Khalîfah wanted to celebrate the day of his reception with pomp and élat, so he sent word to the monk to decrease the severity of his rule and to put on a gorgeous dress. But the monk replied to the royal command that the only beauty he knew was that of his own order. When this reached the Khalîfah he thought that perhaps he had no means to purchase decent clothes, so he sent him ten pounds weight of silver (which amounts to several thousand francs of the present day)³; but the monk distributed all this among

(1) *Vide* Mouradgea d'Ohsson : *Tableau de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. VI, pp. 212 : Vol. V, p. 47. [The author has again distorted the correct Muslim point of view much in the same way as in the case of Muslim navigation, for which *vide* Translator's note at the end of part I *supra*. How was it possible to propagate Islam in the known continents if Muslims shirked living with their non-Muslim fellow men, and how was it possible to act upon the Divine precept of travelling through the lands which recurs so often in the Qurân ? The attitude of the early Muslims was just the opposite of what our learned author takes it to have been. Tr.].

(2) His name was Recemundus : On the other hand Remundus was the name of a Spanish bishop who was a friend of Luitprand's, and it was he to whom he addressed his history. The Bollandistes have inferred with some reason that both these names refer to one and the same person.

(3) During the reign of Charlemagne the pound was of twelve ounces, and the pound of silver weighed nearly 77 Francs, 88 centimes of the present French currency. When we consider the great rareness of silver in those days, we must multiply this by nine if we wish to know

the poor, whereupon the Khalîfah gave him permission, if he liked, to come to the audience chamber even wrapped in a sack, and promised to receive him well whatever his garb.

On the day appointed for the audience the whole town of Cordova was up and doing. Troops, two deep, lined the route ; here were persons of Slavonic extraction, holding their lances with one end low on the ground, there men of another nationality brandishing their arms ; on one side were soldiers riding on mules at their ease, on that horsemen leisurely walking about the road. What surprised the ambassador most was the strange costume of the Mussulmans and the varied expression on their faces. Evidently the roads were not paved, and this, added to the fact that it was summer-time, was enough to cause the blowing of dust as the sea of humanity passed hither and thither. In all probability those who caused a considerable amount of surprise to the foreigner were the dervishes and the Muslim clergy who generally accompany the troops of the Muslim nations and who are always prominent in public ceremonies.¹

When the ambassador arrived at the palace he was met there by the chief dignitaries of the realm. He then stepped on the entrance which was covered with the richest tapestries just like the interior of the palace itself. He found the Khalîfah all by himself in a salon, sitting on the royal throne oriental-wise. When the ambassador approached the royal presence, the Sovereign extended his hand to him which he duly kissed. After the preliminary greetings which such an occasion demands, they began to converse about the state of affairs in Europe, and 'Abdur'-Rahmân made profuse enquiries about Otho's power, his victories and the great impression which he had made on his contemporaries. The Khalîfah had already been informed of the great difficulties which then beset the Emperor owing to the rebellions of his son and son-in-law ; and in spite of his flattering remarks he did not hesitate to inform the ambassador that he took strong exception to Otho's policy, at the same time expressing

its actual value, so that a pound of silver would now be equal to nearly 712 Francs. Vide *Essai sur les divisions territoriales de la Gaule*, by M. Guérard, Paris, 1892, pp. 172 & 181.

(1) [The author seems to think that there is an order of ecclesiastics among the Muslims as there is among the Christians. As a matter of fact a very large majority of the Muslims believe that Islam has prohibited priesthood altogether. Eng. Tr.]

his candid opinion that a potentate should never let his power and authority go out of his grasp. As a matter of fact, it was only a few years since one of 'Abdu'r-Rahmān's own sons had dared to feel his way to the throne, but when his father had been informed of what was taking place, he had the rebellion immediately crushed.¹

At last mention was made of the principal object with which the embassy had been sent. Arab authors, or at least those of them who are known to us, do not say a single word about the Muslim colony on the Provencal coast and their incursions into the interior, and this fact would lead us to believe that the Spanish Muslims did not attach much weight to that colony. Nevertheless, Luitprand, who is himself a contemporary of the events which we are describing, tells us that the colony was under the influence of the Khalifah,² and the author positively mentions that the object of the embassy was to put a stop to the devastations perpetrated by the Mussulmans of France and Italy. Unfortunately the description abruptly comes to an end at an extremely interesting point, right in the middle of a sentence, and as the manuscript which contains it is the only one of its kind, it is impossible even to hope for something more solid.³

The Saracens were driven out of Mount St. Bernard about 960, but we are entirely in the dark as to the chief events of this enterprise. There are certain later historians who depend more on the romantic accounts which were current in their days than on historical accuracy, and who have placed the scenes of the wars of Charlemagne and the Mussulmans, as well as the adventures of Roland, somewhere near these Alpine heights.⁴ Moreover it seems that St. Bernard of Menthone who built a hospice on the top of this famous mountain and gave his name to the entire chain, himself took part in the battle, for our authors speak of the short work which the saint had to make in order to rid the place of 'demons and false gods' who were still all-powerful there. All this shows that it was only with difficulty that the followers of Islam were finally driven away from this eminence.⁵

(1) Conde : *Historia*, Engs. Tr. Vol. I, pp. 436—441.

(2) Muratori : *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, pp. 425 and 460.

(3) This description is found in the *Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, by Mabillons. s. pp. 404 ff.

(4) Vide Bollandiste collection, June 15, *Life of St. Bernard of Menthone*, p. 1076.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 1077. Vide also *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en occident* by M. Beugnot, Paris, 1835, 2 Vols., in 8vo. Owing to lack

'Abdu'r-Rahmân died in 961 and was succeeded by his son, Hakam II who had been his chief assistant in the government for a long time. Hakam was a prince of peace and a friend of letters, and right through his reign Spain saw the cultivation of arts and sciences with a success never to be surpassed. In the same way agriculture and the industrial arts received all the encouragement they deserved. As a matter of fact, the fierceness of the earliest conquerors had given place to the utmost polish in their traits, so that their manners became more chivalrous and this in a nation where women are supposed by some to have been condemned to the most unworthy position in life. Such was the change wrought in the society that we see persons of the gentler sex gracing the court by their presence and taking part in private gatherings, thus giving them a special tone by their natural grace and the refinement of their culture.¹

Immediately on ascending the throne Hakam began to wage war against the Christians of Galicia, Catalonia and the Asturias chiefly in order to gain the confidence of his co-religionists.² But when the Christians expressed their desire to make peace with him, he acceded to their wishes. The Vazîrs of State and the generals of the army thereupon protested that all good Mussulmans were impatient to give another proof of enthusiasm for their religion and advised him to break the treaty of peace lately entered into. Hakam, however, was resolute, and refused to do anything of the kind, replying to them by reading the beautiful verse of the Qurân where the Muslims are bidden to keep their word religiously, for God will take count of all such promises.³ So far as the count of Barcelona and the Catalan lords were concerned, Hakam imposed on them the condition that they should raze the fortresses lying near the border and should never take the side of any Christian prince against whom he might be waging war.

of information about the occupation of Great St. Bernard by the Mussulmans, it was attributed to the pagan deities right up to the present day.

(1) Conde, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, pp. 483 ff.

(2) [But *vide* Dozy, Eng. Tr. p. 448, where he says that it was the Christians who failed to fulfil the conditions of the treaty entered into in the time of 'Abdur Rahmân. Tr.]

(3) *Ibid.*, Eng. Tr. p. 467. ¶The verse referred to occurs in the Qurân, V (i). In spite of this distinct order, the author says in Part II that the Muslims are allowed to break their covenants with the non-believers ! Tr.]

Provence and Dauphiné were still under the domination of the Mussulmans whose attitude grew ever more threatening. It often happened that a couple of Christian lords quarrelled with one another and then served as pawns on the political chessboard of the Muslims. At this time Otho, the conqueror of the Hungarians and master of all Germany, wanted to extend his sway over Italy as well. Béranger, King of Lombardy, was forced to quit his realm, and now the German prince made the Pope place the Imperial crown on his head. As a matter of fact, the politics of the Italian peninsula, which, bending under the foreign yoke, was soon to become a vast arena of wars and revolutions, had already begun to assume a certain form. Béranger's son, Adalbert by name, wanting to recover the property lost by his father, (according to some of our authorities)¹ actually went to request the Muslims of Fraxinet for help, and Pope John II, the same who had crowned Otho, also declared in favour of the malcontents.

The Mussulmans were driven out of Grenoble in 965. We have already seen how Isarn, Bishop of Grenoble, had retired to St. Donat which is situated on the way to Valence. Now in 965, Isarn, impatient to recover the possession of his lost see, issued an appeal to the nobles, warriors and farmers of the countryside; and, in view of the fact that the Mussulmans occupied villages which were known for their fertility and wealth, it was agreed that each soldier should take possession of the conquered parts in strict proportion to his valour and service. This partition of the conquered land took place when the Mussulmans evacuated Grenoble and the valley of the Graisivaudun, and even today such families of Dauphiné as the Aynards and the Montaynards trace the turn of their fortune to this struggle with the Muslims.

Isarn's see was in the greatest possible confusion, so he hurried back to establish order in it. After he had conquered the valley and the town, he declared himself sovereign lord of these tracts, while his successors remained in possession of a part of it right up to the French Revolution.²

(1) Alberic de Trois-Fontaines work, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, accesiones*, in Leibniz's collection, Leipsicht, 1689, in 4to., Vol. II, pp. 3 & 4.

(2) All the questions with regard to the occupation of Grenoble and the valley of Graisivaudun were enveloped in darkness till quite recently. We have already come across (*vide supra*) an evidence of this occupation which is absolutely undeniable. On the other hand there

¶ All these successes were due to the fact that the power of the Muslims was on its downward path, and they only exists a charter in the cartulary of the church of St. Hugh at Grenoble, dated about the end of the eleventh century which begins as follows :

“Notum est omnibus fidelibus filiis Gratianopolitane ecclesie, quod post destructionem paganorum, Isarnus episcopus ædificavit ecclesiam gratianopolitanam : et ideo quia paucos invenit habitatores in prædicto episcopatu, collegit nobiles, mediocres et pauperes ex longinquis terris, de quibus hominibus consolata est gratianopolitana terra ; deditque laborandum ; in quorum castra sive in terras episcopus jam dictus retenuit dominationem et servitia, sicut utriusque partibus placuit. Habuit autem prædictus episcopus et successor ejus Humbertus prædictum episcopatum sicut proprius episcopus debet habere propriam terram et propria castra per alodium, sicut terram quam abstraxerat a gente pagana. Nam generatio comitum istorum, qui modo regnant per episcopatum gratianopolitanum, nullus inventus fuit in diebus suis, scilicet in diebus Isarni episcopi, quicomes vocaretur, sed totum episcopatum sine calumnia prædictorum comitum prædictus episcopus in pace per alodium possidebat, excepto hoc quod ipse dederat ex sua spontanea voluntate. Postisto vero episcopum succedit ei Humbertus episcopus in gratianopolitana ecclesia et habuit prædicta omnia in pace, etc.”

Vide Charier : *Estat politique de la province de Dauphine*, Vol. II, p. 69. We find in the same work, Vol. II, p. 77, another charter taken from the same cartulary, where mention is made of the territories which were ceded by Isarn to Rodolph, head of the House of Aynard, in return for his great gallantry. So far as the cartulary of St. Hugh (whence these two extracts) is concerned, *vide* the bulletin of the Historical society of France, Vol. II, pp. 295 ff.

In a discussion held in 1094 between St. Hugh Bishop of Grenoble and Guy archbishop of Vienne, as regards the possession of the priory of St. Donat, and of another canton, it was recognised by both parties that in the time of Isarn the “pagans”, that is to say the Saracens, had occupied Grenoble, while right through their occupation the bishop had resided at St. Donat. The bone of contention between the two prelates now was that while the archbishop of Vienne maintained that his predecessor in title had allowed Isarn to take refuge in the priory, St. Hugh put forward the plea that the deed of gift of the priory dated back to 879 when Boson, king of Provence, had made it over to Grenoble.

There are two reasons why the problem seems to be confused for our purposes ; one is that in all the documents which deal with the occupation of Grenoble these foreigners are called ‘pagans’ : the other that the inscription of St. Donat was unknown right up to the present day. It was owing to this reason that those who are otherwise well-informed, think that the Muslims occupied at least some part of the Grenoble country from the time of Charles Martel right up to the period with which we are dealing now. *Vide* *Statistique du département de la Drome*, by M. de Lacroix, 2nd. edition, Valence, 1835, in 4to., pp. 72 and 78. On the other hand there are some who are led to believe that the Muslims had never so much as set their feet on the land. *Vide* M. Pilot : *Histoire de Grenoble*, Grenoble, 1829, one Vol. in 8vo. Dom Brial, who in the fourteenth volume of the *Historiens de France*, p. 757 ff. has collected various fragments dealing with the discussion between St. Hugh and Guy of Vienne, thinks that the word pagan stands for Muslim, while the collection is absolutely silent on the point of the occupation of the see of Grenoble by the Mussulmans.

helped to accentuate the desire for freedom and liberty which manifested itself in all directions. In 968 the Emperor Otho, who was then busy with Italian affairs, proclaimed his purpose to devote all his attention to this patriotic enterprise¹; but he died before he could undertake this work, so that it was left over for the future that some one else should take it upon himself to fulfil this desire.

A person was at last found who was held in high esteem by those who came in contact with him, and all that was necessary now was to nominate him as the leader of the people in order that he might gain the respect of the contemporary rulers as well. This was St. Mayeul, of whom we have already spoken and who was now the abbot of Cluny in Burgundy. Such was the respect in which his qualities compelled people to hold him that his name was once seriously mentioned for the high and exalted office of the Papacy. Mayeul had gone to Rome in order to pay homage to the churches and the saints and to visit certain convents of his order in that city. On his way back he passed through Piedmont and wished to enter his monastery by way of Mount Genève and the Valley of Dauphiné. The Mussulmans had established themselves between Gap and Embrun on a height which dominates the valley of the Drac exactly opposite the bridge of Orcières². When the saint arrived at the foot of the Alps, a large number of pilgrims and travellers, who had waited for an opportunity to cross over for a long time, thought that no better occasion could offer itself than the present one. Thereupon the caravan began to tread the path to the West but when it arrived on the banks of the Drac at a spot between the mountain and the river, it found the Mussulmans in possession of the heights all round. The Muslims, a thousand strong, sent on them a veritable shower of arrows, and it was in vain that the Christians tried their best to fly from the field, for they were pressed on all sides, and most of them were captured forthwith, among whom was the saint himself. He was moreover wounded in his

(1) Witikind, in Meibom's collection, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum* Vol. I, p. 661.

(2) *Pons Ursarii*. Vide Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, pp. 126 and 127. The Orcières passage exists even today. Nobody has an exact idea of the route followed by St. Mayeul, and it was only after the preparation of the map of Casiri that it was possible to make a study of the geography of France of those remote days. Generally speaking the maps which accompany the works of the Benedictines are defective in spite of their utility in other fields.

hand while trying to protect the person of one of his companions.

All the prisoners were taken to a secluded spot. On their arrival there, the Muslims, who were struck by the obvious poverty of most of the pilgrims, went to the saint and inquired him as to his means of livelihood. Mayeul frankly confessed that while he was born of rich parents he had given up all his belongings and taken a vow of service to the Almighty, but that he was the abbot of the monastery which owned lands and goods of great value. On this the Saracens, each of whom wanted to have a share of the spoils, fixed the ransom for the abbot and the prisoners at eighty thousand francs¹; at the same time Mayeul was asked to send the monk who was with him to Cluny in order to fetch the required amount, while he was further informed that in case the money was not forthcoming within a certain fixed period of time, they would put all the prisoners to death.

When the monk was about to start, the abbot handed him a letter beginning with the following words: "To the Lords and Brethren of Cluny, Mayeul, unlucky Mayeul, prisoner and enchained; the host of Belial has encircled me, and the bowstrings of death have held me fast". On reading this letter all the inmates of the abbey were in tears. They immediately collected all the silver which was found in the monastery, bared the church of all its ornaments and (when all this was found to be insufficient), they appealed to the generosity of the pious men of the district. When the sum of money demanded was finally collected it was forthwith sent to the Saracens who received it a short time before the appointed date. On receiving the ransom the Mussulmans set all their prisoners free according to their promise.

When Mayeul first fell into the hands of the "infidels", he tried to divert them from what he considered to be the most criminal way of life. Putting on the armour of Faith, says one of the chroniclers, he made up his mind to pierce those whom he regarded as the enemies of Christ by the wedge of the Word of God. He wished to prove to the Mussulmans the truth of the Religion of Christ, and he made it clear to them that he in whom they believed,

• (1) This is the intrinsic value, equal to about 700,000 Francs of the time when the book was written. *Vide supra*, p. 192 as well as Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VIII, pp. 239 and 240. We should also consult the Bollandiste collection, under May 11.

(2) *Vide* the second Book of Kings, chap. xxii, verse 5.

could not free them from the curse of spiritual death nor could be of any help to them whatsoever. On hearing this the Muslims became furious and imprisoned the saint in the depth of a cave. But they soon regained their mildness and, touched by the unalterable calm of the prisoner, they sought to make his lot a little better. Thus when he required some food, one of them, after washing his hands, prepared a little paste on his shield, cooked it and handed it over to him with great respect and consideration. When one of them threw away the Bible which the abbot was in the habit of carrying about with him, his companions frankly objected to this and remonstrated that he should have a greater respect for the Book of the Prophet Jesus. Our contemporary author remarks here with great reason that the Muslims honour the Old Testament as much as the Christians, and regard Jesus Christ as one of the Great Apostles of God, the only difference between them and the Christians being that they consider him inferior to Muhammad and proclaim that the Light which is destined to guide the sons of Adam till the end of the World was left to be proclaimed by the Prophet of Arabia. The same author adds that according to the belief of the Mussulmans, Muhammad was descended from Ishmael son of Abraham, and that it was not Isaac but Ishmael who was the son of Abraham's real wife¹.

St. Mayeul was captured in 972. It was an event which caused the whole countryside to take up arms, and Christians from all sides, young and old, rose to avenge such a terrible outrage. There was then near Sisteron, in a village called Noyers, a man by name Bobon or Beuvon, who had demonstrated his enthusiasm for liberating the country more than once before. Taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, and gathering together the farmers as well as the gentry, in a word all those to whom their religion and their country were sacred and who wished to take part in the glory of the enterprise, he built a castle exactly opposite the fortress occupied by the Mussulmans. What he wanted was to observe their movements from this point of vantage and to take the first opportunity of exterminating them. In the zeal attending his pious wish, he had prayed that, if he were successful in ridding the country of the foreigner, God should give him the strength to devote the rest of his life to the service of widows and orphans. It was useless for the Saracens to put difficulties

(1) *Re. Muslim opinion with regard to Ishmael, Jesus Christ and Muhammad, vide our Monumens arabes, persans et turcs, Vol. I and II.*

in his way, and all their efforts proved to be utterly unavailing. The hillock on which the Muslims had built their stronghold was called *Petra Impia*, and even in our own day it is called, in the language of the neighbourhood *Peyro Empio*. A short time afterwards it so happened that the commander of the Muslim fortress abducted the wife of the sentry in charge of the gate, and in order to take revenge for this outrage, the latter resolved to make Bobon's entry an easy matter. At last one evening Bobon came to the citadel with his warriors and effected the entry without any obstacle. All the Muslims who resisted the onslaught were put to the sword, while others including the chief himself had to accept baptism.¹

About the same period, the inhabitants of Gap freed themselves from the yoke of the foreigners. We read in the local breviary that an alliance was made between the townsmen and a chief named Guillaume and that the Muslims were attacked at all posts they occupied by the allies. After the extermination of the Mussulmans, half of the town was given over to the Bishop and the Church, while the other half was retained by the captors themselves.²

After the liberation of Dauphiné, Provence also followed suit, but unfortunately we have not been favoured with practically any fact concerning such an important event and we only know that the movement was led by one Guillaume count of Provence³, perhaps the same Guillaume who had recently made himself prominent in expelling the Muslims from Gap, for, as a matter of fact, that town was then dependant on Provence.⁴

Guillaume had endeared himself to his subjects owing to his love of justice and religion. He appealed to the warriors of Provence, lower Dauphiné and the County

(1) Buevon has since been canonized. *Vide* his life in the Bollandiste collection, May 22. His birthplace and the site of all his adventures was unknown right up to our own day, and it was mixed up with Fraxinet. It did not strike any one that even today there is a place near Sisteron called Fraissinie. The details of the locality of which we are writing, were made known to us by M. de Laplane, who once held the office of sub-prefect and who was a native of Sisteron. He had made a study of the medieval history of France. *Vide* also Bouche: Vol. I, p. 240.

(2) Bouche: *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 44.

(3) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VIII, p. 240.

(4) Provence was itself a part of the Kingdom of Burgundy, which was then under the sway of Conrad, surnamed *the Pacific* to whom we have already referred.

of Nice, and began to put things in order for an attack on Fraxinet itself. On their side the Mussulmans saw that they were being followed right up to their last foothold, and uniting all their forces they came down from their mountainous resort in serried ranks. It seems that the first engagement took place at a spot called Tourtour near Draguignan, where there is still extant a tower which is said to have been erected in memory of the battle.¹ In this encounter the Muslims were forced back to their stronghold with the Christians at their heels. It was utterly useless for the former to offer any resistance, for the latter surmounted all the obstacles placed in their path, and the day ended in the rout of the Saracens who left the castle in the darkness of the night and fled to the nearest forest. The Christians, however, did not leave them alone even there with the result that most of them were either killed or imprisoned and the rest forced to lay down their arms.²

Not only were all the Saracens who submitted to the victors spared, but the Christians also left those Muslims alone who were then inhabiting the neighbouring villages. A number of them were made serfs attached either to the churches or to various landlords of the locality while others became Christians and completely lost their identity by mixing with the population in course of time, the former

(1) Bouche : *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 42.

(2) *Vide* the collection entitled the *Historiens de France*, Vol. IX, p. 127. Probably a number of Muslims took advantage of the sea-route and embarked for Spain, Sicily and northern Africa. If we believe in what d'Herbelot says in his *Bibliothèque Orientale* (under the word Mocz) and in what Cardonne says in his *Histoire des Maures d'Afrique*, Vol. II, p. 82., the Muslims were in possession of the island of Sardinia about this time, and in 970 the Khaïfah Mu'izz, whose armies had conquered Egypt, passed through Sardinia on his way to his new territories, stopping there for a whole year. M. Mimaud also accepts the fact of this occupation in his *Histoire de Sardaigne*, Vol. I, p. 93. Nevertheless it is without any foundation, for the Arab author Novayry says on the authority of the sources of d'Herbelot and Cardonne, that prior to his departure for Egypt, the Khalifah Mu'izz stayed in his castle *Sardannya* near the city of Qairuan in Africa for a year. *Vide* the collection entitled *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, Vol. XII, p. 483. In his *De regno Burgundie* (p. 146) Delbène also supposes that the Muslims were masters of Sardinia as well as of Corsica. He says that there was a chief named *Musectus* or *Muget* against whom the Count of Provence made an alliance with the Genoese and the Pisans. Delbène mentions a Muslim chief who invaded Sardinia and against whose invasions the Pisans had to defend themselves; but this chief whose real name was *Mujahid*, does not come on the stage of History till thirty years later. We will discuss this point further on.

keeping their distinct nationality for a long time to come as we shall see later.

The castle of Fraxinet was captured about 975. It had been under the domination of the Mussulmans for more than eighty years, and as it was the centre of the Muslim colonies in France, northern Italy and Switzerland, it must have contained a vast amount of wealth. All that fell into the hands of the victors was distributed among the soldiers; while, in view of the fact that the countryside round about the castle had been completely devastated for miles and miles, Count Guillaume further rewarded the enthusiasm of the leaders of the army by gifts of land. We read the name of Gibellin de Grimaldi, a Genoese by birth, among those who were not only present at the time of the distribution but who actually received a part of the country near the Gulf of St. Tropès, a place which is called Gulf of Grimaud after him even to the present day.¹

We also read of a Christian warrior who became the lord of the town of Castellane in the modern department of Basses-Alpes. It is possible that the rise of the House of Castellane depended on the exploits of one of the members of this family in the locality. Mention should also be made of the freedom of the town of Riez in the department of Basses-Alpes, a town which even now celebrates its deliverance from the foreigners by sham fights held every year during the Whitsun festival.²

We can quite imagine that the Church was not forgotten in this distribution of booty, and as a matter of fact the Bishops of Frèjus, Nice, etc., received large amounts of land³. We know that no part of the population of the country suffered so much at the hands of the Muslims as the clergy, and we see the Christian divines at the head of every attempt made to rid the country of the domination of the Muslims.

There were certain villages, such as those near Toulon, which had been entirely depleted of their inhabitants. As there was little evidence as to who was their rightful

(1) Bouche: *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 42. Bouche has quoted a charter dated 980 by which Guillaume gave over the Gulf of Grimaud to Gibellin de Grimaldi. Papon, in his *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 171, however, does not accept the deed as authoritative: but we do not think that his arguments against the transfer itself are conclusive.

(2) Vide Millin: *Voyages dans les départements du midi de la France*, Vol. III, p. 54.

(3) Vide *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 425.

owner, there hurried to such localities a host of people eager to snatch the prize. Guillaume thereupon, from his residence at Arles and personally supervised the partition of the land among the bourgeois, the lords and the churches¹. Thus the ruined villages began to rise gradually from their cinders, and the villagers who had been without any means of communication for a long time, began to deal with each other as before.

The quality of devotion which was a part of Guillaume's inherent character was reciprocated in the great loyalty of his subjects towards him; and when he died, the voice of the people dubbed him with the glorious name of the *Father of the Nation*.

We have seen that the Castle of Fraxinet was retaken by the Christians some time about the year 975. After this loss the Mussulmans had absolutely no foothold on the soil of France², and as the Christians of Northern Spain had continued their victorious career and had kept the rich provinces which they had wrested from the

(1) Apropos this subject, there is a curious passage in a charter dated 993 which has been preserved by Dom Martenne in his *Amplissima Collectio*, Vol. I, p. 349. The passage refers to a quarrel between Guillaume, Viscount of Marseilles, and a lord named Pons de Fos:

"Cum gens pagana fuisset expulsus, videlicet de Fraxineto, et terra Tolonensis coelestis virtute vestiri et a cultoribus coli, unusquisque secundum propriam virtutem in rapiebat terram, transgrediens terminos ad suam possessionem. Quapropter illi qui potentiores videbantur esse, altercationes factas, et impingebant se ad invicem rapiantes terram ad posse, videlicet Wilhelmus vicecomes, et Pontius de Fossis. Qui Pontius pergens ad comitem, dixit ei: *Domine comes, ecce terras soluta est a vinculo paganæ gentis; tradita est in manu tua donatione regis: ideo rogamus ut pergas illuc et mittas terminos inter oppida et castras et terram sanctuariam: nam tuæ potestatis est terminare et uniusque distribuere quantum tibi placitum fuit.* Quod ille, ut audivit, concessit: et continuo ascendens in suis equis perrexit. Cumque fuisset infra fines cathedra villæ, coepit inquirere nomina montium et concava vallium et aquarum et fontium."

(2) After having taken the Saracens over the Alps, the contemporary chronicles make them come back gradually to the coasts from which they had led their incursions inland. We think that this part of the story as related by the chroniclers is extremely faulty. If some bands of the Muslims had really been left in the Alpine valleys, we think that they must have embraced Christianity or else were reduced to serfdom. Nevertheless Delbène (*De regno Burgundiae*, pp. 169 & 187) thinks that after 980 and even 1000 A. C. there were some Mussulmans in the Alpine regions, and that their remarkable defeat was, due to a person of Saxon parentage whom he calls Geroldus, Guillaume Géraud or Béraud about whom we have already spoken. Delbène ought to have cited some really good authorities in support of this statement, and as a matter of fact Guillaume Géraud must have been too young then to fight the Muslims. We cannot rely on Delbène's authority.

acens during the last two hundred years, it seemed as if the followers of the Bible in France had nothing whatever to fear from the followers of the Qurân, and that the only menace to France now was that of the raids of the Muslim seamen who were still at their marauding work. But when, after the death of the Khalifah Hakam in 976, the throne was occupied by his imbecile son, the reins of government really passed to a man, at once active and brave, a man whose ambition was to revive the ideas of the earlier warriors of Islam, and who with the additional advantage of a more civilized age to help him, led his campaign against the Christians of Spain and the neighbouring lands with the view of gaining complete ascendancy over them. This was Muhammad, later called *Al-Mansur* or the Victorious owing to his brilliant exploits, the *Hajib* or Chamberlain of the Khalifah, a dignity which was very much akin to the French *Mayoralty of the Palace*. The moment he took the reins of government in his hands, Muhammad began to put the affairs of the African provinces in order, so that the lost prestige of the Cordovan government might be revived. While he managed to draw a number of soldiers from those lands, he made an appeal to his robust countrymen and those young men who had begun to complain that they were being forced to live a life of complete inaction. Although no fighting was then in progress between the Christians and the Mussulmans, still Almanzor, as he was called by later European historians, was preparing to draw the sword out of its scabbard.

We must remember that the Spanish Muslims were all descended from forefathers who had their original homes in warmer latitudes, and it was only with a certain amount of hardship that they were able to bear the rigour of the northern cold weather. Moreover, except for the body-guard of the Khalifah, there was no standing army in the country, so that the troops were temporarily recruited for every individual campaign. Under these circumstances it was only possible for Almanzor to send out military expeditions during the summer months. In spite of these limitations as to season the number of these expeditions during the space of twenty-seven years was fifty-six, and as an Arab author says, in none of these was his banner seen to bow down before the enemy.¹

The Muslim troops were almost always composed of cavalry ; they fell on places where they were least expected, and it was their wont to put all those to death who carried

(1) [Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 258. Tr.]

arms, make women and children slaves, take everything they could carry and destroy the rest. At the end of such expeditions the slave markets of Cordova, Seville, Lisbon and Granada were full of Christian slaves ready to be put to auction and, after being sold, they were taken to Africa, Egypt and other Islamic countries. Almanzor thought that his success against the Christians was a special mark of Divine Favour. He always carried a coffin with him in which he wanted to be buried, and at the end of each battle in which he took part, he shook off the dust which covered his clothes into this box, hoping that with this dust as his bedding, he would enter Paradise after his death.¹

The Christian provinces of Castille, Leon, Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia right up to the frontiers of Gascony and the Languedoc, were in turn laid waste by the arms of the Mussulmans, and the might of Almanzor was felt in regions where the Islamic banner had never flown before. Even St. James of Compostella in Galicia, the holiest place of the Christians of Spain, had to bow down before the might of the Mussulmans. The town was burnt down, and the conquerors carried with them the bells of the church of St. James to Cordova where they were utilised as lamps in the great mosque. In order to make his victory as impressive as possible, Almanzor ordered that these bells should be carried on the shoulders of Christian prisoners right up to the capital which lay at a distance of nearly two hundred leagues. We shall see later that when the Christians entered Cordova as conquerors they ordered their Muslim prisoners to carry these identical bells back to Galicia.²

This would have been the lot of all the Christians of Spain if they had not put an end to their internecine feuds and if they had not been helped by their friends from the other side of the Pyrenees. The Kings of Leon and Navarre, the Count of Castille and other Christian chiefs

(1) Maqqari, 1860, Vol. I, p. 266. [The author has misunderstood the passage. What Maqqari says is that Mansûr always kept Hanût with him which is the scented powder which is generally rubbed on the body of dead Muslims. Moreover he also kept his shroud with him, in which his mortal remains were finally wrapped before being buried; this shroud was woven by his own daughters and the material came out of the proceeds of his private estate. As a matter of fact, there was no coffin, while the dust from the various battlefields was collected in a small cloth-bag which the great statesman and general likewise carried. Tr.]

(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 270—272.

swore to devote all their strength to furthering the common cause and abjure the spirit of discord ; priests and monks took up arms and claimed that they were the real leaders of the people ;¹ while an appeal was made to the warriors of Gascony, the Languedoc, Provence and other provinces of France. The result of all this propaganda was that a formidable Christian army gathered together on the border of Old Castille, while on his side Almanzor collected all the forces which he had at his command. In point of fact it was the determination of both sides either to win or fall. The armies met in the vicinity of Soria near the sources of the Duero. The action was terrible and lasted the whole day ; blood flowed in torrents, for neither side wished to give way, though the Christians with their fully caparisoned horses and armed soldiers were in a better position to save themselves. Night came, and Almanzor, who was wounded in a number of places, retired to his tent with the idea of recommencing the battle the next day. He waited for his generals and Emîrs for a considerable time in order to formulate some programme of attack for the next day, and when he demanded why they were not coming, he was told that the Emîrs as well as the generals had all been killed on the field of battle. He then knew that he had finally been defeated, and as he did not wish to live any longer, he refused to be treated in any way and died a few days afterwards. His mortal remains were then shrouded in the dress he wore on the fateful day and he was duly buried in the coffin which he used to carry about for the purpose. His tomb may still be visited in the town of Medina-Celi.²

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. X, p. 21.

(2) While Almanzor was at the helm of state, he had not only conquered his enemies on the field of battle but also patronised learning and art and had a love for industry and agriculture. Never had the Muslims of Spain prospered to such an extent as during his term of office. This was the time when the ideas of chivalry were beginning to take shape, and with them a lofty sentiment of honour, respect for the fair sex and other sentiments which were in marked contrast with the ideas current among the people. Nevertheless it is our duty to say that M. Viardot in his *Scenes de mœurs arabes en Espagne en dixième siècle*, has gone too far in saying that from the time of Almanzor the Mussulmans of Spain had progressed far in the principles of chivalry such as was developed later in Christian lands. M. Viardot ought to have given some evidence of the facts which he has put forward, specially such as have not been mentioned by contemporary chroniclers. [Our author's version of Al Mansûr's death seems to be different to that given by Dozy (Eng. Tr. pp. 552 and 553) who says that he was successful in his last campaign as he had been victorious right through his life, but while on his way back home he was struck by disease and died

Almanzor died in 1002, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdul-Malik as the head of the Cordovan government; but he also died in 1008, and with the father and son ended the glory of Muslim Spain. The country was rent by a civil war, governments followed each other in quick succession, the spirit of patriotism was considerably weakened and the Muslims of Spain began to tread their downward course.

With all these things happening round about them it was easy for the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain to go back to the land of their forefathers, but as a matter of fact they were themselves antagonistic to one another. There was no more unity between the inhabitants of Navarre and Galicia than between those two states and their natural enemies the Muslims. Now it often happened during the civil wars among the Saracens that the Christians were called to help one side or the other, and they decided which party to side with according to the advantage which might accrue to them. It sometimes happened that the Christians found themselves at daggers drawn with one another, and in these feuds even the bishops are known to have taken part. In 1009 a battle was fought between the Mussulmans themselves in the vicinity of Cordova, and the party supported by the Christians of Castille completely routed the other. The vanquished thereupon appealed to the Christians of Catalonia who responded to this request by advancing right up to the centre of Andalusia. In the battle which now ensued, there perished three bishops as well as Ermangaud, Count of Urgel, the same who had but a short time before filled the whole land with the din of his exploits.

Most of the Mussulmans looked upon these alliances with horror, and whenever a Christian fell into their hands in the course of a battle, they were ruthless in the manifestation of their feelings towards him. A French chronicler states how the Saracens cut off Ermangaud's head and how their leader had the skull filled with gold

before he reached Cordova. Dozy does not mention the "last defeat" described by Reinaud. Maqqari (Vol. I, p. 259), has quoted the beautiful lines inscribed on Al-Mansûr's tomb, which might be freely translated thus :

"His remains tell thee of his great deeds
As if thy very eyes had met them;
In the name of the Almighty the like of him has never
been brought by Time
Nor been produced by any clime"

Tr.]

and never parted with it in all the subsequent wars in which he took part.¹

We shall end our narrative here. The Muslims of Spain were never again strong enough to invade France, while in France herself was beginning a new era which was to give her prosperity and glory for a very long time to come. In 987 the weakness of the unworthy scions of the royal House of Charlemagne was superseded by the vigorous race of the Capetians; and on the other hand the Normans, who had embraced the Christian religion, had begun to prefer agriculture to brigandage and had settled down in the rich part of France to which they gave their name, a policy which was pursued by the Huns on the banks of the Danube. Christian Europe soon became like one vast republic where human passions continued to play their inevitable rôle, but where little by little was evolved a code of conduct which was to make that continent the leader of the civilization of the world.²

Nevertheless the coast of southern France as well as that of Italy continued to be overrun by Muslim seamen. In 1003 the Spanish Mussulmans made a descent on the neighbourhood of the Antibes and carried off with them, among others, a number of the clergy. In the same way, in 1019, some Muslims disembarked opposite Narbonne under cover of darkness; hoping, according to the story of a contemporary chronicler, to capture it without much difficulty. They tried to force their entrance into the city, but the inhabitants, who were led by the clergy, fell upon them and cut them to pieces. Those of the invaders who were not killed were imprisoned and sold as common slaves, of whom twenty of colossal stature were sent to the abbey of St. Martial at Limoges. When they arrived at their destination, the abbot kept two for his personal service, while he distributed the rest among such strangers as happened to be then at Limoges. The chronicler remarks that these prisoners did not speak the Saracenic (Arabic) language but spoke a dialect which seemed to them something like the barking of puppies.³

(1) Collection of Historiens de France Vol. X, p. 148.

(2) We see that ever since 950 the state of affairs has changed slightly for the better. It is certain that the need for mutual defence and the feeling for human dignity has enriched the spirit by a certain amount of energy. It is about this time that the mutual association of citizens and municipal franchises sprang up in France and the adjoining lands, and we see the republics of Italy and the states of Marseilles and Arles for the first time in this period.

(3) Dom Bouquet's collection Vol. X, p. 155.

In 1047 the island of Lérins, which had been under the Muslim domination three hundred years before, was again invaded, and a number of monks carried back to Spain. It was in order to free them from the yoke of the Muslims that Isarn, the abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, went personally to the peninsula.¹

These raids by Muslim seamen were partly the result of the internecine wars which were then being waged among the Spanish Muslims themselves. Some of the Muslims, now the conquerors, now the vanquished victims of their own unsuccessful attempts, took to the sea in order to try their luck on the Christian coasts. Among such adventurers the contemporary chroniclers name one Mujâhid who had made himself the master of Denia and the Balearic islands, and who, under the corrupted form of Mujet or Musectus, became the terror of the inhabitants of Corsica and Sardinia as well as of the coast-line of Pisa and Genoa. The amount of booty captured by Mujâhid's soldiers was so great that they carried quivers made of gold or silver after the example of Alexander the Great. In a battle which took place between the Christians and the Muslims the Christians defeated their adversaries and sent a part of their booty to the abbey of Cluny in order to give religious sanction to their victory.²

These incursions into France by sea continued up to the great development of the French navy and did not really come to an end till the conquest of Algiers by the French. The coast of Provence and the Languedoc furnished the foreigners with convenient places of retreat whence they could carry their sword right into the heart of France. While ever since the days of Charles Martel the town of Maguelone had been covered by its own ruins, the port had often been visited by the Muslims, and was thereupon called Port Sarrazin. This state of affairs finally ended in 1040 when Bishop Arnaud had the town rebuilt and gave a new bearing to the port. We can also cite the case of Martigues, a town where some buildings are still to be seen which are considered to be Saracenic in style, while the

(1) Mabillon : *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. IV, pp. 489 & 498.

(2) Cf. Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 590, 591 and 595, as well as Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol X, pp. 52 and 156. The accounts of his exploits have been erroneously related by M. Mimaut in his *Histoire de Sardaigne*, Vol. I, pp. 93 ff. Moreover we can hardly conciliate certain details with what has been described in the writings of some Italian writers. Vide *Stooda di Sardegna*, by M. Manno, Turin, 1826, Vol. II, pp. 168 ff.

east of Hyères is also to the point.¹

From the middle of the eleventh century, however, the invasions of the Mussulmans became less and less frequent every day. In 961 the island of Crete fell into the hands of the Greeks, while about the year 1050 the Saracens were driven out of southern Italy by a handful of Normans and lost their domination over Sicily for ever. The Christians of Sicily now took the offensive and invaded the northern coast of Africa where their flag was seen floating for a considerable length of time. Lastly, while on the one hand the Christians of northern Spain, in spite of their unfortunate antipathies, successfully invaded the towns of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, etc., on the other, innumerable armies of the Crusaders forced the Mussulmans of Asia and Africa to confine themselves to their own lands.

The Muslims now lost all hope of re-entering France or conquering any part of south-eastern Europe. Already in 960 the Arab writer Ibn-i-Hauqal calls the Muslims effeminate and light-hearted, while a writer of the twelfth century, Ibn-i-Sa'îd likewise reproaches them and expresses a surprise that they have not so far been driven out of the peninsula.² We shall be able to form some idea of the condition of the Mussulmans and the opinion they now held of the Christian nations with whom they had so long been at war, by the following facts:—

Our Arab authorities tell us that when Mûsa the conqueror of Spain, went back to Syria, the Khalifah hastened to call to his presence a man so illustrious and one who had undertaken such wonderful campaigns. Among other things which Mûsa related to the monarch in reply to his queries, he described the Franks as a race full of vigour, courage and steadfastness.³ Even if Mûsa had advanced

(1) As regards Maguelone, vide *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. XI, p. 454, as well as *Monumens de quelques anciens diocèses de Bas-Languedoc*, expliqués dans leur histoire et leur architecture, by Renouvier and Thomassy; Montpellier, 1836, in fol. As regards Martigues, vide *Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. II, p. 475. M. Toulousan adds that the Muslim occupation in it is also mentioned in the archives of Fos and Berre. As regards Hyères, vide the *Promenade pittoresque et Statistique dans le département du Var*, by M. Alphonse Denys, Toulon 1834, in fol. This work, which is still incomplete, and which is interspersed by lithographic illustrations, is bound to have the same value for the department of the Var what the delightful work of Baron Taylor, Cailleux and Charles Nodier have proved to be for Normandy, Auvergne, etc.

(2) Arabic MSS. of the Royal Library.

(3) Vide the '*Treaty of war to be concluded with the non-Believers*'. an Arabic book printed at Cairo, p. 232. Conde quotes the same

right up to the interior of Languedoc, as is insisted on by Arab authorities, it is impossible that he should have described the condition of the Franks proper, for in those days it was not the Franks but the Goths who were the masters of the country. Nevertheless these words faithfully record the opinion which the Muslims of Spain held of the people, whether Goth or Frank, with whom they were brought into contact during their wars against Charles Martel or Charlemagne, and we can safely venture to say that it was religious enthusiasm and love of glory which made these races cross the Pyrenees in order to re-establish there the law of the Bible.

The other fact which contributes to the same conclusion is the description of a statue erected at Narbonne, as given by our Arab authorities. The statue had an arm lifted up, and there was inscribed on it the following sentence: 'O Children of Ishmael, do not go any further but retrace your steps, for otherwise you shall be driven out.'¹

Some Muslim authors are of opinion that the French nation will not be allowed to enter Paradise, for God the Almighty had recompensed it in this world by the gift of rich lands and fertile tracts, which abound in chestnut, fig and pistachio trees and their delicious fruit.

... sentence, and no doubt following some other Arabic author, says that Musa further remarked that after their defeat the Franks became feeble and timid.

(1) Arabic MSS. of the Royal Library, *anc. fonds*, No. 596 fol. 37.

HARROON KHAN SHERWANI.

(*To be continued.*)

TASAWWUF AND MODERN RESEARCH

IN Tasawwuf, the *Dhat* or Reality of God is first assumed and manifestations are traced down, till Man or more correctly "The Perfect Man" is reached—or in other words the manifestations of the activities of the cosmos are traced down from the Self as opposed to Self being the co-ordination of the activities of the cosmos as experimental psychologists hold. This tracing is called "tanazzul". The successive downward stages are technically called Ahdiyyat, Wahdat, Wahdiyyat (the three internal stages), Arwâh, Amthâl, Ajsâm (the three external or manifest stages) —There are the six Days in which the world was created according to Genesis Chap. I, and according to the Quran *Inna Rabakum Allahu 'lladhi Khalaqas Samawati Wal Arda Fi Sittati Ayamîn Thummas 'stawa' ala'l 'Arsh (Surat'ul 'Araf, VII-54)* "Surely Your Lord is Allah who created the heavens and the earth in six Days, then He mounted the Throne".

Man has to ascend through all these stages up to Ahdiyyat, when he appreciates Dhât, which is the goal of his existence. This is his '*Uruj*' or ascent. This is either in his knowledge or fancy. Then he descends again in the very same way to his own place for the reclamation of humanity as in the case of "men of God" (ahlu'llâh) and prophets. The utmost that scientists do is to prove that the world was created and the Creator is a moral being, who loves the world. All we have to do is to become loving towards His creatures and assume "the attribute of God" a phrase used by Emmanuel Kant though very common among the Sûfis who would say *Tukhalliqu bi akhlaqi'llah* (Clothe yourself with the attributes of God). The highest form of love to God finds expression in His adoration and worship *Wa'ma Khalqal jinna wal insa illa liya'budun* (Sûrat-uz-Dhariyât L. 1-56) "And I have not created the Jinn and men except that they may worship". Love towards man is the Kinship of Spirits,

which, according to a Hadîth quoted by Hazrat Ayyfsha, is formed in the prenatal spiritual world *Al Arwahum Junudun mujannida fa ma tu'arafa minha itala fa wa man tanakara minha akhtalifa* "Souls are a collected army. Those in it who recognise each other, love each other and those who do not recognise each other differ". By loving and worshipping God, man's *nafs* attains to the stage of *Mutma'inna* which is addressed thus : *Ya iyyaha'l-nafs-ul-Mutma'innatu irji'i ila rabbika raziyatam murziyya fadkhuli fi'ibadi wa'd khultjannati* (*Sura tul Fajr Lxxxix 26*) "O soul that is at rest return unto thy Lord, well pleased (with Him) and .pleasing (unto Him). Enter among My servants and enter into my paradise." The philosophers who go from bottom to top, argue from design, the design that has manifested itself in the evolution of the Universe. It is not merely natural selection and survival of the fittest, which nature carries out without any goal in view. There is actual design in nature e.g. the storing in the gall-bladder of the bile manufactured in the liver till it can be conveniently emptied out. "It is difficult to say on the selection hypothesis how such an organ arose in which mere convenience is the sole end", says the Rev. Vicar Best. In the beginning was Unity, a solitary germ-cell, the egg was represented by a solitary germ-cell and it gave rise to all the complex organs and faculties of an animal in its manifestation. Multiplicity did not co-ordinate itself into Unity. From Unity manifested Cosmos—God put himself under limitations of His own will for some ulterior purpose. Next to Cosmos comes Psyche, the seat of consciousness and memory and then the natural body. This is the *tannazzulat* (the evolution theory) profounded by John H. Best¹.(a) He however, did not expatiate upon the connecting links as Sûfis do.

His Psyche is the storehouse of memories, the future is constructed out of these memories, as in the case of an offspring which derives its qualities from both the parents. "Memories" are not destroyed, because the brain, this merely material mechanism, happens to get out of gear or fall to pieces at death (Best p. 32). The conglomerate Psyche corresponds to the world-soul of Plotinus of Alexandria, which is perennially conscious of its past, or to the *Rûhi 'Azam* of the Sûfis, as Moulana Rumi puts it.

(1) "From the Seen to the Unseen" by John H. Best, Vicar of Little Marlow, Bucks P. 66,

Tafriqa dar Ruhi haywani buad
Nafs Wahid Ruhi Insani buad

Differentiations are in animal souls
 The human soul is one individual.

Thus memories exist independently of brain cells. The third eye of man, which was connected with the Psyche, his past memories and the future developments connected with them, has now sunk into the brain and become his pineal gland. This is the *oculis cordiale* of the ancient German Saints. To mark its former place the Brahmins put on a *namum* on the forehead.

Anatomical physical facts show purposiveness, says Vicar John Best. (Page 399). "Neither the Darwinian gemmules nor Weisman's Ids nor Mendelian laws have succeeded in clearing up the mystery how simple germ-cells manage to develop into higher organised adult individuals." Hence the existence of an invisible entity of a mental order has been postulated by Mr. Best *viz.*, Psyche. This Psyche corresponds to the subliminal consciousness of F. W. H. Myers who was of the band of Cambridge savants who founded the Society for Psychical Research in 1882. The Sûfi, however, sees the *ism* (name) of God, Al-Hakîm (the wise) permeating the totality of the manifestation of cosmic developments. God's Wisdom is not obvious at the outset or on the outside, just as the brush-strokes of a painter on the canvas may not be intelligible at first sight but become so as the painter's work reaches completion. The Persian Poet is not therefore wide of the mark who said :

Darya ba wujud kish maujey darad
Khus pindard ki kashakus baust

"The ocean has billows of its own

"The straw on the crest thinks it is struggling
 with it."

"Not a sparrow shall fall on the ground without
 your father"

(St. Math-x-29) said Christ.

La taharraka dharratin illa bi idhni 'llah

"Not an atom moveth except by the command of Allah" says an oft-quoted hadith. From Psyche innumerable Psyches have emanated, which are under the direction of a fully conscious superior Intelligence. Psyches

correspond to the Nusma envisaged by Shah Waliyallâh Sâhib of Delhi and made mention of in his *Hujjatul Balighah*. The Psyche works on life. Life according to the theory of abiogenesis generated spontaneously on the earth—Kelvin thought that it was brought down on to the earth from a meteorite, millions of years ago. Ærhenus put forth his theory of Panspermea, that the whole universe is pervaded by a countless host of microscopic germs (Best 429). In the Sûfistic catalogue, life is the concrete manifestation of the aspect of Is-hess of Existence of God, which is one of the four primary aspects or hypostasis (*'itibarat*) of the Dhât. According to Bishop Marcar, "It sleeps in the inorganic world, stirs in plants, awakes in animals and comes to self-consciousness in man." (*Mystery of Life* p. 20). "There was gradual procedure from inorganic to organic matter through stages of gradually increasing complexity." Organic evolution is complete in man the microcosm of the macrocosm, intricacy and delicacy of the organic world having become most manifest in him. He, being the "image of God", has to ascend to his source. In him alone spiritual evolution begins. Hence his spiritual powers alone will develop and not his body (Best p. 472). This ascent consists in making our Will subject to the Will of God. "The purpose of God", says the Revd. Mr. Best, "is a moral one, bringing beings like ourselves into existence, who should be able to choose between higher and lower impulses, and who, by choosing right, should gradually bring their wills into conformity with His Own." (p. 527). Hence Muhammad called himself *'abd* (slave) of God. A slave extinguishes his will and follows the will of his master, and hence also Islam is submission to the Will of God—extinction of one's will in His Will. In bringing our will in the first instance into conformity with His Will, there is self-sacrifice on our part which entails a considerable amount of suffering, and hence the place and value of suffering in man's life. "And I, if I be lifted up" said Christ "shall draw up all men unto me." Through suffering man advances toward perfection to become the image of God that he really is, as perfect man. To go through suffering, some Sûfis recognised three kinds of deaths:—*Mauti aswad* or black death, which is suffering at the hands of others, *mauti ahmar* or red death, which involves working contrary to carnal desires. *mauti abyaz*, white death, suffering from hunger. Hence also the injunction *Mutu qabla an tamutu*—"die before you die."

The end of the evolution or tanazzulât is the production of perfect man or as Mr. Myers calls it "normal man" who according to him "has the fullest grasp of the faculties which inhere in the whole race" (p. 20, *Human Personality*) or in the best products of the whole race as Sa'di puts it in the case of the Prophet Muhammad,

Husni Yusuf dami 'Isa, Yadi baida dari

Anchi khuban huma darand tu tanha dari

The beauty of Joseph, the breath of Jesus and the white hand of Moses.

• Whatever the beloveds severally had, thou hast them all conjointly.

The Prophet had concentrated in him all the attributes that inhere in the choicest individuals of the human race.

KHAJA KHAN.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

14. THE SCHOOLS OF JURISPRUDENCE.

(Continued from *Islamic Culture Vol. IV No. 3 pp. 451*)

IN the history of Muslim Law the 4th/10th century constitutes an important landmark. Then the supreme source of legal development—the interpretation of the Qur'ân and the tradition by the aid of individual light—is supposed to have ceased (*Ijtihad Mutlaq*).¹ Then the creative period ended: the old masters were set down as infallible and only in matters of trivial concern were the Jurists allowed to form an independent judgment of their own. In other words the rabbis succeeded the scribes.

But such, indeed, is only the Islamic view of the position of affairs! In reality, here, as elsewhere, precisely the same thing happens—the outstanding feature is the introduction of the pre-Islamic legal conceptions—the revival of the old Greco-Roman ideas. These ideas were represented by the Jurists (*Fuqaha*), in contradistinction to the upholders of the *Sunnah*, who sought to shape and regulate life in conformity with the word of God and His Prophet. The old school, however, would not yield straightaway and was still predominant in two very important provinces—Fars and Syria—besides Sind.² Further, in Media it reckoned many supporters.

Of the schools of *Sunnah* the Hanbalites, the Auzaites and the Thaurites were the most important.³ But as compared with later times it is necessary to note that the Hanbalites were not then regarded as Jurists at all. In 306/918 the schools of jurisprudence mentioned are: the Shafi'ites, the Malikites, the Thaurites, the Hanafites, and the Daûdites⁴. And towards the end of the century: the Hanafites, the Malikites, the Shafi'ites and the Daûdites⁵. On neither of these occasions are the Hanbalites

(1) Snouck Hurgronje, RHR 37, p. 176. •

(2) Muk., 179, 395, 439, 481.

(3) *Fihrist*, 225, Muk., 37 (See Lammens, *Islam*, Ch. V. Tr.).

(4) Subki, II, 807.

(5) Muk., 37.

referred to as a School of Law. There was a disturbance at Tabarî's funeral (d. 310/933) because, in his work on the *Differences of opinion among Jurists*, he completely ignored Ibn Hanbal on the ground that he was no jurist but a mere traditionist.¹ Only later did the Hanbalites succeed in receiving recognition as Jurists.² The other schools of Jurisprudence could not hold out. Already in the 3rd/9th century the Auzaites had been overshadowed in Spain by the Malikites. The Qâdi of Damascus, however, who died in 347/958, was an Auzaites.³ They even had a school in the great mosque of Damascus.⁴ According to Muqaddasi Auzai failed only because the centre of his teaching was too far away: "Had it lain on the route of the pilgrims, the inhabitants of both East and West would have embraced it."⁵ Muqaddasi even regards the teachings of Sufyân Thaurî which, at one time, predominated in Isfahan, to have fallen into obscurity.⁶ In 405/1014 died the last great jurist who delivered lectures in the Mansûrah Mosque at Bagdad according to that school of Jurisprudence.⁷ Although, according to tradition, some five hundred schools of Jurisprudence are said to have disappeared at or about the beginning of the 3rd/9th century—yet everything still was in a state of flux.⁸

Daûd of Isfahan (d.270-883) founded the Zâhirite school which in the 4th/10th century rose to great prominence in the East. In Irân it included within its circle some very distinguished names and in Fars even the Qâdi and other judicial officers subscribed to its tenets. The ruler 'Adad-ud-Daulah himself belonged to that school.⁹ It rigorously proceeded against the compromise affected by Shâfi' between the old traditional school of *Sunnah* and the new jurisprudence.¹⁰ Like all extremists it aimed at purification. Its principle to stand faithfully by tradition was a scientific principle but it was soon apparent that

(1) Ibn Jauzi, *Muntazam*, Sub anno. 310 according to Thâbit ibn-Sinân: Ibn al-Athîr, VIII. 98, according to Misk: Wüstenfeld, AGGW, 37, Nr. 80.

(2) According to Ghazzâlî about 500/1107. Kern, *Ikhtilaf* of Tabarî, 14.

(3) Abû'l-Mahâsin, II, 347.

(4) Muk., 179.

(5) Muk., 144 (Eng. tr. p. 234 Tr.).

(6) Muk., 87, 395 (qn Sufyân Thaurî, see Ibn Khall. I, 576 Eng.Tr.)

(7) Ibn Taghribardî, 126.

(8) 'Umdat al-arifin in Kern's *Ikhtilaf* of Tabarî, 14.

(9) Muk., 439.

(10) Khwarezmî, *Mafatih al-'ulum*, p. 8: Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, 110.

jurisprudence was not an exact science. Its clear-cut method exercised by far the greatest influence in the historico-philological sphere. According to Muqaddasi the chief characteristics of the Zâhirites are : Pride, acuteness, combativeness, prosperity.¹

The historian Tabarî (d. 310/923) also founded a school of jurisprudence. For months after his death the pious came to his house to offer prayers at his grave.² Tabarî's friend, Ibn Shajarah, who died at the age of ninety in 350/961, likewise, followed his own line of thought and acknowledged no master. Despite his independence (and it is characteristic of the tolerant conditions in the East) he became a Qâdi (Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 18). Even the Qâdi of Old Cairo Ibn Harbawaihî (d. 319/931 over hundred years old)—belonging as he did to the Shafi'ite school—decided according to his own light, unfettered by any system or authority.

Had another done this, it would not have been tolerated for an instant but no one, in his case, took exception to it (Kindi, 528 ; Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 303).

But, in point of fact, the four main schools held their ground—as is the case in the East to-day—except in the Shi'ite countries. In the 4th century the Hanbalites, for the first time, passed beyond the confines of Mesopotamia.³

But the outstanding fact is the expansion of the Shâfi'ites with their head-quarters at Mekka and Medîna.⁴ "Since the appearance of the Shâfi'ites up to the present day, the offices of judge, of preacher, and of superintendent in the holy towns had been in their hands. For the last 563 years they have preached in the mosque of the Prophet according to the school of his cousin Muhammad ibn Idris el-Shâfa'î. And the Prophet has been present and has heard what they have preached and therein lies the best proof that this school is the best school before God."⁵ In Mesopotamia they received but little support. There the Jurists and the Qâdis were mostly Hanafites ;⁶ although

(1) p. 41.

(2) Wüstenfeld, AGGXX 37, Nr. 80. Ibn Taghribardî mentions a jurist who died in 410/1019 belonging to the school of Tabarî. The Egyptian Qâdi al-Khasibi (supplement to Kindi, p. 577), who died in 847/958, wrote a controversial work against Tabarî.

(3) Suyûtî, *Husn-ul-Muhadara*, I, 228.

(4) Khwarezmî, *Ras'ail*, 63. Muk. is silent on this point.

(5) Subkî, *Tabaqat*, I, 174.

(6) Muk., 204 (Eng. tr.)

in 338/949 a Shâfi'î was appointed the chief Qâdi.¹ In the East they were more successful against the Hanafites.² In Syria and Egypt they managed to establish their stronghold. Abû Zuraih (d. 302/914) was the first Shâfi'ite Qâdi of Damascus and of the Egyptian capital. His successors in Syria remained loyal to his School.³ In Egypt their opponents were the Malikites who had come to power there since the middle of the 2nd/8th century. In 326/938 the Shâfi'ites and the Malikites had each 15 circles of students in the chief mosque of Fustât; the Hanafites only three.⁴ At the time of Muqaddasi a Shâfi'î, for the first time, acted as Imâm of the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn. Till then this office was almost exclusively held by the Malikites. Even most of the Jurists there belonged to the Malikite school.⁵ The circles of audience which formed round the Malikite Imam en Na'âlî (d. 380/990) covered seventeen pillars of the mosque.⁶ For this reason precisely the Fatimid Government proceeded very severely against the Malikites. In 381/989, for instance, a man was scourged at Old Cairo and was taken round the town in disgrace for possessing a copy of the *Muatta* of Ibn Malik.

After the fall of the Fatimids --the Ayyûbids, by their Shâfi'ite leanings, helped this school on to victory. But, as is the case to-day, the whole of Lower Egypt remained essentially Malikite. Further westward the Shâfi'ite propaganda did not penetrate. Between them the Malikites and the Hanafites shared the Maghrib⁷ --the latter being less rigid were more acceptable to the Fatimids than the former. But when in 440/1048 North Africa shook off the Fatimid yoke--not only the Shi'ites but also the Hanafites suffered; the province having passed into the hands of the Malikites who retain it even to-day.⁸ In Spain the Malikites reigned supreme.⁹

At Baghdad itself the Hanbalites, among the orthodox,

(1) Subki, II, 244.

(2) At Shash the extreme edge of the empire, the Shâfi'ite teaching was introduced by a scholar who died in 635/978. (Suyûti, *de interp. Corani*, 36).

(3) Kindî, 519 : Subki, II, 174 : Suyuti, *Husnul Muhadara* 1, 186. An exception to this rule, p. 203.

(4) Ibn Sa'id, Ed. Tallquist, 24.

(5) Muk., 202, 203.

(6) Suyûti, *Husnu'l Muhadara*, 1, 212.

(7) Maqrizî, *Khitat*, 1, 341.

(8) Goldziher, *Le Livre de Ibn Tountert*, 23.

(9) Muk., 236.

kept the government fully occupied. With intense fierceness they fought the Shi'ahs. Whenever the latter built a mosque there was tumult and riot.¹ In 323/935 the Malikites assaulted Shâfi'ite pedestrians in the streets² but they reserved their fury for the Shi'ahs and their theological foes. Even, according to Muqaddasi, the Shâfi'ites were decidedly the most quarrelsome among the Jurists.

People in these matters have been misled, for most of the information regarding them comes from Shâfi'ite sources. One thing is certain, wherever there was a juristic squabble, the Shâfi'ite was never absent. Other disputants change and come to terms with each other.

On the whole, in the 4th/10th century, the schools behaved very well towards each other. The learned—such as Muqaddasî—recommended peace and concord (p. 366). The change from one school to another was still a matter of no great moment.

Ahmad ibn Fâris (d. 369/980)—the most notable philologist of his day—went over from the Shâfi'ite to the Malikite school out of indignation at the fact that at Râi where he resided there was not a single follower of this far-famed school³. At Cairo a Shâfi'ite was chosen as Imâm of the Tulunid mosque—a position held hitherto by the Malikites—on the naive ground that no better candidate was available.⁴ Even Muqaddasî assigns purely personal reasons for his preference, in answer to the question, asked in amazement, why he, a Syrian, whose countrymen are Hanbalites and whose jurists Shâfi'ites, attached himself to the Hanafite school.⁵

15. THE QADI.

Of the principle of the separation of the judicial from the executive, Islam thought as little as Christian Europe till the most recent times. Not unlike the Prophet the Caliph was the supreme judge of the faithful. In the Provinces the Governors exercised this power for him. But their manifold duties necessitated help in this direction as is reported of Mukhtâr : in the beginning, with great zeal and talent, he personally carried on the judicial work until it became too heavy for him and he was compelled to

(1) Wuz, 335.

(2) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 230. •

(3) Yâqût, *Irshad*, 11, 7.

(4) Muk., 208.

(5) Muk., 127.

appoint Qâdis (Judges)¹. And precisely, for this reason, the jurisdiction of the Qâdi was never definitely defined or rigidly marked off from that of the Governor—the latter reserving for himself all that “for which the Qâdi was too weak.” (Mawardî). Should the Governor refuse to accept the decision of the Qâdi—the latter had no alternative but to resign, or at least to suspend work.² But such a contingency was of rare occurrence. Kindî, in his *History of the Egyptian Qadis*, records only two such instances, from the whole of the first centuries, where the decision of the Qâdi, on a question of personal law was set aside by the governor: one of these involved a principle of exceptional importance³. A woman had married one not of equal birth. Her relatives demanded dissolution of this marriage from the Qâdi. But the Qâdi, in defiance of the command of the governor, refused to entertain their request. The Governor, thereupon, parted the couple. Here, in this case, two principles stood face to face—the old Arab-world principle of aristocracy and the Islamic one of democracy—which rested no longer on blood but on faith and piety.

In accordance with the defederalization of the Empire under the ‘Abbâsid the Qâdi was removed from the authority of the Governor and was, now, either appointed direct by the Caliph or at least confirmed by him⁴. Mansûr was the first to appoint judges at the capitals of the Provinces⁵. Thus under Mâ'mûn (198-218/813-833) the Qâdi of Fustât—the Egyptian capital—removed an officer—belonging to the espionage department—from his court on the ground that the court was the court of the Commander of the Faithful (Kindî, 444). Even in the very worst days the appointment of judges remained a prerogative of the Caliph. It was the last important office that he filled up to the end. When, on his accession, the Caliph, chosen in 333/944, held an inquiry and re-appointed the judges of the Capital the people scoffingly said: There is the limit of his power. (Mas'ûdî, VIII, 378). A Qâdi, appointed by Ikhshid in Egypt in 324/935, was satirized

(1) Wellhausen, *Die religions-politischen oppositionen—parteien* 78.
 (2) Kindî, *Qudat*, ed, Guest, 328, 356, 427. (3) Kindî, 367. The other instance is to be found on page 427. (4) Ya'qûbî, II. 468. (5) The Qâdi of Egypt, appointed by Mansûr in 155/772 was the first Qâdi of Egypt to be appointed directly by the Caliph. Kindî, *Qudat*, 368. It was under Al-Mâhdî that the first Qâdi, sent by the Caliph, came to Medina. (Ya'qûbî, ii, 484). In early Islam Judges apparently were appointed by the Caliphs. The letter of 'Omar to the Qâdis and officers admits of such a construction.

as illegally appointed inasmuch as he was not appointed by the Caliph.¹ In 394/1004 the otherwise all-powerful Bahâ-ud-Daulah wanted to make the registrar (Naqib) of the 'Alids chief judge, but as the Caliph had not nominated him it could not be done.² Among the few surviving prerogatives of the Caliph—the appointment of the Chief Judge in Egypt is one acknowledged even today.³ Ever since the days of the first 'Abbâsid the position of the Qâdi rose in importance. Though it had, hitherto, been the practice for the Qâdi to attend the governor's levee—the Qâdi appointed by Hârûn in 177/793 replied to the invitation of the Amîr in so insulting a style that “the practice was done away with⁴.” In the 3rd/9th century, things having changed, the governors are said to have waited upon the Qâdis⁵, until the year 321/941 when Qâdi Harbawaihî, being too proud to rise to receive them, the Governors dropped the practice. (Suyûtî, *Husnu'l Muhadara*, II, 101 ; supplement to Kindî, 528). A similar story is related of the Wazîr Ibn 'Abbâd. The Qâdi of Baghdad refusing to rise to receive him, the Wazîr offered his hand to help him in getting up. (Yâqût, *Irshad* II, 339. But this story is related of another also). This Qâdi was a prince of justice. He refused the title of Amîr to the Governor and always addressed him by name and in a case before him he called upon the powerful field-marshal Munis to produce testimony from the Caliph to the fact that the Caliph had emancipated him and that he was no longer the Caliph's slave. He was a great stickler for dignity. No one ever saw him eat or drink or wash his hand or sneeze or spit, or even pass his hand across his face. All this he did in private. He decided cases wholly according to his inner light—without reference to any particular school of law—a thing which would have been greatly resented in others. His learning was indisputable. No suspicion of corruption ever rested on his name.⁶ When someone once laughed, during the hearing of a case, the Qâdi called him to order in a voice which filled the room : “What art thou laughing at in the court of God where the matter against thee is proceeding? Laughest thou

(1) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 113 ff. (2) Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 141 b : Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 129. (3) Gottheil, *The Cadi*. SA of REES 1908, 7, note 3.—This is of course no longer the case (1929) Tr. (4) Kindî, 388. The only two attempts to make the Qâdi at the same time governor are : (a) the appointment of the Spanish Qâdi Asad who died in 218 and (b) that of Sarh ibn 'Abdullah under Al-Mahdî (158-169) *Kit. al-'uyun*, 372. (5) Wûstenfeld, AGGXX, 37, Nr. 91. (6) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 302, ff : supplement to Kindî, 528.

when the Qâdi trembles between heaven and hell ? ” The Qâdi so terrified the offender that he lay ill for three months.¹ The Baghdadi Qâdi al-Isfaraîni (d. 406/1015) could say to the Caliph Qâdir that he dare not dismiss him. On the contrary he—the Qâdi—need only write to Khorasan to shake the Caliph’s throne². It is, indeed, indicative of respect for the judicial post that while, about that time, we often and often hear of princes and wazîrs languishing in jail—we hear of but few such instances from the judicial circles. Only one Qâdi is said to have died in jail and this one, Abû Umayyah, was an exception. He was not a trained lawyer, but a dealer in cambric. When a reverse of fortune had overtaken Ibn al-Furât he concealed himself at Abû Umayyah’s house and, while in concealment, he promised him a government post—should he again become wazîr. Ibn al-Furât became wazîr for the second time and Abû Umayyah had to be provided with an important post, but he lacked qualification for a governorship, for the collectorship of income-tax, for the head-ship of police. The jovial wazîr, therefore, made him the Qâdi of the great towns of Basra, Wâsit, Ahwaz to spite the jurists. The new Qâdi was simple and honest, two qualities which atoned for his ignorance. He behaved very coldly towards the Governor and never paid his respects to him, with the result that as soon as the news of the fall of the Wazîr reached Basra the Governor forthwith put him in jail.³

Theoretically the jurists did not look approvingly upon the office of the judge. Even in the 4th/10th century Samarqandî (d. 375/985) tells us⁴ : “ On the question of the acceptance of a judicial post there is no unanimity of opinion. Some maintain that it should not be accepted ; while others that it may be, provided it has not been sought or striven for. ” They reported fearful denunciations of the Prophet even against a righteous judge⁵.

A man whom the Caliph ‘Omar I, desired to appoint Qâdi in Egypt rejected the suggestion on the ground that ‘ God had not rescued us from heathenism and its evil ways to go back to them⁶. ’ When in A.II. 70/689 a Qâdi was appointed for Egypt—his father, hearing of the appointment, said ‘ May God help us ! The man is lost.⁷ ’

(1) Subki, II, 306. (2) Subkî, III, 26 : AGGW, 37 Nr. 287.

(3) Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 7 b. The news came through the pigeon-post.

(4) *Bustan al-‘arifin*, 38. (5) Ibn Khall. I, 135 note 5 : *Mishkat*, (Eng. tr.) 221 Tr. (6) Kindî, 302. This does not agree with a statement above that Mansûr was the first Caliph to appoint provincial judges. Tr. (7) Kindî, *Qudat*, 315.

I am not aware how the early Christians looked upon this question, but Islam manifestly clung to the principle of 'Judge not' of the Sermon on the Mount. We are told how pious people hurried away from Mesopotamia across Syria to Arabia to escape their threatened appointment as judges : such, among others, were Sufyân Thaurî, who died in concealment, and Abû Hanîfa who, in spite of the lash, would not accept a judgeship.¹ According to Tabarî, the traditions taught by Abû Yûsuf were suspect, because he was a friend of a Qâdi.² Under Al-Mahdî the Qâdi of Medîna was made to accept the post by public flogging.³

And yet about this very time the Qâdi Sharik, having received a draft on the court-banker for his services, insisted on being paid in coin of full weight ; and when the banker told him that, after all the difference would not suffice to buy him a suit of clothes, he answered " And yet I gave for it something better than a suit of clothes ; I gave up for it my religious convictions."⁴

A savant is even said to have feigned madness to avoid appointment to the post of a Qâdi.⁵

In striking contrast to the Qâdis (representatives of the *'Ilm ed-dunya*) stand the Sûfis. On the day of Judgment the true savant will rise from the dead with the Prophet—the Qâdi, however, with the wielders of temporal power. Isma'îl ibn Ishâq was a friend of the Sûfi Abu'l-Hasan ibn Abi'l-Ward. When Isma'îl became Qâdi, the latter broke off his friendship with him. Summoned as witness before him Abû'l-Hasan put his hand on Isma'îl's shoulder and said : Oh Isma'îl ! the knowledge which has borne thee here is worse than ignorance.⁶ Isma'îl drew his mantle over his face and wept until the mantle became wet.

The Hanafites were the first to yield to the exigencies of the age. At least the Shâfi'ite Ibn Khairân (d. 310/922) thus taunted a colleague on his appointment as Qâdi : Only the Hanafites accept such offices ! The critic himself had refused the Qâdiship of Baghdad. A guard, accord-

(1) *Bustan al-'arifin*, 30 : other instances in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, tr. by Nicholson, 93. (2) Ibn Khall, Nr. 834. (3) See the life of Iyâs al-Qâdi in Ibn Khall (Eng. tr.), Vol., I, 232. Two men refuse to act as judges. Tr. (4) Ibn Khall. Tr. 290. (Eng. tr. Vol. I. p. 628 Tr.). (5) Further examples, Amedroz, *Office of the Kadi in the Ahkam Sultaniyya*, JRAS 1910, 775. (6) Makki, 1, 157.

ingly, was placed at his house by the Wazîr where he was kept confined.¹

But even the chief of the Hanafite school—Al-Râzi (d. 370/980)—twice refused the office of chief judge.² Indeed, up to the end of the 4th/10th century convention demanded but a hesitating acceptance of the Qâdi's post.

On the appointment of a new judge in 399/1009 a poet sings :

" I have been compelled, says the one —the other, (the dismissed one) : Now, I can breathe. Both lie. Who can believe all this³ ? "

The question whether a Qâdi should accept a salary was very keenly debated. 'Omar I is said to have forbidden it.⁴ The Hanafite jurist Al-Hassaf (d. 261/874) seeks to establish the contrary proposition by sayings of the Prophet and examples from the early times.⁵ The Qâdi Ibn al-Hujairah, appointed in Egypt in 70/689, got an annual salary of 200 dînârs (about 2,000 marks). But, in addition to this appointment, he held the posts of treasurer and state-preacher. Each of these offices brought him 200 dînârs a year. Over and above these he received a gratuity of 200 dînârs and a pension of equal amount—making up an annual income of 1,000 dînârs (that is, 10,000 marks).⁶ Even in the year 131/748 the Judge of the Egyptian Capital drew a salary of 20 dînârs a month (about 200 marks).⁷ But this amount obviously was not sufficient for the up-keep of his office and staff.

Of his 10,000 marks the above-mentioned Ibn Hujairah hardly had anything left by the end of the year.⁸

A man turned up at the meal-time of the Qâdi of Fustât (appointed in 90/709). The meal consisted of old lentils, served on a rush mat, biscuit and water. Bread he could not afford, said the Qâdi.⁹ The Qâdi of Fustât, appointed in 120/736, carried on an oil-trade, along with his judicial work. When a young friend in astonishment questioned him about it, he put his hand on his shoulder and said :

(1) AGGW 37, Nr. 81. Similar had been the fate of Ibn Suraij (d. 305/918) who had formerly been the Qâdi of Shîrâz (Subki, II, 92). According to Subki the confinement of Ibn Khairân was a mere sham. According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Zulaq (d. 387/998) people looked at the sealed door and pointed it out to their children. Subki, II, 214. (2) Jauzi, fol. 118 a. (3) Ibn Taghribardî, 103 : Jauzi, fol. 159a : Ibn al-Athîr IX, 149. (4) Gottheil, *The Qadi*, 8. (5) *Kit. adab al-qadi*. Leiden, 550, fol. 25 a. (6) Kindî, 317. (7) Kindî, 354. (8) Kindî, 317. (9) Kindî, 331.

"Wait until thou feellest hunger through other stomachs than your own." The young man only recognised¹ its meaning when he had his own children to bring up.¹

The Egyptian Qâdi (appointed in 144/761) was extremely scrupulous about his pay. "When he washed his clothes, attended a funeral, or did some other private work of his own, he reckoned the time so taken and made a deduction therefor from his pay." Along with his judicial work he worked as a bridle-maker and daily made two. He used the sale-proceeds of one for himself; while that of the other he remitted to his friends in Alexandria who were fighting the infidels there.²

The 'Abbâsids, who conferred a higher and independent status on the Qâdi, placed him also financially in a better position. Thus the Qâdi in Egypt, now received a monthly salary of 30 dînârs.³ Of this sum, at least under Mahdî, a third was paid in kind; namely, in honey.⁴ In the liberal days of Mâm'ûn the Egyptian Qâdi drew from the governor a monthly salary of 168 dînârs (1680 marks).⁵ He was the first to draw as much. When Tâhir—noted for his generosity—came to Egypt and appointed a Qâdi—he allowed him seven dînârs a day (70 marks)—"which is the judge's pay to-day."⁶ "Before his appointment the Qâdi of Aleppo had been a poor man who had struggled with poverty, accepting it with resignation from God and rating it higher than riches. When I met him in 309/921 as Qâdi of Aleppo he was a changed man who exalted wealth over poverty. I learnt that he gave to his wife on one single occasion 40 pieces of cloth from Tustar (Persia) and other valuable stuff."⁷

To prevent unjust acquisition of wealth on the part of the judge—the Caliph Al-Hâkim doubled his pay on condition that he did not accept a single dirham from the people.⁸ In the 5th/11th century the Persian traveller Nasir Khusru states that the Egyptian chief Qâdi drew a monthly salary of 2,000 dînârs—the supplement to Kindî also mentions his annual income to be over 20,000 dînârs.⁹

(1) Kindî, 352. (2) Kindî, 363. (3) Kindî, 378. (4) Kindî, 378. (5) Kindî, 421. According to page 435 it was 163: according to page 507 his successor also received 168 dînârs from Mutawakkil. (6) Kindî, 435. The amount is differently given. Subki, II, 302, reports, according to Ibn Zulaq (d. 386/998), that the Qâdi Harbawaihi of Egypt, who retired from office in 321/933, only had a salary of 20 dînârs a month—an amount which corresponds with the oldest arrangement. (7) Mas'ûdî, VIII, 189 f. (8) Kindî 597. (9) Guest, 613. The 50,000 mentioned on p. 499 must be understood to be inclusive of his illicit gain. The Fatimid budget in Maqrizî's *Khitat*, I, 398, assigns only 100 dînârs a month as the qâdi's salary.

In the East also the Qâdi was paid from the State-treasury (*Kit. al-Kharaj*, 115). But it is also stated that, either because of the insufficiency of pay or for reasons of conscience, the Qâdi refused to draw his salary. The latter probably was the case. Hasan ibn 'Abdullah, a famous calligrapher, who, for fifty years, had been the Qâdi of the great commercial town of Siraf (d. 369/978) made a living as a copyist.¹ Under Mahdî the Qâdi of Medîna refused to accept salary for his post. "He did not wish to be enriched by the hateful post."²

The Malikite chief judge of Baghdad, appointed in 303/915, made the following conditions on taking office: That he would accept no salary; that he would not be compelled to pass an illegal order; that he would, in no way, be approached on behalf of any one.³ 'Alî ibn al-Muhâsin et-Tanûkhî (d. 447/1055), Qâdi of some of the districts of Mesopotamia, and superintendent of the mint at Baghdad, received only 60 dinârs a month as pay.⁴

In 334/945 robbers broke into the house of a *quondam* Qâdi of Baghdad. As he was poor they did not find much and so they wanted to extort money by violence. The poor man fled to the roof, threw himself down, and was killed.⁵ In 352/963 the chief judge of Baghdad received no pay.⁶ The Baghdad Qâdi Abû Tayyib (d. 450/1058) had only a turban and a coat between himself and his brother—when one went out, the other stayed at home.⁷ Even the chief judge of Baghdad, who died in 488/1095, lived on the rent of a house. It brought in 1½ dinâr (about 15 marks) a month. He used a linen turban, a coat of coarse cotton, lived on crumbs soaked in water.⁸ And a Spanish Qâdi similarly lived on the produce of land he cultivated.⁹

In 1852 Petermann reports from Damascus: Every year a new Qâdi is sent from Constantinople, chosen by the *Shaikh ul-Islam*. In the event of a death he receives a fixed share (I am told $\frac{1}{4}$ which is, indeed, too much) from the inheritance and 5 per cent. on the value of every suit he decides. This is the amount payable by every subject of the Porte for a law-suit (should he lose it). The European subjects pay only 2 per cent.¹⁰

(1) Huart, *Calligr.* 77. (2) *Tarikh Baghdad*, JRAS, 1912, 54. (3) Kindî, 573, Jauzi, fol. 105 b: cf. Subkî, III, 84. (4) Yâqût, *Irshad*, V, 302. (5) Jauzi, 75 a. (6) Misk, VI, 257. (7) Ibn Khall, Nr. 306. (8) Subkî, III, 84. (9) Ibn Bashkuwal, *Bibl. his. arab* 1, 60 (10) *Reise im Orient*, 98.

In modern Morocco the Qâdi, as a religious officer, is paid out of pious endowments. But as such payment is rare, they fall back upon presents from the parties.¹

In 350/961 the office of the chief judge at Baghdad was auctioned for 200,000 dirhams a year for the benefit of the Amîr's treasury.² The first purchaser combined "an ugly figure with an ugly conduct." They imputed the vices of pederasty, licentiousness and drink to him.³ But things did not pass off quite smoothly for him. The Caliph refused to receive him and two years later he was removed from office. His successor set aside all his judgments on the ground that he had bought his office. (Misk, VI, 249; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 399, 407). For the Prefect of police, see, Misk (Eng. tr.), Vol. V, p. 42; for his pay, Vol. V. 205.

Already the Qâdi Taubah (d. 120/738) had laid his hands on pious endowments which earlier were administered either by the donor or his heirs. On his death the pious endowments had become an important branch of administration.⁴ In addition to the pious endowments the Qâdi was put in charge of the estates and effects of orphans which, since 133/751, had been placed under the control of the treasury, a receipt being granted therefor.⁵ In 389/999, on the death of the Cairene Qâdi, a deficit of 36,000 dinârs was shown in the accounts of the orphans. There was a severe and searching enquiry. At the instance of the Caliph a Christian officer pursued and seized the properties of the Qâdi and his assessors (the most influential believers of the town), but only half of the amount was recovered. Since then all orphans' moneys came in into the treasury in a chest sealed by four assessors to be opened in the presence of them all.⁶

Only in the 4th/10th century was the jurisdiction of the Qâdi in matters of inheritance definitely settled. Finally he supervised the prisons for civil debts within his jurisdiction, in contrast to the police prisons (Habs al-Ma'ûnah).

In 402/1011 on the first night of the Fast the Wazîr inspected the prisons under the jurisdiction of the Qâdi of

(1) *Revue du monde Musulman*, XIII, 517. (See also Burton's *East Africa*, I, 88, Tr.). (2) Misk, VI, 249. Eng. tr. V, 205. (3) *Tadhkirah* of Ibn Hamdûn, in Amedroz, JRAS, 1910, p. 783. Passion for boys was regarded as a special vice of the *Qâdis (*Yatimah*, II, 288, *Muhadharat al-Udaba*, I, 125; *Mustatraf*, II, 199). The chief Qâdi of Mâm'un was a notorious pederast. Buhturi charges the chief Qâdi Ibn Abil-Shawârib with the same vice (*Diwan*, II, 175). (4) Kindî, 346. (5) Kindî 355. (6) *Supplement to Kindî*, Guest, 595.

Baghdad. Whoever was imprisoned for one to ten dînârs was released, but whoever was indebted for more was released for the festival on the Wazîr standing bail for his return after the festival.¹

Tickets (Riqâ), bearing the names of plaintiffs and defendants, with those of their respective fathers, were used in calling out cases. The clerk of the court collected them before the court's work began and the judge disposed of some fifty cases, on an average, per day.² The court work was conducted with absolute publicity. When the Caliph lets a case be tried in his palace the Qâdi has the doors opened and lets the public in. And, thus, in the presence of all, the court-crier, according to the tickets, called out the parties.³

And precisely for this reason the Qâdi originally sat in the chief mosque leaning against a pillar—the chief mosque being a public place, open to the entire Muslim community.⁴ The Qâdi could also hear cases at home. And thus the Qâdi of Egypt, appointed in 120/738, heard cases in a room overlooking the street, over the porch of his house, while the parties down below discussed matters among themselves.⁵

Indignant at his injustice the Egyptians flung the praying carpet of the Qâdi, appointed in 204/918, out of the mosque into the street; after that this Qâdi decided cases at home and never came to the mosque again.⁶ The Egyptian Qâdi, appointed in 219/834, sat in winter in the porch of the chief mosque, leaning against the wall with his back towards Mekka. "He would not let any official approach him."

Even his clerks and the parties were allowed only to sit at a certain distance from him. He was the first to introduce this rule. In summer he sat in the courtyard of the mosque by the western wall.⁷

About the middle of the 3rd/9th century the orthodox reaction regarded the use of the mosque as the court of the Qâdi as a desecration of God's House and forbade it.⁸ But this prohibition was ineffectual. About 320/932 the chief judge heard cases at his house⁹ and in Egypt now at the mosque and now at his house. A Qâdi (d. 407/1016)

(1) Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 157 b. In the police prison he set at liberty offenders imprisoned for slight offences. (2) Al-Hassâf (d. 261/874), *Adab al-Qadi*, Leiden, 550, fol. 9 a. (3) Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, 533. (4) *Aghani*, X, 123. (5) Kindî, 351. (6) Kindî, 428. (7) Kindî, 443. (8) Abû'l-Mahâsin, II, 86. (9) Subkî, *Tabaqat*, II, 194.

at Nisapur, immediately on the announcement of his appointment, was taken to the place set apart in the mosque for the judge.¹ And Ma'arrî complains that there are robbers not only in the desert but also in the mosques and the bazars:² only these are named assessors and merchants.³ On another occasion he calls the assessors "Beduins of the towns and mosques."⁴

During the Fatimid period the chief Qâdi of Cairo sat on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the wing of the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-As on a dais with a silken cushion. To the right and the left of him sat the assessors according to seniority. In front of him sat five court servants and four court clerks, facing each other in twos. A silver inkpot from the citadel treasury⁵ was placed before him.

In the earlier days the parties conducted their business before the Qâdi standing. When, under the Omayyads, a prince of that dynasty refused to stand and do business before the Qâdi, he was compelled to withdraw his suit.⁶ Later was introduced the practice of sitting in a row before the Qâdi. When the Caliph Mahdî had a law-suit with his mother, a Qâdi from Egypt was brought to Baghdad. The queen-mother appointed a representative on her behalf and, at the trial, the Qâdi required the Caliph to take his seat among the litigants. Whereupon Mahdî stepped down from his seat and sat in front of the Judge.⁷ When the Caliph Mâ'mûn—so an old authority relates—appeared as a suitor before the Qâdi and took his seat on a carpet, the Qâdi intimated that the opposite party too should be supplied with one.⁸ And when the representative of the powerful Zubaida—wife of Hârûn—sat impudently at the trial of a case before an Egyptian Qâdi he had him laid on the ground and ordered ten stripes to be administered to him.⁹

The theorists discussed all kinds of things calculated to affect the partiality of a judge. Should the parties greet the judge? If they did so, should not the Qâdi respond to the 'Peace on thee' as is the practice, not "on thee be peace" but only "on thee"? To say "peace" would be an improper anticipation of events.¹⁰

And the pious theory similarly declaimed against any influence that the judge might seek to bring to bear on the

(1) Subkî, II, 113. (2) Subkî, III, 59. (3) Von Kremer, ZDMG, XXX, 49. (4) ZDMG, XXXI, 478. (5) Maqrîzî, *Khitat*, I, 403. (6) Kindî, 356. (7) Kindî, 357. (8) Baihaqî, 538. (9) Kindî, 392. (10) Al-Hassâf (d. 261/874): K. *Adab al Qadi*, Leyden, fol. 22 a.

parties. He should not shout at them nor is he to force them to give any definite answer.

By reason of these theories and of the difficulty in getting money from an Egyptian—Egyptian witticism has invented the story of a Qâdi who fastened two horns to his cap to give a dig therewith to the obstinate and refractory suitor (*an-nattah*). The Caliph Hâkim, hearing this, reproached the Qâdi for it. Thereupon the Qâdi invited the Caliph to take his seat behind the curtain of the court-room to be convinced of the perversity of the people. The Caliph came. Two litigants presented themselves before the Qâdi, one claiming 100 dînârs from the other. The Qâdi suggested a monthly instalment of 10 dînârs. The debtor objected. Then he suggested an instalment of 5 dînârs a month; then 2; then 1; then $\frac{1}{2}$. The debtor, finally, proposed: "I will pay $\frac{1}{4}$ of a dînâr every year but I wish the plaintiff to be put in jail for, if he is free and I fail to carry out my promise, he will simply kill me." Hâkim enquired of the Qâdi: 'How many blows had he given the man?' Only one, replied the Qâdi. Give him two more, commanded the Caliph, or give him one and I will give the other.¹

The Qâdi wore the black colour of the 'Abbâsid officials. The Egyptian Qâdi, appointed in 168/784, used a thin black band round his long cap²; the Qâdi who acted from 237/851 a black mantle (*kisa*) but, this, indeed, only when it was pointed out to him that he would, otherwise, be mistaken for a partisan of the Omayyads.³ In the course of the 3rd/9th century the high conical hat—*qalansuwah*, called *danniya* "pot-hat" like the English top-hat—became the official head gear of the judges.⁴ It was used along with the *Tailasan*. When the 85 year old Qâdi Ahmad at-Tanûkhi resigned his post as judge he said: he would like an interval between service and the grave. He would not go straight from the *Qalansuwah* to the grave.⁵ A Qâdi without the *Qalansuwah* has been likened to a glorified clerk.⁶ In 368/978 an accused woman was frightened at the sight of a Qâdi with a beard a yard long and a face and a top-hat of equal length. To

(1) de Sacy. *Religion des Druzes*, CCCCXXVIII. (2) Kindî, 378. (3) Kindî, 469. The Qâdi of Cordova at the time of the Caliph Al-Hakam sat in court, like a fop, in a yellow mantle and with parted hair. *Ajbar Mahkumah*, 127: *Bayan al-Maghrib* (tr. by Fagnan) 128. (4) Aghani, X, 123 *Irshad*, 1, 373: VI, 209: Hamadânî, *Rasa'il*, 168: *Supplement to Kindî*, 586. (See Khûda Bakhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 96-97 Tr.) (5) Yâqût, *Irshad*, 1, 192. (6) Shabushtî, Berlin, fol. 81 a.

quiet her the Qâdi removed his hat and covered his beard with his sleeve and said : I have done away with two yards, now answer the charge preferred against you.¹

The Fatimid Qâdis carried the sword (Kindî, 589, 596, 597).

About 300/912 the staff of the Qâdi's court consisted of :—

1. The clerk (kâtib), salary 300 dirhams a month.
2. The court usher (Hâjib), salary 130 dirhams a month.
3. The munsif deciding cases at the gateway of the court, salary 100 dirhams a month.
4. Superintendent of the court premises and the police (ʿAwan), monthly salary 600 dirhams collectively (Kindî, 574 ; Jauzî, fol. 105 b).

To these was added, since the time of the Caliph Al-Mansûr, the most remarkable of legal institutions—a permanent body of “witnesses”. Al-Kindî's excellent authority tells us : “ Formerly only witnesses known to be of good repute were accepted. Others were either openly rejected or, in case they were absolutely unknown, inquiries were made regarding them from their neighbours. But now, as there is such a lot of false swearing, secret inquiries are made regarding the witnesses ; that is to say, a list of men, fit to be called as witnesses, is prepared. The result is that not reliability but inclusion in the prepared list is now the passport to the witness-box ; the word ‘ witness ’ (*Shahid*) signifying such a definite individual (Kindî, 361). ”

An official list of these witnesses was drawn up at the instance of the Qâdi appointed in 185/801 ; a practice which has continued up to the present day. People made fun of this judge for admitting 100 Egyptians (non-Arabs) into this list and for removing 30 old ones and replacing them by as many Persians (Kindî, 396). From among these witnesses were chosen the fixed number of assessors (*bitanah*) who assisted the judge in his work.

(1) Dhahabi, *Tarikh al-Islam*, JRAS, 1911, 659 note 1. In the first half of the 4th/10th century the Egyptian Qâdis had to use a blue *Tailasan* (Shabushtî, *Kit. ed. Diyarat*, fol. 181 a). Even at Baghdad a Qâdi, about 400/1000 used this kind of blue *Tailasan* (a cover for the neck). Yâqût *Irshad*, V, 261. Even the assessors used the long black hat. A poet of the 4th/10th century, thus, mockingly refers to them, ‘ On their top-hats sits the wingless raven of Noah. ’ *Muhaderat al-Udaba*, 1, 129.

Every six months—so ruled the Qâdi about 200/815—fresh nominations were to be made and the undesirable ones to be removed (Kindî, 422). A later Qâdi is reported to have taken this part of his duty so seriously that he roamed about the street at night with covered head enquiring about the character of the “witnesses” (Kindî, 437). Even in the letter of appointment of a Qâdi in Qodamah (written somewhat later than 316/928) the selection of witnesses is set down as one of his main duties.¹

When ‘Adud-ud-Daulah’s (d. 327/982) general asked him to direct the Qâdi to include a name in the list of witnesses he received the reply: “You must speak about the promotion of soldiers. The inclusion of names² in the list of witnesses is the Qâdi’s business. Neither you nor I have any voice in that matter.”

It is said of Al-Hâkim that in this matter too he restored the old practice. In 405/1014 he made more than 1200 people “witnesses” at their request. But when the chief Qâdi reproached him, saying that many of them were not fit to be placed on the list, he allowed him, with his usual fickleness, to retain or strike off the names he pleased.³

The assessors, being personally appointed by the Qâdi, vacated on his removal or dismissal from office.⁴ The Egyptian Qâdi, in the year 321/933, insisted upon his “witnesses accompanying him on his rides.”⁵ At that time four “witnesses” sat with the Qâdi at the hearing of a suit—two to his right and two to his left.⁶

In the 4th/10th century the transformation of the “witnesses” originally respectable, trustworthy men of the circuit, into a permanent body of officials takes place. The substitution of this new institution in place of the old is a creation of this century. In the 3rd/9th century a Qâdi nominated no less than 36,000 witnesses⁷ but of these only 16,000 availed themselves of the honour. About

(1) Paris, Arabic, 5907 fol. 12 b. (2) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 15. (3) Ibn Sa‘îd, fol. 124 a: *supplement to Kindî*, 612. (4) Mawardi, 128. (5) *Supplement to Kindî*, 545. (6) *Ibid*, 552, 569, 590. (7) Amedroz, JRAS 190, 779 ff, according to the Paris Ms. of *Nishwâr* of Tanûkhî (printed at p. 128). See also, Sabi, *Ras’a’il*, 122. Kindî calls the substitutes of the “witnesses” (*Shuhud*) for the year 327/939 “witnesses” who represent them. In 339/944 Mas‘ûdî, writing in Egypt, speaks of the *‘Shuhud* of Baghdad (VIII, 378). In the East and in the Maghrib, in the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century, court-assessors were called *‘udul* (*Yatimah*, III 233: Misk, V, frequently this word is used: Dozy, Sub, *‘udul*: Ibn Khaldûn, *Proleg.* (Slane’s tr.) p. 456. This term has been retained to this day in Morocco (*Revue du monde musulman*, XIII, 517 ff). Witnesses who are not officially so are now called *Mu‘amin bil ‘adalah* (Kindî, 422: Sabi, *Ras.* 122).

300/912 Baghdad counted some 1,800 such witnesses. In 322/934 the Egyptian Qâdi had to intimate to the "witnesses" that they need only come when sent for. He did not assign any salary to them¹, the position being that they wanted to be officials in the proper sense of the term but the Qâdi stood by the old view. In 383/993 the number of 'witnesses' at Baghdad was cut down to 303 but even this figure was felt to be too high.² The chief Qâdi at Cairo too had but very few witnesses.³

These "witnesses" apparently are the resurrected notaries of the pre-Islamic empire. It is recommended to the wise business-man to look round among the "witnesses" and to choose the best reputed one for notarial confirmation of his papers. A black sheep not infrequently creeps in among them with the result that all notarial work done by him becomes invalid in law.⁴

Over each of the five petty courts of Cairo a 'witness' presided in the name of the Qâdi.⁵ In the Cairo of Lane the 'witnesses' (*Shuhud*) sat in the porch of the High Court. The plaintiff brought his case to one of them who happened to be free. The 'witness' (*Shahid*) noted his case down for a piastre or so. If it was an unimportant one and the defendant submitted to his jurisdiction, he forthwith passed judgment. Otherwise he referred the parties to the Qâdi.

In the appointment letter of the chief Qâdi⁶, drawn up by Ibrâhim es-Sabi in 366/976, in the name of the Caliph, the Caliph recommends constant study of the Qur'ân; punctual fulfilment of prayers; just treatment of the parties; that is to say, he is to show no preference or partiality to a Muslim as against a Jew or a Christian. He is to walk with dignity; speak little and gently; not to look round too much, and be restrained in his movements.

(1) Kindî, 549 : Amedroz, JRAS 1910, 783 : according to Ibn Hajar, fol. 128 a. (2) Jauzî, *Muntazam*, fol. 63 a : Berlin 134 a : Amedroz, JRAS, 1910, p. 779 ff according to *Raf al-Isr* and Dhahabî. (3) *Raf al-Isr* in Kindî, 596. (4) *Mahasin at-ijarah*, 36. (5) Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, I, 333. (6) The first who bore this title was Qâdi Abû Yûsuf, the Qâdi of Hârûn al-Rashîd. This Caliph conferred this title upon all the Qâdis of the more important provinces. (Maqrizi, *Khîtat*, 333). Mâ'mûn's chief Qâdi had to examine all the judges (Ibn Taifûr, ed. Keller, fol. 100 a.). He questioned them regarding the Law of Inheritance and other intricate rules of Muslim Law. (Ibn Kutaibah, *Uyun*, 86). To appoint four chief Qâdis—one for each school of jurisprudence—became a necessity in the post-crusade period (Zâhirî, *Kashf el-Mamalik*, ed. Ravaisse, 92. Baibars appointed four chief Qâdis at Damascus in 664/1266. Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 174.

He is to employ an experienced, legally-trained *Katib* (clerk), an incorruptible court-usher (*Hajib*), and a trustworthy deputy for work he cannot personally attend to. He is to pay them adequately. He is to select witnesses discreetly and to keep a watchful eye over them. He must protect orphans and supervise charitable institutions, and regarding such matters as he cannot decide according to the Qur'ân and the *Sunnah* he is to consult the learned. Should they agree among themselves that the Qâdi has erred in his decision—he (the Qâdi) must set the decision aside.¹

This body of learned men, absolutely independent of the State, thus constitute the highest tribunal. Through them democracy, the sovereignty of the community of the faithful, maintained its position in the important sphere of Law.

All offices had a tendency to become hereditary from sire to son. And, indeed, such is most strikingly the case with the judicial service. In the 3rd and the 4th centuries one single family, that of Abû Shawârib, supply no less than eight chief Qâdis at Baghdad, besides sixteen Qâdis.² From about 325/947 the descendants of Abû Burdah were, for several generations, chief Qâdis of the Province of Fars and from about 400/1010, for centuries, Qâdis of Ghaznah. (Ibn Al-Balkhî, JRAS, 1912, 141). For eighty long years similarly, in Fatimid Egypt, the highest judicial office was retained in the family of An-Nu'mân.³

In the 3rd/9th century the power of these judicial dynasties rose to an immense height by the introduction of the practice of subletting the judicial jurisdiction—a practice already in vogue in the case of governorships.

From the beginning of the 4th/10th century the court records show that there was only one Qâdi in Egypt and that in Khûzistân and Fars all the courts were placed under the jurisdiction of one judge.⁴ The chief judge of the Iranian Buwayyid held the judgeship of the Capital Râi along with that of Hamadân and the hill-tracts.⁵

(1) Sabi, *Rasa'il*, 115 f. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century the Qâdi dissolved the marriage of a young woman on the ground that her consent had not been asked by her father. But the woman's consent being only required when she has already been married, the savants attacked the decision of the Qadi. *Supplement to Kindi*, 566.
 (2) Amedroz, JRAS, 1910, 70 according to the *Tadhkirah* of Ibn Hamdûn: see also Jauzî, 174 b. (3) Gottheil, a distinguished family of Fatimid Câdis in the 10th century, JAOS, 1906, p. 217 ff. (4) Wuz, 157.
 (5) *Irshad*, II, 314.

The Qâdi of Mekka in 336/947 was also the Qâdi of Old Cairo and other districts¹. At times, under the Fatimids, the Egyptian territories, Syria and the countries of the West were placed under one Qâdi². The appointment letter of the chief Qâdi of Egypt, in the year 363/974, indeed, confers jurisdiction over almost the entire empire west of the Persian mountains. Under him were placed subjudges (*hukkam*), over whom he exercised supervision.³

By the side of the court of the Qâdi stood the temporal court (*An-Nazar fil-mazalim*)⁴.

All matters, for which the Qâdi was considered too weak or for which a masterful hand was needed, came up before this Court.

In all Muslim countries these two courts existed side by side⁵. But their respective jurisdiction was nowhere clearly defined. It merely came to this: Which was the stronger of the two, Islam as represented by the Qâdi or the world and the wielder of the worldly power?⁶ Most police matters came up before the *Mazalim* which was sometimes presided over by a Qâdi—especially the court of the sovereign by the chief judge⁷.

The Wazîr appointed temporal judges in the provinces⁸. Twice, indeed, did the canonical law attempt the control of the police. In 306/918 the Caliph directed the police commissioner at Baghdad to appoint a jurist in every quarter of the town to receive and deal with complaints and petitions: these then were⁹ legally trained police-commissioners. "By this, fear of the Government was very much lessened and the impudence of robbers and loafers very much increased." (*Zubdat al-fikrah*, Paris, fol. 186 a.) Also Al-Hâkim associated two jurists with the police in every town, who had to investigate every offence reported to them within their jurisdiction¹⁰. The

(1) Mas'ûdî, IX, 77. (2) Qalqashandî, 184. (3) Jauzî, fol. 105 b. (4) Maqrizî, *Khitat*, II, 207. (Khuda Bakhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, 283-292 Tr.). Amedroz, JRAS, 1911, 635. (5) For Turkistan, see Schwarz, *Turkestan*, 210. For the Egypt of Mohamed Ali, see Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Chapter IV. For Mekka, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 182. (6) Amedroz, JRAS, 1911, 664. (7) For Egypt the Qâdi appointed by Ikshid in 324/936 Subkî, *Tabaqat*, II, 113. There was even a special Qâdi for the *Mazalim* in 331 (*supplement to Kindî*, Guëst, 572). For Baghdad in the year 493/1004. Jauzî, fol. 149 b. About 317/929 the Qâdi at-Tanûkhî in Ahwaz. *Irshad*, V, 332. Even when such was not the case, the decisions were drafted by the Qâdis. Wuz, 151. (8) *Arib* 50: *Irshad*, V, 332. (9) *Arib*, 71. (10) Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd, 205.

attempt miscarried. Indeed in entire opposition to the juristic theory appeal lay to the *mazalim* from the decision of the Qâdi; especially to the highest court, that of the sovereign¹.

"There are many people (so are the frequenters of this court described) who come from distant lands and make their complaints—some against an Amîr, others against a collector of taxes, and yet others against a Qâdi or a ruler."²

About 420/1029 a Qâdi at Cairo sought the hand of an heiress and was refused. With the help of four witnesses he, in retaliation, declared her to be of unsound mind and attached her property. She appealed to the wazîr, who imprisoned the false witnesses and directed the Qâdi to restore her property and other unjust misappropriations, confined him to his house and appointed his son (the Qâdi's) to do the duties of his office³.

The viceroy Ibn Tûlûn administered justice so scrupulously that 'people almost ceased to go to the Qâdi's court'. For seven years, during his administration, there was no Qâdi in Egypt. All matters were taken up and disposed of by the secular court⁴. Even under the negro viceroy Kâfûr, the Qâdi in Egypt disappeared from the scene because Kâfûr frequently heard cases himself⁵. In 369/976 there was a conflict of jurisdiction between the two courts—spiritual and temporal—the Wazîr deciding that they should not interfere with each other⁶. About 400/1000 the Qâdi was constrained to object to the police interfering in matters relating to the canonical law. The Caliph ended the dispute by placing the temporal Court under the jurisdiction of the Qâdi⁷. About 320/932 it seems that the tickets were thrown into the box in the presence of the presiding judge⁸. The judgment was a written judgment. Some of these have become classics of literature—not unlike the marginal notes of Frederick⁹.

At court a day was fixed for hearing cases. Such, indeed, was already the practice under the Byzantine rule.

(1) Miskawaihî, Vol. IV, p. 75 (Eng. tr.). I am indebted to Prof. Margoliouth for this reference. Tr. (2) Wuz, 107. (3) Amedroz, JRAS, 1910, p. 793, according to Paris, Arab. 2149, fol. 60: Cf. JRAS. 1911, 663: *Supplement to Kindî*, 499, 613. (4) Kindî, 512. (5) *Supplement to Kindî*, 584. Kindî, 591. (6) Kindî, 604. (7) Wuz, 52, 107. Every week an abstract of all complaints was to be laid before the President of the Mazâlim. Qodamah, Paris, 5907, fol. 236. (8) *Supplement to Kindî*, 541. (9) Such as those of Tâhir in Ibn Taifûr. *Kûl, Baghdad*, fol. 50 b: of Ma'mûn in Baihaqî, 534 f: of Sâhib ibn Abbâd in Tha'alabî, *Khas al-khas*, Cairo 1909, p. 73.

In 494 A. D. the governor of Edessa sat every Friday in a church to hear cases (Josua Stylites, 29). Under Al-Mâ'mûn Sunday was the day set apart for hearing cases (Mawardi, 143). For this purpose Ibn Tûlûn sat twice a week (Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, 207). Ikhshid, the viceroy of Egypt, held his court¹ every Wednesday in the presence of the Wazîr, the Qâdi, the jurists and other dignitaries; Kâfûr every Saturday².

But after Al-Muhtadî (255-256/868-869) the Caliph no longer held such courts³. This last Caliph heard and decided cases and, being a pious man, preached every Friday. He built a special domed hall with four doors where he administered justice. This 'Palace of Justice' was called (" *Qubbat al-Mazalim* ")⁴.

On cold days he arranged for coal-pans to heat the place—"so that the suitors may not be turned into stone by cold together with His Majesty's presence."⁵

Among other promises the Caliph Qâhir, when trying for the throne, promised personally to attend the *Mazalim*.⁶ Under Al-Mutadid (279-289/892-902) the chief-marshal presided over the sovereign's court in lieu of the sovereign—the wazîr, every Friday, over other courts (Wuz, 22).

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century the Wazîr heard *Mazalim* cases every Thursday—the *divisional chiefs* sitting with him⁷. In 306/918 actually a lady presided over *Mazalim*⁸. The *Mazalim*, being free from juristic hair-splitting, enjoyed greater freedom and Mawardi reckons ten points on which it differed from the Qâdi's court. Most important of these are: that here the parties could be forced to come to terms, a thing which the Qâdi was not competent to do; witnesses also could be put upon their oath here. Moreover, unlike the Qâdi, the judge could in this court, of his own motion, call and examine witnesses; whereas before the Qâdi only the plaintiff adduced evidence and questioned witnesses (Mawardi, 141 ff.)

(1) Ibn Sa'îd, *Tallqist*, 39. (2) Kindî, 577. (3) Maqrizi, according to Mawardi. There Saturday is mentioned as the court-day of Ikhshid and his son. The brief historical survey of Maqrizi is drawn from Mawardi. (Ed. Enger, 131). (4) Mas'ûdî, VIII, 2. (5) Baihaqî, 577, Amedroz, JRAS, 1911, 657. (6) Amedroz, JRAS, 1911 657. (7) Wuz, 22. (8) *Arîb*, 71: Abû'l-Mahâsin, II, 203. Opinion was divided whether a woman should be appointed judge. At least the famous Tabarî (d. 312) spoke in favour of such a proposal. Mawardi, 107. Later was imposed the condition that the Qâdi should be a man. For the *Mazalim* no such restriction was imposed.

But all this was mere theory. Local law and local practice actually prevailed and the old tested method such as corporal punishment, though forbidden to the Qâdi, continued in full force.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

REMARKS ON SUFIISM AND ITS RELATION TO PANTHEISM AND ISLAM

PANTHEISM implies the eternal and indissoluble association of the divine nature with every individual thing of the phenomenal universe. With and in this association each individual thing is a phase or partial manifestation of the divine nature, whilst the whole phenomenal universe is an exponent of that nature in its entirety.

This leaves no room for Incarnation, since the divine nature has been eternally and indissolubly in all and everything ; nor is Transcendence admissible, at all events in the same sense as in Sufiism, since the divine cannot be superior to itself, nor dissociated from the phenomenal. Pantheism is Monistic, since it implies one single nature or power as the basis of all and everything, and it particularly involves the principle of Immanence. It assumes, however, the existence of matter, and draws a broad line of demarcation in thought, between the sensible and the intelligible. In Pantheism then, so far as man can judge, the idea of the divine must be restricted to the appreciation he can form of the most powerful and exalted mind that may be subject to his observation. Nor can imagination lead him to anything higher, except in so far as quantity or degree is concerned.

Thus, Pantheism involves Monism and Immanence, but not Transcendence, so that in two respects it may seem to have some similitude to Sufiism ; but the conditions of Immanence in the two respective doctrines are dissimilar.

Pantheism supposes an eternal and indissoluble comitatus of the spiritual principle with the phenomenal world, which latter is taken to be real ; whilst Sufiism denies the real existence of the phenomenal world, and likens its association with the divine spiritual principle to that of an image or reflection with the reality before the mirror. Another illustration, which is sometimes

given, is that of the rays of light thrown out by the sun ; and this is preferable, since no Emanation or Revelation from the Deity can be considered as absolutely non-existent, absolute non-existence appertaining only to philosophical matter, the substratum of all bodies, the 'Anqâ, Phoenix. (See 'Abdu'r-Razzâq's Sûfî Dictionary). Here there can be only the relative non-existence of the sensible and intelligible worlds before the Deity, who, however, in His constant concomitation, never ceases to sustain them.

It is true that in both Pantheism and Sufiism the sensible world is taken to be an expression of the Deity, but in Pantheism that world is simply the outer form of the Deity, and neither can subsist apart from the other, whereas in Sufiism the association is as that of the reflection with the reality, or the rays of light with the sun, where the association is not indissoluble, since the reality can exist in thought at least, independently of its effects.

And again, although from some considerations or points of view, the theory of Immanence may seem to have some connection with Sufiism, the term on the whole is scarcely applicable, and "Pervasion" or "Diffusion" is more suitable, especially as it is generally assumed that the will of the Deity is concerned in the emanations (Cf. the term *انفعال* "Activities"), which 'Abdu'r-Razzâq in his Sûfî Dictionary gives as an equivalent of *شؤون* "Attitudes". The terms which, I think, best express the relationship of God to the Emanations in Sufiism are Evolution, Pervasion or Diffusion, Concomitation, and Manifestation or Revelation.

In connection with the Emanations we have, I think the most serious difficulty of Sufiism — a difficulty which arises mainly from the fact that the latter differs in an essential particular from Neo-Platonism in considering the First Individualization, *اول تعين* not as Deity, but only as an Emanation from the Deity

The Deity is designated by the term *الاحدية* (Az-Zâtu'l-Ahadiya), "The Unity Essence", or *الحضرة الاحدية* (Al-Hadratu'l-Ahadiya), "The Unity Majesty", and His nature, in Essence and Attributes, is conceived as absolute Unity — a Unity, however, that no intellect can comprehend.

The First Individualization الحضرة الواحدية (Al-Hadratu'l Wahidiya), "The Unity Eminence", is an image of the "Unity Essence", and in it the Essence and Attributes of God are included, together with the Ideas, Forms or Prototypes of all things, which are implied in the attributes, as e.g. رازق in مرزوق. These, however, and the Attributes, are conceived as differentiated, and as having each its separate and independent existence.

The Ideas or Forms, اعيان ثابته (a'yân-ê-sâbita) or صور (suvar), are of the Divine Mind and are taken to be as non-existent, or only as potentially existent until they are projected or objectified in philosophical matter, the عنقا ('anqâ) of 'Abdu'r-Razzâq. (See his Sûfî Dictionary, p. 126).

This First Individualization is the Universal Spirit روح اعظم or روح كل which embraces both the Universal Intellect and also the Universal Soul. 'Abdu'r-Razzâq in his Sûfî Dictionary, p. 4, symbolizes "The Unity Essence" as follows:—

الالف * اشارة يشار به الى الذات الاحدية — لعق من حيث هو اول الاشياء في ازل الازل

("Alif:—A symbol by which the Unity Essence, that is, God (العق) is indicated, in so far as He is the first of all things from all past eternity.")

Under المراتب الكلية (p. 57), he says:—

المراتب الكلية * ستة مرتبة الذات الاحدية ومرتبة الحضرة الالهية . هي حضرت الواحدة ومرتبة الارواح لمجردة ومرتبة النفوس العاملة وهي عالم المثال × × × ومرتبة عالم الملك وهو عالم الشهادة ومرتبة الكون الجاهل مع وهو الانسان الكامل الذي هو مجلى الجميع × × × ; انما قلنا ان المجلى خمسة والمراتب ستة لان المجلى هو المظهر الذى يظهر فيه هذه المراتب والذات الاحدية ليست مجلى لشيء الا لعبد ر لتعد فيها اصلاحا حتى العالمية والمعلومية × × ولا مجلى لاحدية الذات الا الانسان الكامل

("The Universal Degrees:—They are six, (as follows):—The degree of the "Unity Essence"; the "Divine Eminence", which is the "Unity Eminence"; the degree of the "isolated spirits"; the degree of the "active souls", which is the "world of similitudes"; the degree of the

“ world of sovereignty ”, which is the “ visible world ” ; and the degree of the “ comprehensive existence ”, which is the “ Perfect Man ”, in whom all the rest are manifested. We have said that the scenes of revelation are five and the degrees six, because a scene of revelation is a place in which these six degrees are manifested, and the Unity Essence is not a scene of revelation for anything, since it has no connection at all with multiplicity - even that of the quality of knowing and of being known ; and the Perfect Man is the only scene of revelation for the Unity of the Essence.”)*

With regard to the Emanations, the question may arise : Do they proceed necessarily from the very nature of the Deity, or are they the effects of His will ? The fact that the *شؤون* “ Attitudes ” that lead to the “ Forms ” or “ Ideas ”, *صور* are called also *انفعال* “ Activities ”, seems to indicate “ will-forces, designs, purposes ”, and this would bring the doctrine apparently into touch with the Quranic *يفعل ما يشاء* “ He does what He wills”, and with the Traditional *اول ما خلق الله العقل* “The first thing that God created was the intellect”, (*i. e.*, the Universal Intellect); but in these expressions creation in Time is understood, and in Sufism the succession is in thought alone.

It is true that the distinction of *قديم* “ what is of past eternity ”, and *حادث* “ what is of time ”, is constantly dwelt upon by Sûfî authors, but this after all implies the consideration of time, and time cannot enter into the Divine constitution and its activities. The Emanations are represented as successive, and this apparently leads to the idea of succession in Time, whereas we should think of succession only in thought. To give an illustration of this we may take a mathematical figure such as a triangle. Now a triangle must *first* exist in its “ essence ” (or, as we should say, “as defined”) *before* any “ property ” (such as that the three angles are equal to two right angles) following upon its essence can exist. But this is not a succession in Time, but only in thought, since the properties are coeval with the essence, and are simply an unfolding, as it were, of it. So too, the Emanations

* *i.e.*, God is revealed only to the heart of the Perfect Man, who is as the Universal Spirit, the First Emanation. God, Himself, cannot, of course, be the scene of any revelation, except to Himself.

are an unfolding or revelation of the Divine Essence, and are sometimes so described.

We have spoken above of the phenomenal world as being a debased imitation of the intelligible. To this latter the Sûfî aspirant is ever summoned, since in it he may be in the mind of God. By the association of the intelligible with philosophical matter the phenomenal world comes into being, and the soul of man is debased. Before he can be of, and live in, the intelligible world he must be cleansed of the impurities of himself and of the world, as the Perfect Man, the Prophet or Saint, who becomes as the Universal Spirit. As an illustration we might take a single concept, such as that of a perfect circle of the intelligible world, and consider it in connection with a circle drawn. This latter, though traced in the finest way possible to human ingenuity, falls infinitely short of the perfect conceptual circle ; but it is possible to conceive of the elimination of all that which in the visible circle is extraneous to the conceptual, and so reach the latter in thought.

In speaking, as we have done, of the successive Emanations from the Deity as being independent of time, we are not excluding the fact of *happenings* in the phenomenal world, for which space-time relations are required. But time and space are manifestations (or, according to orthodoxy, creations) for, and conditions of, the phenomenal world and man, and have no relation to the Deity. The communications and manifestations of God to man must be taken as happenings in time, but only as regards man, who cannot see beyond the present. As regards God, for Whom the future is laid out even as the present and the past, nothing happens, nothing changes, all is as that which is fixed and immutable ; nor is this any less conceivable than that all space should be open at once to the perfect vision of God. As regards man, however, time attends upon space and happenings, and extends no farther than they themselves are open to his perception. Man cannot *know* that anything beyond his range of vision exists, but he is convinced that it does, although he would not admit that anything to succeed his present perceptions already exists.

But time even in the phenomenal world exists only for those who have not come to the end of the Sûfî Path. For them thought, which is sometimes called "discursive reasoning", takes time ; for the Perfect Man, Insân-i-Kâmil, Muhaqqiq, Pîr, Murshid, Shaikh, intuition, which

is independent of time, has taken the place of thought. Rûmî, (Masnavî, II., 41) says :—

بی دماغ و دل پر از فکر بدند بی سپاه و جنگ بر نصرت زدند
آن عیان نسبت با ایشان فزونیست ورنه خود نسبت با اینها رؤیت
فکرت از ماضی و مستقبل بود چون کزین دورست مشکل حل شود

“ Without brains and heart, they, (the Pîrs), were full of thought ; without army and war, they were associated with victory.

“ That actual vision (of theirs) is, as regards them, thought ; though, indeed, as regards these people (of the world), it is intuition.

“ Thought is in connection with the past and the future ; when it is freed from these two, the difficult is solved.”¹

Note 55. The second hemistich of the first verse means, according to the Turkish Commentator, that they enjoyed spiritual triumph through the help and favour of God. The Hindustânî Commentator understands by “ army and war ” “ the brain, the heart, the senses, and the faculties ” ; and by “ victory,” “ a perfect knowledge of the natures and essences of things.” To be more explicit, it might be suggested that by “ army ” the mental faculties are meant, by “ war ”, controversy, and by “ victory ”, “ a perfect knowledge of the natures and essences,” the prototypes “ of all things ” of the Universal Spirit.

Note 56. Rûmî having said, “ Without brain and heart, they were full of thought,” now intimates in this second distich that he did not mean by thought the processes of reason, but that the Pîrs’ mode of thought, or rather, their substitute for thought, is actual vision ; that is to say, it is indeed what the people of the world would call intuition.

Note 57. (on this third distich), *i. e.*, thought requires time for its processes, and it is only when freed from time that the difficult is solved, or in other words, that the *conclusion* of the thinking processes is possessed. The souls of the Pîrs in the spiritual world have no connection with time, and therefore their intellection must be intuition, so that, that which would be a difficulty to the thinker, to them is at once self-evident.² As long as man is subject to the conditions of time and space,

(1) C. E. Wilson’s Translation, p. 18.

(2) C. E. Wilson’s Commentary, pp. 42-3.

so long is he in a state of doubt, perplexity, and ignorance of all spiritual truth. His own nature subsists, and he can have no real knowledge of God. Thus the Sûfi aspirant is constantly urged to seek safety by escape from the trammels and obstacles of time and space. Khâqânî in the Tuhfatu'l-Irâqain says,

و قستست که وقت در سر آید

It is time that time came to an end.

Rûmî, (Masnavî, II, 101²) says,

تو مکانی اصل تو در لا مکان این دکان بر بند و بگشا آن دکان
شش جهت مگر یزیر از جهت شش دره است و شش دره ماتست مات

(" You are of space, (but) your origin is in non-space ; shut up the former shop, and open the latter. Do not flee (to) the six-sides because in sides there is the station of the six-valleys, and that station is check-mate, check-mate.")*

Note 319, (on the first distich), *i.e.*, you are subject to spatial relations through the external senses, but your origin is in the Spirit of God, which has no relation to space.

The second hemistich is an injunction to return in this world to the spiritual condition held in the spiritual world before the human spirit, which is of the Spirit of God, was associated with a body. Or, the injunction is to return to the position of *ایمان ثابت* (a'yân-ê sâbita) "the fixed essences" or spiritual prototypes of all things in God's Mind.

Note 320, (on the second distich). The " six-sides " are the world, in respect of right and left, before and behind, above and below.

The " station of the six-valleys " is explained as a point in the game of " nard ", a species of backgammon, from which the player cannot extricate himself, but the term is now obsolete. Here, according to the Turkish Commentator, it means the five internal senses together with " the common sense " *حس مشترک* (hiss-e mush-tarak), which combines sensations and images and forms percepts ; *i. e.* " perception ". According to this interpretation, the meaning of the distich would be that it is vain to flee to any part of the material world, since it is only a world of the senses, and he who is confined to this

* C. E. Wilson's Translation. p. 56.

world, and consequently restricted by the senses, can have no spiritual and divine knowledge, but is, as regards the spiritual and divine, checkmated and dead.

But perhaps a simpler explanation would be that it is vain to flee to any part of the material world, since it is a world of spatial relations, and in all space there is the station from which one cannot escape. That is to say that he who is restricted by the world of space is in a hopeless position as regards the spiritual and divine world of non-space. But still the idea is practically the same—that the sensible world should be abandoned for the spiritual world.¹

In the *Masnavî*, II., 412, Rûmî speaks again of the “six sides” and the “six valleys”, but with added meanings :

چو رها ند خویشتن را ای سره هیچ کس در شش جهت از شش دره
جزو شش از کل شش چون وارد شد (خ) صم که بیچون مرا و را کز نهد
هر که در شش او درون آتش است اوش بر هاند که خلق ششست

“How can any one, O excellent (man), in the six sides extricate himself from the point of the six valleys? How can the partial six escape from the Universal Six, especially when the Inscrutable places it awry? Whoever is in the six is in the fire. He (only) can deliver him who is the Creator of the six”.²

Note 1819, (on first hemistich of first distich). By “the six sides” is meant the world, in respect of its six directions.

Note 1820, (on second hemistich of same). By “the point of the six valleys” is meant here apparently the mind, will, or pre-ordaining decree of God, from which escape is impossible. (See too, note 320 in preceding article).

Note 1821, (on first hemistich of second distich). The “partial six” signifies here apparently the individual mind, will, or policy of men; and the “Universal Six” the mind, will, or pre-ordaining decree of God.

Note 1823, (on the third distich), *i. e.*, so long as a person is shut in by the world of space and by his partial, individual mind, will, or policy, he is in the fire of affliction. God only can deliver him by giving him grace and guidance to reach the position of Universal Spirit,

(1) C. E. Wilson's Commentary, pp. 84-5.

(2) C. E. Wilson's Translation, p. 230.

in which his mind, will, or policy is as that of God. (See the Qurân, Lv., 33).¹

In connection with the non-space and non-existence of the workshop of God ما رگمه الله Rûmî (Masnavî, II., 126) says,

کارکن در کارگم باشد نهان تو برو در کارگم بینش عیان
کار چون بر کارکن پرده تنید خارج آن کار نتوانیش دید
کارگم چون جامی باش عاملت آنکم بیرون است از وی تما فلت
پس در آن در کارگم یعنی عدم تا ببینی صنع و صانع را بهم

“The worker is concealed in the workshop; go you and see Him manifestly in the workshop.

“Since the work has woven a web over the Worker, you cannot see Him outside of that work.

“Since the workshop is the place of being of the worker, —he who is outside of (it) is oblivious of Him.

“Enter then into the workshop,—that is, into non-existence, in order that you may see the work and the worker together.”²

Note 414, (on the first distich). The “Worker” is God. By the “workshop” are meant the potentialities of existence which are to appear materialised in the phenomenal world, but which whilst in God’s knowledge and only implied in His attributes, are considered non-existence آدم (‘adam) in respect of material existence. (See the fourth distich).

Note 415, (on the second distich). By web is meant the material world, which conceals God from you. So long as you see nothing but the material world you are outside of God’s workshop and work, and you cannot see Him in his Names, Attributes and Unity.

Note 417, (on second hemistich of fourth distich), i.e., as the Turkish Commentator says, the work is the forms of the knowledge of the Worker, and the knowledge is, in Unity, the “One who knows”, (as the *perceptio*, one may add, is the *percipiens*). Hence he who goes back to the position of fixed essence sees the work and the Worker together.

Again, in reference to the region and state of non-space and inexistence Rûmî (Masnavî, II. 377) says :

(1) C. E. Wilson’s Commentary, pp. 324-5.

(2) C. E. Wilson’s Translation pp. 68-9.

(3) C. E. Wilson’s Commentary, pp. 101, 103-4.

مشورت جوینده آمد پیش او کای زاب کودک شده رازی بگو
گفتا وزین حلقه کین در باز نیست باز گردا مرو ز روز راز نیست
گر مکان را ره بدی در لا مکان همچو شیخان بود می من بردگان

"The seeker of counsel came to him and said, "O father who have become as a child, tell me a secret". He replied, "Depart from this knocker, for this door is not open. Return! (for) to-day is not the day for (the manifestation of) secrets."

"If place had any access to the place-less, I, like the Shaikhs, should be in a shop¹."

Note 1635. (on the first distich). *i.e.*, speak to me out of the wisdom which is locked in your mind.

Note 1637. (on the third distich). The holy man means that, being absorbed in the Deity, he is in "adam"; *i.e.*, he is in non-existence as to his own being; he is in the region or state of inexistence, nothingness, or non-place, "lâ-makân". Nothing having place or space relations can have access to this "lâ-makân", and hence the enquirer can have no relations with the holy man whilst the latter is in this state. If, intimates the holy man, there could be any relations, then he would be in the shop of instruction like other Shaikhs; *i. e.*, he would deal in instruction.

Lâ-makân is also an epithet of God as one not existing in place or space.²

In addition to the foregoing may be quoted from Note 1415 of my Commentary to the Masnavî the following:—"Lâ-makân", "the region of non-place", means here the region of non-place in which the prototypes of all things, "a'yân-sâbita", "the fixed essences", are supposed to be before they receive objective existence in the material world. They are too in a *state* of non-existence, being only implied in God's attributes. In the region of non-place or the state of inexistence one is extinct as to self in God.

In the passage previously quoted.

هر که در شش او درون آتشش اوش بر هاند که خلاق ششست

("Whoever is in the six is in the fire. He (only) can deliver him Who is the Creator of the six.")

Rûmî speaks of creation, not of emanation (whether spontaneous, or, from the شؤن (shu'ân) or افعال (af'âl)

(1) C. E. Wilson's Translation, p. 207.

(2) C. E. Wilson's Commentary, pp. 294-5.

dynamic but this is not surprising in any author who professes orthodoxy, and would endeavour to reconcile Sufism with Islâm. It will be remembered that even Plotinus often alludes to classical myths as being in harmony with the tenets of Neo-Platonism.

The Deity, as set forth, is لا مكان *i. e.*, He does not exist in place or space. He is also immovable, His apparent movements being due only to man's imperfect conception. Rûmî (Masnavî, II. 180) says:—

چون نمی آیند اینجا کم منم کاند رین عز آفتاب روشنم
مشرق خورشید برج قیروگون آفتاب ما ز مشرقها برون
مشرق او نسبت ذرات او نی برآور فروشد ذات او

("Why do they not come to this place where I am? for in this power I am a brilliant Sun.

"The place of rising of the sun is the pitch-hued tower. My Sun is outside of places of rising.

"The place of rising of God's Sun has reference only to its notes; His Essence neither rises nor sets¹.)

Note 664, (on the first distich). This distich and the one following are supposed to be the words of God.

Note 665, (on first hemistich of second distich). The pitch-hued tower is the sky, which is dark before sunrise.

Note 666, (on second hemistich of second distich). Because God is Lord and Master of places of rising, as of all things.

Note 667, (on the third distich). *i. e.*, the Sun of God's Essence only *seems* to rise in its "tajalli" or "manifestation" to its "notes", *i. e.*, to the prophets and saints. It does not really rise, but seems to do so, since it was not before witnessed in that manifestation. Cf. Abdu'r-Razzâq under "Mashariqu Shamou'l-Haqîqa", "The places of rising of the sun of Truth". He says they are, "Tajalliyâtu'dh-Dhâti qabla'l-fanaâ'i't-tâmnî fî 'âini ahadiyati'l-Jam" "The manifestations of the Essence (of God) before the complete extinction (of the votary) in the very Unity of Collection". The "Unity of Collection" is the "Unity Essence", "Adh-Dhâtu'l-Ahadiya", *i. e.*, God in His absolute Unity, in which all subsequent emanations are collected, so that there is only the absolute One².

(1) (C. E. Wilson's Translation, p. 98).

(2) (C. E. Wilson's Commentary, p. 145).

In a passage of the following extract from the *Hadiqa* of Sanâ'i "tajallî", "manifestation, revelation", is contrasted with "hulûl", "infusion, incarnation". The whole section contains so much of interest for Sufism that I quote it in full, from Stephenson's edition, Calcutta, 1910.

فی الاصل والا خلاص

پس چو مطلوب نبود اندر جای
سوی حق شاهراه نفس و نفس
آیند دل ز رنگ کفر و نفاق
نشود روشن از خلا فو شقاق
صیقل آیند یقین شماست
چيست محض صفای دین شماست
پیش آن کش بدل شکمی نبود
صورت و آیند یکی نبود
گر چه در آیند بشکل بوی
آنکه در آیند بودند تو می
دیگری تو چو آیند گریست
آیند از صورت تو بی خبرست
آیند از صورت سفر دورست
کان پذیرای صورت از نورست
نور خود ز آفتاب نبردست
هر که اندر حجاب جاویدست
عیب در آیند است و در دیدست
گر ز خورشید بوم بی نبردست
مثل او چو بوم و خورشیدست
نور خورشید در جهان فاشست
از پی ضعف خود نه از پی اوست
آفت از ضعف چشم خفا شست
تو نه بینی جز از خیال و حواس
چون نه خط و سطح و نقطه شناس
تو درین راه معرفت غلطی
سال و مه مانده در حدیث بطی
گوید آن کس درین مقام فضول
که تجلی نداند از حلول
گرت باید که بود هدیدار
آیند کز مدار و روشن دار
کآفتابی که نیست نور دریغ
آبگینات نماید اندر میغ
یوسفی از فرشته نیکوتر
دیو روئی نماید از خنجر
حق ز باطل معاینه نکند
خنجر ت کار آیند میکند
صورت خود در آیند دل خویش
به توان دید از آن که در گل خویش
بگسل از سلسله که پیوستی
که ز گل در و چون شدی رستی
ز آنکه گل مظلومت و دل روشن
گل تو گلخنست و دل گلشن
هر چه از وی دلت مصفا تر
ز و تجلی ترا مهیا تر
چون زامت فرونش بود اخلاص
گشت بو بگر در تجلی خاص

"On Purity and Sincerity of Heart.

"Then since the Object sought is not in space,(1) how can you make your way to it on foot.

"The only highway to God for soul and spirit is to polish the mirror of the heart.(2).

"The mirror of the heart cannot be cleared of the rust of infidelity and insincerity in religion by contentious argument.(3)

“The burnisher of the mirror is your certainty in the Faith(4). What is it? It is naught but the purity of your religious faith.

“To him in whose heart there is doubt the form and the mirror are not one(5).

“Although you have a form in the mirror, you are not that which is in the mirror.

“You are different when the mirror is different. The mirror is ignorant of your form.

“The mirror is far away from your form, since it receives the form through the light(6).

“The light in truth is not separated from the sun :(7) the fault is in the mirror and in sight”.

“Whoever is in an eternal veil—it is as the owl and the sun!

“Although the owl is helpless before the sun, it is through its own weakness, not through the sun’s fault.

“The light of the Sun is diffused through the world; the misfortune for the bat is its weakness of sight.

“You see nothing but the phenomenal world and the senses, since you are ignorant of point, line, and superficies.(8)

“You are in error on this Path of spiritual knowledge, idling away years and months in vain discussion.

“On this subject he talks folly who distinguishes not manifestation from infusion.(9)

“If you wish your vision to be blest, hold the mirror not awry and keep it bright;

“For the Sun, which does not grudge its light, seems but a piece of glass when behind a cloud.

“One like Joseph, more beautiful than an angel, looks like a demon when reflected in a dagger.

“Your dagger cannot distinguish the true from the false; it cannot do the office of a mirror.

“Better can you see your form in the mirror, your heart, than in your clay,(10)

“Break away from the chain you have fastened on, for when distant from your clay you are saved,

“Since clay is darksome, and the heart is bright; your clay is a dust-heap, your heart a rose-bed.

“Through that which most does purify your heart greatest the revelation is of God to you.

“ Since Abû Bakr exceeded all the Community in pure sincerity of heart, to him was most revealed the Deity.

NOTES.

- (1) The “ Object sought ” is God, who is لا مكان *i.e.*, ‘ not in space.’
- (2) The heart must be purified of all before God can be manifested in it.
- (3) *i.e.*, intellectual argument cannot lead to the manifestation of God in the heart.
- (4) يقين “ Yaqîn,” “ certainty, certain knowledge ”, in theology is that which, it is supposed, can be gained of the Faith by conscious effort, on the psychological principle, I suppose, that “ exercise strengthens faculty ”.
- (5) *i.e.*, the mirror and the reflexion in it are not identical in the sense that the mirror should portray with accuracy the object reflected in it. The accuracy would depend upon the condition of the mirror. Thus, the Deity cannot be manifested in the heart that is not in a fit state to receive Him. At the same time we have in this, I think, a covert attack on Pantheism, which asserts that the mirror, here the visible world, does portray with accuracy the object reflected in it (or, we should rather say here, immanent in it), *i.e.*, the Deity. *Cf.* too the subsequent three distichs and the last distich but nine.
- (6) But it cannot receive the light properly if it is not clear, and if it is not clear you yourself cannot see properly.
- (7) And the Sun itself is, of course, faultless, and it is manifested in the mirror, the heart, by its light or rays.
- (8) *i.e.*, your knowledge is confused and indefinite ; it has nothing to give it form, to define and make it clear.
- (9) The term حلول (hulûl) means either “ infusion ”, “ immanence ”, or “ incarnation ”.
- (10) The “ clay ” is the body, the carnal soul نفس (nafs), and the senses حواس (havâss).

A few additional remarks may be offered in greater detail upon some terms that have been used in connection with Sufism.

Concomitance, Pervasion, Diffusion. That Muslims believe in the pre-existence of souls, at all events from the time of Adam, is shown by the text, (*Quran* vii. 171),

وَإِذَا خَذَ رَبُّكَ مَرَبِّىْ آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى
أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنَا أَنْ تَقُولُوا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِنَّا كُنَّا
عَنْ هَذَا غَافِلِينَ

“ And when thy Lord brought forth their descendants from the reins of the sons of Adam and took them to witness against themselves : “ Am I not ”, said He, “ your Lord ”? They said “ Yes, we witness it ”. This we did,

lest ye should say on the Day of Resurrection, "Truly, of this were we heedless, because uninformed."¹

Their belief in Infusionism is shown in the text, (K. XXXVIII., 71-2).

اذ قال ربى للملائكة انى خالق بشرا من طين فاذا سويته و نفخت فيه من روحي فقعوا له ساجدين

"When thy Lord said to the angels, 'I am about to make man of clay,

And when I have formed him and breathed my spirit into him, then worshipping fall down before him'."2

Thus God breathed of His spirit into Adam, and, from the previously quoted text, this inbreathing must have extended to the descendants of Adam, into each of whom at birth God then infused the pre-existent soul or spirit.

Sûfis believe too in the pre-existence of souls or spirits but as proceeding from all past eternity from the Universal Spirit, the first individualization or emanation from the Unity Essence, *i.e.*, الذات الاحدية, God, الحق

Now, whether we take spontaneity on the part of the Deity or the Divine attitudes or activities, شؤن (Shu'ûn) or انفعال (af'âl), as the source of the Emanations, the relation of the Deity to them may be described from one point of view as Concomitance, but from another as Pervasion or Diffusion. God is said to be always present to the Emanations, which without His constant presence could not subsist for a moment : He is as the substance upon which the existence of the shadow depends, or as the reality in face of its reflection in the mirror. But, on the other hand, God's unity, وحدت and love, حب pervade all the Emanations, and in this way the term Pervasion or Diffusion may describe the relationship, but not Immanence in the same sense at least as in Pantheism. Cf. 'Abdu'r-Razzâq, pp. 79-80 :—

الذناح السارى فى جميع الذراري * هو التوجه المعسى المشار اليه فى قوله تعالى كنت كنزا مخفيا فاحببت ان اعرف فان قوله كفت كنزا يشير الى سبق الخفاء والغيبة والاطلاق عن الظهور والتعيين سبقا ازليا ذاتيا وقوله فاحببت ان اعرف يشير الى ميل اصلى وحب ذاتى وهو الوصلة بين الخفاء والظهور المشار اليه بان اعرف فتلك الوصلة هى اصل

(1) (Rodwell.)

(2) (Rodwell).

الذكا ح السارى فى جميع الذراري نان الوحدة المقتضية لحب
ظهور شؤن ال احدىة تسرى فى جميع مراتب مراتب التعيينات الامر تبة
من العقل الاول الى آخر المراتب وتفاصيل كليها بها بهيت لا يخلو
منها شى

“The marriage which pervades all the Issue”: This is the sensible inclination alluded to in the words of Him, most High, “I was a hidden treasure, and I wished to be known”; for the words, “I was a (hidden) treasure” point to a precedent concealment and seclusion and to freedom from manifestness and individualization, antecedently, from all eternity, and Essentially; whilst the words, “and I wished to be known”, point to an original inclination and an Essential desire, and that is the union between the “concealment” and the “manifestness” which is alluded to in the words “to be known”. That union is the source of “the Marriage which pervades all the issue”, since the singleness which necessitates the desire of the manifestation of the attitudes شؤن of the Unity pervades all the degrees or ranks of the individualizations (تعينات) instituted, from the Universal Intellect to the last of the degrees or ranks and the particulars of their generals, to such a degree that nothing is devoid of it (*i.e.*, of the singleness or unity). ”

With regard to the First Individualization or Universal Spirit we should further particularize that all the prophets and saints from Adam to Muhammad are of this degree or rank, being each one انسان كاملا or Perfect Man, who is the مجلى (majlâ) or object of manifestation to all the مراتب كليه or “Universal Degrees”. (Cf. a previous passage for an explanation of the term المراتب الكليه The Universal Degrees).

Immanence, as before mentioned, cannot be applied to Sufism in the same sense as it is to Pantheism; but it is applicable to all forms of the latter, and it is a good term for the expression of the relation of the Attributes to the Essence.

From the preceding quotation it will be observed that the “inclination” to give rise to the Individualizations is interest in the Deity, and that from this two most important results must ensue—one, that a divine inclination would be followed at once by realization, which would show that the emanations are coeval with the Deity; the other,

that the Deity has a personality *هویت* which, as some theologians have maintained, should be more defined than that of any finite being. With reference to this second deduction, it is inconceivable too that He should not have a personality, since the assertions "He lives, He exists", are unintelligible without the addition of the consideration, "as something".

Manifestation, Révelation, *تجلی* (Tajallî). Unlike Concomitance, Infusion or Pervasion, "Tajallî", *تجلی* is a transient occurrence. The following definition is given by 'Abdu'r-Razzâq, p. 153 :

التجلی - ما يظهر للقلوب من انوار الغیوب

"Manifestation, Revelation:— That which is presented to the heart through the Lights of the hidden and spiritual world."

In the Persian translation of the " 'Awârifu'l Ma'ârif " we find the following, (pp. 98-101) :

در تجلی و استنار

مراد از تجلی انکشاف شمس حقیقت حق است تعالی و تقدس از غیوم صفات بشری بغیبت آن و مراد از استنار اصحاب نور حقیقت بظهور صفات بشری و تراکم ظلمات آن بعضی گفتند اندالتجلی رفع حجبہ البشریة لان یقلون ذات الحق عزوجل و استنار ان یکون البشریة حائلۃ بیدک و بین شهود الغیب و تجلی سه قسمت است یکی نجلی ذات و علامتش اگر از بقایای وجود سالک چیزی مانده بود فانی ذات و تلاشی صفات است در سطوت انوار و انرا صعقه خراشد چنانکه حال موسی علیه السلام که او را بدیدن تجلی از خود بزدند و فانی کردند فلما تجلی ربه للجبل جعله دکا و خر موسی صعقا چون از حق سبحانه و تعالی طلب رویت و مشاهدۀ ذات کرد و هنوز ببقا بعد اللفظ نرسیده بود و بقایای صفات وجودش برقرار بدلائل ارنی بوقت تجلی نور ذات بر طور نفس وجودش متلاشی و متدکر گشت و بقیۀ کم طالب رویت و مشاهدۀ بود برخاست و اگر از بقایای وجود فانی بکلی متخلع شده باشد و حقیقتش بعد از فانی وجود ببقای مطلق و اصل گشته بنور ازلی ذات ازلی را مشاهده کند

" On Manifestation and Enveilment. .

"The meaning of "Tajallî" is the manifestation or disclosure of the Sun of the essential nature of God, most high and sanctified, through the absence of the clouds of the human qualities.

“ The meaning of “ Istitar ” is the removal of the Light of that essential nature by the presence of the human qualities and the accumulated darkness of them. Some have defined “ Tajallî ” as “ *the raising of the veils of humanity so that the Essence of God, mighty and glorious, may succeed ; and with regard to “ Istitar ” have said that humanity is a barrier between you and the vision of the hidden and spiritual world.*”

“ Tajallî ” is of three kinds ; one is the revelation of the Essence (of God), the sign of which is the annihilation of the essence and the extinction of the qualities of the Sûfî aspirant by the onrush of the Lights when anything has remained of the residue of his being ; and this state they call that of him who is stunned and insensible. Such was the state of Moses—on him be peace !—who was torn from himself and annihilated by the sight of the revelation—“ *When God revealed Himself to the mountain it was crushed down, and Moses fell stunned and insensible.* (K., VII., 139). When Moses sought from God, the praised and exalted, the sight and vision of His Essence, he had not yet attained to Permanence after Extinction, and a residue of the qualities of his being still subsisted, as proved by (his words) “ *Show me* ” (Yourself, that I may look upon You)—at the time of the revelation of the Essence to the mountain, the soul of his being was reduced to naught and overthrown and the residue that had sought the sight and vision disappeared. And if one should be stripped entirely of the residue of (this) transient existence and his essential nature should after the extinction of existence have reached absolute Permanence, he would by the eternal Light contemplate the eternal Essence.”

قسم دوم از تجلیات تجلی صفات است و علامت آن اگر ذات قدیم
بصفات جلال تجلی کند از عظمت و قدرت و کبریا و جبروت خشوع
و خضوع بود اذ تجلی الله لشی خضع له و اگر بصفات جمال تجلی
کند از رافت و رحمت و لطف و کرامت سرور و انس بود و معنی این
نم آنست که ذات ازلی تقدس و تعالی بتبدل و تحول موصوف
بود تا وقتی بصفات جلال متجلی شود و وقتی بصفات جمال ولیکن
بر مقتضای مشیت و اختلاف استعدادات گاهی صفت جلال ظاهر بود
و صفت جمال باطن و گاهی بر عکس آن

“ The second kind of Manifestation is that of the Attributes, the sign of which is that, if the Eternal Essence (of God) reveal Itself in the Attributes of dread Majesty,

—جلال (Jalâl), through their greatness and might, their grandeur and power, submission and humility prevail (in him who is subject to them). “*When God reveals Himself to anything it bows in submission before Him.*” If He reveal Himself in the Attributes of beauteous Grace, جمال (Jamâl), through their benignity and clemency, their kindness and generosity, a feeling of gladness and ease prevails. The meaning of this is not that the Eternal Essence, most sanctified and high, is qualified by change and alteration, so that at one time it is revealed in the quality of dread Majesty and at another in that of beauteous Grace, but that in accordance with the procedure and variety of aptitudes (of people) sometimes the Attribute of dread Majesty is manifested (in them), whilst that of beauteous Grace is hidden, sometimes the contrary of this.

قسم سوم تجلی افعال است و علامت آن قطع نظرا از افعال خلق و اسقاط اضافت خیر و شر و نفع و ضرر بدیشان و استقوا ای مدح و ذم و قبول و رد خلق چه مشاهدۀ مجرد فعل الهی خلق را از اضافت افعال بخود معزول گردانند و اول تجلی که بر سالک آید در مقامات سلوک تجلی افعال بود و آنگاه تجلی صفات و بعد از آن تجلی ذات زیرا که افعال آثار صفات اند و صفات منذرج در تحت ذات پس افعال بخلق نزد یکتر از صفات بود و صفات نزد یکتر از ذات و شهود تجلی افعال را محاضره گویند و شهود تجلی صفات را مکاشفه و شهود تجلی ذات را مشاهدۀ و مشاهدۀ حال ارواح است و مکاشفۀ جلال سرار و محاضره حال قلوب $\times \times \times$ و مشاهدۀ از کسی در ست آید که بوجود مشهود قائم بود نه بخود چه حد ثانی را طاققت تجلی نور قدم نتواند بود $\times \times \times$ تا مشاهدۀ در مشهود فانی نشود و بدو باقی نگرند مشاهدۀ اندون توان کرد $\times \times \times \times$ فی الجمله تجلی حق سبحانه سبب استتار خالق است و استتارش موجب ظهور خلق $\times \times \times$ پس هرگاه که حق سبحانه بافعال خود متجلی شود افعال خلق در آن مستتر گردند و هرگاه که بذات متجلی شود ذات و صفات و افعال خلق در آن مستتر گردند و حکیم مطلق از جهت مصلحت عالم حکمت و توسیع آثار رحمت بر خواص حضرت خود بقایای صفات نفوس که منشاء استتار اند باقی گذارد تا رحمتی بود هم در حق ایشان و هم در حق دیگران اما در حق ایشان تا بمصالح نفوس قیام نمایند و بقایای آن در جرات قرب حاصل کنند و اما در حق دیگران تا در عین فنا و بحر جمع متلاشی و مستغرق نشوند و وجود ایشان سبب انقطاع دیگران گردند

“ The third kind is the Manifestation of Acts, the sign of which is closing the eyes to the acts of the people, not associating good or evil, profit or loss with them, and taking their praise or blame, their acceptance or rejection (of you) as equal in value ; for the bare vision of the divine Action discharges people from associating action with themselves. The first Manifestation that comes upon the votary in the “ Stages ” of his progress is that of the Acts, then comes that of the Attributes, and afterwards that of the Essence, since acts are the effects of attributes, and attributes are included in essence. Hence acts are nearer to people than attributes, and attributes than essence.

“ The vision of the Manifestation of the Acts is called *Muhâzara*. (محاضرة) ; that of the attributes, *Mukâshafa*, (مکاشفة) ; and that of the Essence, *Mushâhada*, (مشاهدة) ; *Mushâhada* is the state of spirits ; *Mukâshafa*, the state of minds and thoughts, and *Muhâzara*, the state of hearts. *Mushâhada* is for him who lives in the existence of the object seen, and not in himself, since the created cannot bear the manifestation of the Light of the Eternal. Until the seer is annihilated in the Seen and becomes permanently enduring through Him he cannot have *Mushâhada*.

“ In short, the Manifestation of God, most praised, is the cause of the enveilment of the people, and the enveilment of him is the cause of the visibility of the people. Hence when God manifests Himself by His Acts, the acts of the people are veiled in them, and when by His Essence, attributes, and acts of the people are veiled in it. The absolutely wise One, for the sake of the welfare of the world of intelligence (*i.e.* this world), and the extension of the marks of his mercy, leaves to His chosen ones some residue of the attributes of their human souls, which are the sources of enveilment, in order that His kindness and mercy may accrue to them and to others—to them, that they may attend to their personal interests and by that residue mount the steps of proximity to God ; to others, that, when not being reduced to naught and immersed in very annihilation and the sea of the Unity, their presence (with God) may not be the cause of the separation of others (from Him).”

Notes on the last paragraph.

“ The prophets and saints are not always in “ *Tajallî* ” ; they are often in “ *Istîâr* ” for the prosecution of their material and devotional interests. It has been debated

whether they should continue their devotions after having reached God, but the prevailing opinion is that they should. Then, the main purpose of their advent to the phenomenal world is that they should serve as spiritual guides to the people, for which, of course, they must be in "Istitâr."

Sufism lies, in a way, between two diametrically opposed systems—Pantheism and Islâm—to each of which at times it seems to incline. The word "seems" is used advisedly, since it will be seen on close examination that the association with either is more apparent than real. With regard to Islâm, there is scarcely anything in the Qu'rân that accords with Sûfî doctrines* except the conclusion of the verse.

وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ وَنَعْلَمُ مَا تُوَسْوِسُ بِهِ نَفْسُهُ وَنَحْنُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ
حَبْلِ الْوَرِيدِ

We created man, and we know what his soul inspires (him with), and *we are nearer to him than his jugular vein*. This, though in a limited way, certainly accords with the Sûfî doctrine that the Spirit of God is diffused through all the individualizations or emanations (cf. in a preceding part 'Abdu'r-Razzâq's definition of

(النكاح السارى فى جميع الذرات).

As regards the traditions, it is hard to say, since so many of them, it is thought, have been invented at later dates to suit the exigency of circumstances. I may speak here of a case in point. A Persian friend of mine when in a café in Persia was accosted by a Mulla, who abused him violently for not wearing a beard. Knowing the futility and, indeed, danger of disputing with a Mulla in the presence of a bigoted set, he with great self-possession invented a tradition in support of his case, which appeased the Mulla's wrath and made him humbly apologetic, at the same time filling the by-standers with respect and admiration. My friend, by the way, is a Bahâ'î.

The well-known Tradition, *اول ما خلق الله العقل* "The first thing that God created was the Intellect", seems in close accord with the Sûfî Doctrine that the first emanation or individualization was the Universal Spirit, (which comprises the Universal Intellect and the Universal Soul), but the agreement is by no means perfect. In Islâm God is absolutely transcendent, and other than and apart from.

* Many students of the Holy Qur'ân hold the opposite opinion—Ed. "I. C."

the creation, which is from nothing, and comes into being simply by His command in the word, "Kun". "Be":

بدع السماوات والأرض وإذا قضى أمراً فإنما يقول له كن فيكون
"Creator of the heavens and of the earth! and when He decrees a thing, He only says to it, "Be", and it is."¹ The creation too is in Time, and there is no question in it of anything but the absolute will of God. "يفعل ما يشاء" "He does what He wills".

In Sufism too God is transcendent in His *هو* reality or personality, which is absolute Unity. But he cannot be said to be *apart* from the Emanations or Individualizations, since they are simply the unfolding or development of His essential nature, and come into being through the influence of the *شؤون* "Attitude," or *أفعال* "Activities," of His mind. All the Emanations are certainly considered *other* than God, *سوى* (Siwâ), or *غير* (ghair), but this can be only in the sense that a thought is other than the *entity* mind. (I am, of course, not considering the psychological definition). Then too, as I have tried to show, the Emanations have not come into being in Time, but are coeval with the Deity. Rûmî, Sanâ'î, and other orthodox Sûfî poets constantly speak of "creation", but it is hard to see how, in its Quranic sense, they could reconcile it with the teaching of Sufism. This indeed is only one of the many cases in which a determination to attempt to reconcile doctrines so diametrically opposed as Sufism and Islâm can result only in forced and highly metaphorical interpretations.

With regard to the relations between Sufism and Pantheism a few remarks may be added to those already given. Let us consider the following definition of "Alam", "the world or universe", in 'Abdu'r-Razzâq:—

العالم هو الظل الثاني وليس الوجود الحق الظاهر بصور
الممكنات كلها فظهوره بتعييناتها سمى باسم السوى والغير باعتبار
اضافته الى الممكنات اذ لا وجود للممكن الا بمجرد هذه النسبة والا
فالوجود عين الحق والممكنات ثابتة على عديميتها في علم الحق وهو
شئونها اذا تية فالعالم صررت الحق والحق هوية العالم وروحه
وهذه التعيينات في الوجود الواحد احكام اسمه الظاهر الذي هو
مجبى لاسمه العاطري

"The world or Universe; This is the second shadow, and it is naught but the existence of God manifest in the

(1) S. II, III.

(2) p. 88.

forms of all contingent beings. On account of His manifesting Himself by their individualizations, it, (the world), is called all else but (God), other than (God) in consideration of His association with contingent beings, since these have no existence except purely and simply through this relationship, for really existence is very God, whilst contingent beings are fixed in their non-existence in the knowledge of God which (conceives) the essential "Attitudes", (شُرُوط), towards them. Thus the world is the form of God, and God is the Reality of the world and its Spirit. And these individualizations in the one Existence are the values and effects of His name, "the Manifest", which is the place of manifestation of His name, "the Hidden".

Now, although this definition appears at first sight to favour Pantheism, a little consideration will show that it does not.

"The existence of God manifest in the forms of all contingent beings", in Pantheism, means the inseparable association of the soul of the world with the forms or bodies of it, whatever changes those forms or bodies may undergo. They are taken also to be as real as the soul, and such that any separation of them from it would mean the destruction of the Deity, for, as before said, nothing remains as transcendent.

In Sufism there is the infinitely broad distinction between the "necessary," واجب and the "contingent," ممكن and the association of the Soul of the world with the forms or bodies of it, though indispensably necessary for the continued *quasi* existence of the contingent being, ممكن is not so for the continued real existence of the necessary Being, واجب. Then again, in Sufism the forms or bodies of the phenomenal world are not conceived as real, but only as reflections of the Ideas of the Universal Spirit on philosophical matter, the substratum of all bodies.

In Pantheism there is nothing beyond the Universal Soul, which with the forms or bodies of the phenomenal world constitutes the Divinity. In Sufism the Universal Spirit, though of the Divine, as being the first individualization or emanation from the One and an image of It, is not the Divinity, but a development or unfolding, as it were, of His essential nature. In the One the Names and Attributes are implicitly contained; in the Universal Spirit they are explicitly differentiated.

“The world is the form of God”, inasmuch as each successive emanation is an image of the precedent ; and “God ” is the Reality of the world and its “ Spirit”, since His Spirit is diffused through it all, without, however, being absorbed or immanent in it as in Pantheism.

C. E. WILSON.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE SPECIAL INDIA NUMBER OF "MAN".

How little is really known about Indian pre-Aryan archæology may be judged from a reading of the first volume of the Cambridge History of India ; such magazines as the well-known " Indian Antiquary " and other publications about India are fully occupied in registering and discussing monuments of a literary kind—a large field of effort—and pure archæology finds there little or no room. The startling discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, when properly published, may, it is to be hoped, have the effect of waking the curiously disposed in India to the importance of its pre-Aryan existence and of the traces that it has left behind it. The customs of that period are of great significance in relation to the development of human thought in general and the Royal Anthropological Institute has rendered valuable service in publishing in its Journal from time to time matter likely to throw light on them.

The special India number of " Man " is the latest example of its service in this respect ; the President, Professor J. L. Myres, in his opening article has well set forth the circumstances that brought it to birth and the significance of its contents and it may be hoped that it will reach the hands of many in India, especially those who are interested personally in the pre-history of the country but find difficulty in obtaining the information that they require or in making profitable use of the material that they have collected.

The number is wholly devoted to archæology ; it includes articles by Mr. Cammiade, of great value, on

* *Man*, vol. XXX, No. 10 (Oct. 1930) ; Special India Number : published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 52 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London W. C. 1 ; price three shillings.

various funerary sites and the pottery and other objects found in the graves, and one by Mr. Codrington, whose name is a guarantee of its interest, on cairn and urn-burials. Among these objects are often found beads; they have gained a place of great regard in the eye of the archæologist as possible indications of date and of movements of trade or of racial migrations. Mr. Horace Beck, the well-known specialist in this matter, has written detailed accounts of many ancient specimens from India, with exceptionally fine coloured illustrations after his water-colour drawings; he has added other specimens, notably a series collected in Sarawak by H. H. the Ranee Margaret and some from the Malay States. No such evidence from beads in these parts of the world has previously been published and the Indian archæologist will find in it, together with the records from the grave-sites, invaluable data for his work.

One point of great interest seems to emerge, concerning the megalithic structures of South India, sometimes fixed by coins; they are not nearly so ancient as has been sometimes supposed, but mostly date from about the beginning of the Christian era and later. In some parts of India they are still set up in honour of the dead or for some similar purpose, as we may see in articles published in the *Journal of the Institute*, such as that of Mr. J. H. Hutton on "The use of Stone in the Naga Hills" (vol. LVI, part 1); to these we may add the instances recorded in Ceylon by Mr. Hocart in the "*Ceylon Journal of Science*", vol. II, part 2, pp. 94-97 and plates LXXI, LXXVI and LXXVII. The erection of megaliths is considered by the Heliolithic school of ethnology to have been derived from ancient Egypt, with its enormous stone monuments, and to have spread, directly or indirectly, over many parts of the world. In the districts of India most thoroughly Aryanized these monuments have not been found and the conclusion is that here, as elsewhere, they have survived only in places remote from great race movements, such as South India, the Naga Hills and Ceylon. However that may be—and it is a subject of strenuous discussion—the Indian number of "Man" gives ascertained facts which should help very considerably towards a solution of this and other problems.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Some Opinions.

"Leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India." *JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON.*

"It is a Review that helps a Western reader to get into the heart of this religion, and well deserves its position as the New Hyderabad Quarterly. It is well printed and full of good work."

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, LONDON.

"The Review has attained and maintained a high standard of scholarship and research. The earlier numbers show that Oriental scholars all over the world have contributed to the Review."

THE ENGLISH REVIEW, LONDON.

"Many interesting and informative contributions which combine to make a journal of high literary standard and advanced knowledge relating to all forms of Islamic culture."

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOL WORLD, LONDON.

"The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents. It deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature."

THE ASIATIC REVIEW, LONDON.

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims."

ISLAMIC REVIEW, ENGLAND.

"It is a unique production of its kind."

TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA.

"It is, beyond all doubt, one of the most scholarly periodicals in English devoted to the cultural aspects of Islam, in the various spheres of its activities—alike in the past and the present. It is one of the exceedingly well-conducted periodicals which have brought credit and renown to periodical literature issued in India."

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW.

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."

THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.

"The journal is of a really high standard.....the get-up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production."

THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD.

"There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

"This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up."

THE HINDU.

"The Magazine is well edited and leaves nothing to be desired in get-up and printing and we highly commend it to all those interested in the subject of Muslim contribution to the culture & civilisation of the world."

THE STAR.

"In general get-up and style the magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodical published in India."

THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK.

"Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."

THE MUSLIM CHRONICLE.

"There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The Magazine is very well printed on good paper."

THE RANGOON MAIL.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

PART II.

(The publication in "*Islamic Culture*" of Professor Margoliouth's translation of the "missing" eighth volume of Tanukhi's "*Table-Talk*", discovered by Dr. Krenkow in an unnamed MS. in the British Museum library has led to the discovery of another of the missing volumes, of which Prof. Margoliouth has made the translation which we now have the pleasure of publishing. The volume was brought to the notice of Professor Margoliouth by the late Taimur Pasha of Cairo just before the latter's death. Ed.—"I. C.")

PREFACE

IN the preceding part of these narratives I have explained my reason for collecting them. I have clearly stated my intention therein, and have repeated this in the Preface to each part with some change in the expression, either openly or by hint. I have informed the reader or the student that they are of a sort which no-one has anticipated me in writing. For in the main they are confined to matters suited for mutual communication, inasmuch as they comprise various records of events which have happened within our time, which in my opinion it would be unjust to refrain from committing to writing; and I have undertaken to mingle these with different sorts of noteworthy proceedings and anecdotes, curious coincidences and dreams, strange spells and experiments, and the acts of various classes of men, artisans and craftsmen, kings and chieftains,—*men of the lowest and men of the middle rank; further, specimens of extraordinary behaviour. I have further undertaken the task of varying these with modern verses and recent *orations by persons* contemporary or nearly contemporary with myself, famous for their skill and felicity. I have further stated my reason for arranging them in no order, and the advantage to be derived from their being mixed up in this way. I have also called attention to the valuable lessons which they contain, and offered to any one whom they may not attract the plea that in any case they are better than blank pages. I have also observed that they are suited to persons who have finished most of their studies, and wish to read a

* Owing to a rent in the paper the beginnings of several lines are lost.

book which will instruct them in the character, practice, ways and customs of different ages, and to compare the present with the past state of affairs, so that they may know how dead the world is, how changed are men's ideas and aspirations, how virtue has ceased to exist, while trials and losses have multiplied; the disappearance of the worthy and beneficent, the ruin of the upright and well-mannered, the baseness of men's aims, the extinction of charity, the loss of decorum and refinement, in the character of the mass of mankind. I may say with truth that if some sage of the former ages could come to life and see the state to which we are reduced, he would not doubt that the world's end had arrived, or that men had been changed into wild beasts or useless instruments; inferring this from the disappearance of gentlefolk, the severity of the distress, the cessation of industry, the series of disasters, and the introduction of evil practices, and vile, shameful, customs. Let us pray God Almighty for speedy deliverance and for general relief to the world. He hears and answers, is loving and merciful, sits on the throne of majesty, achieves what He will. He is sufficient for us, and a good patron and helper is He.

1. I was informed by Abu'l-'Abbas Muhammad b. Nasr the Witness that Abu 'Abdallah Ja'far b. al-Qasim al-Karkhî* wrote to Abu Ja'far b. Ma'dan, bidding him select an agent who should look after his estate in Ahwaz. He selected 'Amr b. Muhammad al-Ashja'i, who was a personal friend. He managed the estate for some years, after which al-Karkhî was made governor of Ahwaz. Arriving there he demanded al-Ashja'i's accounts. These were produced, and scrutinized by al-Karkhî's clerks who found therein a deficit of six thousand dinars. By al-Karkhî's order al-Ashja'i was kept in custody in the vestibule of his house, and payment demanded of him. Al-Ashja'i wrote an account of the matter to Ibn Ma'dan (the friend who had appointed him). It was al Karkhî's custom to invite Ibn Ma'dan to a meal with him every day. The invitation was sent on this day, but Ibn Ma'dan kept away, sending a message to the effect that you cannot invite a man to share your meal, whose chosen and trusted friend you suspect in consequence of some clerks' fabrications, and put in custody. Al-Karkhî thereupon put off his meal, and sent al-Ashja'i (the suspected agent) to Ibn Ma'dan with a clerk and the accounts, and the follow-

* Finance minister of Fars, 310 A.H. See Index to the *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*.

ing message : I certainly should not allow any false charge to be maintained against your friend, and that which I have brought is something ascertained. Still, it is possible that he may have lost the money or never received it, and I am sure no-one trusted and chosen by you would embezzle. He has not been put in custody ; I have only desired him to sit here while I waited for you to come and arrange matters for him. Still, if this displeases you, I put my property, this man, and his accounts, in your hands. You may make him refund me the whole amount or part of it, or abandon the whole claim. Only make no more delay, since I will not eat till you come. —Ibn Ma'dan sent al-Ashja'i home, and himself rode to al-Karkhî. Neither of them made any further reference to al-Ashja'i who pocketed the dinars, and thus the affair ended.¹

2. I was told the following by the qadi Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ahmad b. Marwan.² He had been told it by his maternal uncle Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Harun. One of my friends told me, he said, as follows : On a certain night I had been reading Galen's treatise on anatomy. I fell asleep and beheld a mysterious person calling me and reciting (Surah, xviii. 49). *I made them not to witness the creation of the heavens and the earth nor the creation of yourselves, neither did I adopt the seducers as help.* I woke up and tore up the book.

3. The same qadi Abu Bakr also told me that he had heard the following from Mukram b. Bakr. I was, he said, in the court of the qadi Abu Hazim, when an old man came forward accompanied by a young lad, from whom the former claimed a thousand dinars of gold which had been lent him. Asked what he had to say, the lad admitted the debt. The old man was asked what he wanted. He said : His imprisonment. The judge then said to the lad : You have heard, so what say you to paying part down and soliciting delay for the remainder ?—He said : No.—The old man then said : If the qadi thinks proper to imprison him, let him do so.—Abu Hazim studied their features for a time, and then bade them remain together till another session when he would decide their case.

Since Abu Hazim and I were on intimate terms, I said to him : Why has the qadi deferred the lad's imprisonment ?—My friend, he said, in ordinary cases I can tell from the faces of the litigants which of the two is in the right, and

(1) The date of this anecdote must be 310 A.H., since in that year this Ja'far b. al-Qasim al-Karkhî was made finance-minister of Fars. The story is doubtless intended to illustrate the generosity of the times.

(2) Probably the qadi who died 367 A.H. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

have acquired skill thereat, which rarely fails. Now it has occurred to me that this lad's readiness to acknowledge the debt has some ulterior motive, which is not quite honest. No violation of justice will result from their being bound over, whereas something about them may come to my knowledge which will enable me to decide the case with confidence. Did you not observe how little ill-feeling they displayed in the discussion, their lack of disagreement, and their calmness, in spite of the magnitude of the sum? Young men are not usually so conscientious as to acknowledge so readily their indebtedness to such an amount.—Whilst we were talking thus, admission to interview Abu Hazim was demanded for one of the leading and richest traders of Karkh.* Permission having been granted, the man entered, saluted the qadi, and in choice language explained his reasons for desiring the interview. He then proceeded: I am afflicted with a young son, who wastes my substance over singing girls. The trouble is due to a procurer named (he mentioned the name). If I refuse him my money, he devises expedients which compel me to pay for him. If I dissuade him from these courses, and go through my resources with him, he becomes insolent. And indeed he has to-day confessed that he has suborned the procurer to demand a thousand gold dinars of him to-day, as a debt that has fallen due; and I have been informed that the procurer has appeared before the qadi to make the demand, and get him imprisoned, which will occasion unpleasantness between me and the lad's mother until I pay the sum on his account to the procurer, who, when he gets it, will set it off against the courtesans' fees. Hearing this, I hurried to the qadi to explain the matter to him, hoping that he would remedy it in a way which will win for him the divine gratitude. When I arrived, I found the two, the lad and the procurer, at the gate.—When Abu Hazim heard this, he smiled, and said to me: What is your opinion?—I said: This and the like is through God's favour to the qadi. And I began to invoke blessings on him.—He ordered the lad and the old man to be brought. When they entered, Abu Hazim threatened the old man and exhorted the lad, and the former confessed that the facts were as had reached the qadi, and that he had no claim on the lad. The merchant took his son by the hand, and the two went away.

The qadi said to me: This Mukram was a man of excellent character and great gallantry. I observed that

* See Le Strange's *Baghdad*.

someone addressed him as Abu Jady (goat's father). I asked him what was the purport of this appellation. Do you not know, he said, that the goat's father is the buck ?

4. Abu 'Ali' Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. al-Mutahhar al-Hatimi¹ recited to me the following ode addressed by him to Saif al-daulah :

Far distant is patience when parting comes near,
And lover's distress is revealed by the tear.
I stood by the ruin where dwelt my delight.
Now absent, my frame imitating its plight.
My sighs like its breezes, my tears like its rain,
My limbs like the ruins of home that remain.

He proceeds

The souls of the foemen for keeping the hands
To sword which will surely perform his commands.
All blunt to my touch, though its sharpness descends
With death upon foes and with wealth upon friends.
As fire which gives guidance to wanderer will
Consume what resists it, while warming the chill.
Thy blades become cups, circulating men's gore :
Their clashing the music, their cupbearer war.
The treasury truly by thee is stripped bare :
But glory's resplendent with gems rich and rare.

5. The qadi of Baghdad Ahmad b. 'Abdullah called al-Buhturi² recited to me the following verses of Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id b. Thabit,³ which had been recited to him by the author :

Two hopes distress me with the fear
Lest I accomplish neither here :
As gift the whole world to bestow,
And save mankind from death, their foe.

Afterwards I met this Abu'l-'Ala Sa'id at Wasit in Jumada I, 365 (began Jan. 6, 976), and asked him about these lines. He said : Your informant was mistaken ; I never told him that they were by me.—I asked him whose they were.—He replied : One Abu'l-Hasan son of Abu Dawud, clerk of the *Waqf* in Basrah, informed me, with a chain of authorities which I have forgotten, that a certain Indian monarch went to war with another and was killed in battle. He was found lying among the slain, while he still had some life in him, by one of his followers,

(1) A voluminous author, who died 388 A.H. He is best known by his attack on the poet Mutanabbi,² of which he has given an amusing description, reproduced by Yaqut in his *Dictionary of Learned Men*, vol. vi., end.

(2) The name is more likely to have been al-Bakhtari.

(3) For his career see *Index to the Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*.

who dismounted and asked him whether he had any wish. The dying monarch recited a poem of his own which became popular and was handed down ;¹ these verses formed part of it.

6. I was told the following by Abu'l-Qasim al-Husain b. Muhammad b. Nabil, a middle-aged man whose father had been a soldier in Baghdad and had gone to live in Ahwaz, where he acted as clerk to 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Khurasani, chamberlain to Mu'izz al-daulah. He was a scholar, attended lectures on the works of the learned, and belonged to the Imami sect.² I saw, he said, in the Asylum at Basrah a professional clerk, who was under restraint. He was a poet, and recited to me the following verses by himself.

By patience and ruses my troubles I baulk,
And keep my mind free from reflecting by talk.
I hope for the morrow, but when it appears,
My patience turns traitor with increase of fears.
Anxiety quits not, nor terminates woe :
Joy makes no appearance, tears cease not to flow.
To God I complain of the pains I endure :
He knows that myself I can compass no cure.

He also recited to me the following verses by himself :

What crime could brand with greater shame,
Than treachery to friendship's claim ?
Affection claims that friends condone
Each one the faults of every one.
Of fortune's evil eye the hurt
By disregarding we avert.

Also the following :

Where are your tears, my eyes ? Perchance
Fate has bewitched you with some glance.
It saddens me to shed no tear,
As before parting did its fear.

7. A poet named Abu'l-Khair Salih b. Nabil attached himself to my father at Ahwaz. One day, when I was present, he came to my father and presented him with a small sheet of paper. When my father read it, he smiled, and immediately ordered some dirhams to be given to the poet, who went away. I took the paper and found that it contained a salutation with the following verses :

O thou whose gift of charity
Makes slaves and bondmen of the free,*

(1) Possibly the word in the text should be rendered : "was translated".

(2) Believers in the right of 'Ali's descendants to the Caliphate.

By whom all others are outdone
 In bounty, prize-winner alone,
 Duties undue thou dost discharge
 And doubly all my claims enlarge.

One day there came to him a poet called the man of Hamadhan, of whose name and family I am ignorant, and handed him a paper containing the couplet

The qadi's choice is mine, let that suffice ;
 I find no fault with mine, nor with his choice.

My father immediately ordered a handsome gratuity to be given him.

8. Several of the people of Shiraz have recited to me the following lines by the prince 'Adud al-daulah Abu Shuja' son of Rukn al-daulah Abu 'Ali¹ :

Vain professor of word-painting,
 Here's a mess thy skill attainting !
 Buttered rice in crystal brimming
 Looks like pearls in camphor swimming.²

Also the following :

A brilliant cloth of topaz I espied,
 Its ends projecting, flagons to provide ;
 Flagons of crystal, full or void, are seen,
 And wounded forms which hide behind a screen.
 The busy pages send the cups around,
 And leave the drinkers' minds, once sane, unsound.³

Also the following :

Between us we a cask did slay
 While night was turning into day.
 Its two veins squealing at the stroke
 Were like two ravens when they croak.⁴

I was told by Abu'l- Ala Sa'id b. Thabit that the qadi Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Tanukhi⁵ wrote the following reply to a letter which had been addressed to him by the former :

Your letter has arrived :

And when the envoy brought it, I felt sure
 Departed youth had come to me once more.

(1) Biographies of both these princes will be found in the *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*.

(2) In the *Yatimat al-dahr* it is recorded that these lines were addressed to a man who had produced a poetical quotation in description of all the dishes which had previously been brought to the table, but had nothing ready for this.

(3) The translation of these verses, which are probably corrupt, is tentative.

(4) Apparently the vessel had two spouts or orifices, and the noise made by the liquor as it issued is compared to the croaking of ravens.

(5) Father of the author.

9. I was told the following by Abu Ya'la Muhammad b. Ya'qub al-Baridi, clerk.¹ When, he said, I went to Saif al-daulah, he treated me with respect and kindness and as a friend. I used to present myself in the evening with other guests. On one of these occasions he said to me: The murder of your father was a most fortunate affair for me.²—I asked him how that could be, invoking a blessing on him.—He said: When we came away from Baghdad³ my brother Nasir al-daulah restricted me to the government of Nisibin,⁴ where I remained, though its revenue was not sufficient for my needs. Still I put off the evil day, and endured the stress, much as I disliked it, for a time. Then I learned that Syria had been evacuated except by Yanis al-Munisi, while Ibn Tughj remained at a distance in Egypt, being content that Yanis should be his deputy there, and transmit a small tribute to him.⁵ So I bethought me of mustering a force, invading and seizing the country, expelling Yanis, and resisting Ibn Tughj to the best of my ability, should he march against me. Should I succeed, well and good; should I fail, I should at least have procured enough ready cash out of the country to relieve my distress for a time.

I found that it was impossible to collect an army without money, and I had none. So I thought I would pay a visit to my brother and ask him to assist me with a thousand of his own soldiers, whose expenses he would defray, while I led them. I wanted him also to give me some money. I should then undertake the expedition, and any territory which I acquired would be an addition to his realm and his power. Now I was suffering from quartan fever, and started for Mausil in this plight.

(1) The Baridi family played important parts in the first third of the fourth Islamic century. See the Index to *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*. This son of Abu Yusuf al-Baridi is not mentioned in that collection. The story here recorded is of great interest as throwing light on the career of Saif al-daulah, one of the most remarkable figures of the fourth century.

(2) See *Eclipse* V. 51 foll. He was murdered in the year 332 A.H. by his brother Abu 'Abdallah, the ablest and most unscrupulous of the three brothers, for refusing to lend a sum which the latter had demanded.

(3) See *Eclipse* V. 28-45. Nasir al-daulah was supreme in Baghdad after a victory won by Saif al-daulah in 330 A.H. but was compelled to retire in 331.

(4) The ancient Nisibis.

(5) Ibn Tughj, better known as al-Ikhshid, had become ruler of Syria in 330. Yanis, freedman of Mu'nis (probably Muqtadir's general), is mentioned in Ibn Sa'id's Chronicle as one of those who seized the country, with whom Ibn Tughj made terms.

Calling on my brother, I saluted him. He asked me what had brought me. I replied that it was a matter which I would presently explain. He welcomed me, and we parted. I then sent him a message in which I explained my scheme to him.—He displayed extreme repugnance and vehement rejection of the plan. I then addressed him orally, and his rejection was even more pronounced. I proceeded to repeat my request through all the persons who could venture to address him on such a subject, and he refused them all. He was indeed stubborn; if he refused a request the first time it was made, he would persist in his refusal. I could now think of no-one whom I could employ as intermediary, and to whose pleading he might yield, except his Kurdish wife, the mother of his son Abu Taghlib.¹ I called on her and put the case before her, begging her to ask him. She said: You know his character. He has refused you. Were I to ask him after so short an interval, he would refuse me too, and I should lose my influence with him, without having gained the point. So wait a few days till I find him in a complacent mood, or something occurs which I can turn into an occasion for talking to him, commending your scheme, and asking him to back it.—Perceiving that she was right, I waited. Then one day when I was seated in his presence, there suddenly entered a dovecote-keeper, bringing a missive carried by a pigeon, which, the man said, had flown from Baghdad. When Nasir al-daulah read it, his face darkened, and he exclaimed: *We are God's and to God do we return!* Displaying sorrow and consternation, he said: My friends, the arrogant fool, the ignoramus, the squanderer, the brainless bungler, without means, without troops, has put to death the man of prudence and moderation, of wisdom and good counsel, the careful administrator, the master of wealth and of hosts! Truly this is a marvel.—Sir, I said, what news have you received?—He tossed the paper to me, bidding me read.—It proved to be a message from his representative in Baghdad, dated two days before, wherein he stated that in the hour of writing it had been ascertained from a variety of sources that Abu 'Abdallah al-Baridi had put his brother Abu Yusuf to death, and made himself master of Basrah.²

When I read this (Saif al-daulah proceeded), having heard his exclamations, I nearly died of anxiety and fright; I was convinced that he would suppose me to embody the

(1) This person's career can be learned from the Index to the *Eclipse*.

(2) This last detail does not appear in the narrative of the *Eclipse*.

qualities which he had attributed to Abu 'Abdallah, and to fancy himself in the rôle of Abu Yusuf; for indeed I had come to him to ask for troops and money.¹ I was convinced that the parallel would suggest to him to issue an order for my arrest and imprisonment. So I began to humour and mollify him by abusing Abu 'Abdallah al-Baridi, condemning his action, and denouncing his folly in the strongest terms, till the conversation ended. I then let it appear that the fever from which I was suffering was about to attack me, and that it was the time for a paroxysm. Accordingly I rose, and he bade the slaves go in front of me. Mounting my horse, I made for my camp, for since my arrival I had encamped outside the city, and had not lodged in a house. When I entered my camp, which was by the Upper Monastery,² I did not dismount, but bade my retainers start off at once, without sound of trumpet, and follow me. I hurried on by myself, and was presently overtaken by some of my followers. I galloped headlong, fearing lest Nasir al-daulah should be too quick for me and do me some mischief. Before I noticed it, I had reached Balad³ with only a few of my troops, being followed by the rest. When these had come up, I started at once, and gave them no respite. When we had got to a distance of a parasang from Balad, we perceived a host with banners overtaking us. I was convinced that this was a party sent by my brother to arrest me, and I bade my men get ready for a fight, only not to commence, but to hurry forward. Suddenly I perceived a Bedouin galloping by himself, who, when he had come up with me said: Prince, why this haste? Your servant Danha is arriving with a message from Prince Nasir al-daulah, and begs you to wait till he comes up with you.—When he mentioned Danha, I said to myself: If mischief were intended, Danha would not be the messenger. So I dismounted, and being worn out with the ride and attacked by the fever I flung myself on the ground. When Danha had come up, he remonstrated with me for the rapidity of my departure, and I told him the truth about the notion which I had conceived. He said: I assure you that the converse of your notion has come to pass, that what has happened has made him respect you, and he has sent me to you with the following message: You came to solicit

(1) As Abu 'Abdallah had done.

(2) An enthusiastic account of this Monastery, which was on an eminence overlooking the Tigris, is given by Yaqut.

(3) According to Yaqut at a distance of 7 parasangs from Mausil and 23 from Nisibin. It is described by Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 838.

a certain favour of me, and found me in a surly mood, so I refused you. Afterwards I felt that you were in the right, and was expecting that you would repeat your request, in which case I should have accepted your proposal. On the contrary you went away without repeating it or even bidding me farewell. But now, if you will, stop in Sinjar or Nisibin, and I will despatch to you both the men and the money that you requested, so that you may invade Syria. I bade Danha offer him my warmest thanks, and communicate certain matters which I told him. Further, I said, tell him that I went away without taking leave, owing to news of a Bedouin raid on my province, and rode off to overtake the raiders; I did not repeat my request in order to save him annoyance. If, however, he has adopted this notion, then he is to regard me as his son, and if I win anything, it will be his. So I will wait in Nisibin for the fulfilment of his promise.—So I proceeded on my way, and Danha went back. After a few days Danha arrived with a thousand men, equipped and provided with pay and expenses, and a proper supply of horses and mules, bringing besides fifty thousand dinars. He said: Here are the men, and here is the money. Ask God's blessing and start.—So I went against Halab and took it, and there followed my famous campaigns against the followers of the Ikhshid, which continued till at the last they left me in possession of these provinces, and I left them in possession of Damascus. Thus I became independent of Nasir al-daulah, and the cause of all this was the murder of your father by your uncle.¹

10. Abu 'Ali al-Hatimi² recited to me a passage from an Epistle which he addressed to an eminent man, describing him:

His thoughts are plans, his menace punishment;
 His promise safe; sure his encouragement.
 His words wise adages, his home a fane;
 His glances boons; his gifts profuse like rain.
 Gladly would men his excellences count;
 They find their words fall short of the amount.
 But should they try his marvels to conceal,
 God and men's honour would the same reveal.
 And some would be forsooth his rivals; they,
 Whose earnest is inferior to his play.
 Yet how could deed be matched or height attained
 Which reason cannot grasp nor fancy strained?

(1) In a story told in the First Volume of this work Nasir al-daulah is advised by his father always to favour his own relatives, and remembers that advice in trying circumstances. It is probable that the tragedy of the Baridi family brought it again to his recollection.

(2) See above, No. 4.

11. I was told the following by a man of Ahwaz. I saw, he said, the Syrian poet, Abu'l-Hasan al-Minbari al-Ta'i, at the gate of al-Husain b. 'Ali al-Munajjim, who was at that time governor of Ahwaz, whither for a time he repeatedly went, having eulogized al-Munajjim.¹ We talked to each other of al-Munajjim's extreme instability, the mad pranks in which he indulged at times, and his abandonment of them at others. Then I said to the poet : And what is your position with him ?—He replied : I do not despair when he refuses, nor am I sanguine when he promises.—This might almost have been taken from the verses in which al-Hasan b. Raja was satirized, which are so well known that I do not reproduce them in their entirety, especially the last of them :

He gives or withholds, not from bounty or greed,
But just as the fancy comes into his head.²

12. The following device was told me by a saintly man for the discovery of thefts. You should, he said, take a cup containing water, and a signet to which you are to attach a string, and which you should then let fall into the cup. Then write on five slips the names of the parties suspected of the theft, write *the thief* in the cup, and put on the edge of the cup one of the slips containing the name of a suspect. Then read over it the text, (Surah vii. 170) *And when we lifted the mountain above them as though it were an umbrella, and they thought that it would fall upon them : Take what we have given you with force and remember what is therein, perhaps ye may be cautious.* If the signet strike the cup, look at the slip, for the thief will be the person whose name it contains. If it do not strike the cup, then put another slip on the edge, for if the signet strike, that will contain the name of the thief.³

He also furnished the following for a runaway slave. Write the Opening Surah in a circle and write in the centre (Surah xxiv. 40) *Like darkness on a billowing sea, covered with wave over it wave, over it cloud, darknesses one above another, if a man stretch out his hand he can scarcely see it ; and he to whom God sets not light hath no light. O God, make the earth, upper and lower, plain and mountain,*

(1) This word means " astrologer ", but may here be a proper name.

(2) Al-Hasan b. Raja was a personage of the first half of the third century A.H. A satire upon him is mentioned in the Aghani, but it is not this.

(3) In *Islamica* 1930 I have published a magical prescription for finding a thief. The application of the Qur'anic text is obscure.

dry and wet in the heart of X son of Y narrower than a sheepskin till he return.

13. At a gathering in Baghdad attended by Abu 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Mansur, the Witness, generally called Ibn Kurdi, we were discussing the way wherein women get the better of men except in a few cases. Abu 'Ali said to me: We had a worthy old friend of the Qati'ah,¹ who used to utter a parable about this. A bride's trousseau, he said, always contains a saddle and a bridle; when the wedding ceremonies are over, if the bridegroom gets first hold of the saddle, saddles the bride, puts the bit in her mouth, and mounts, he becomes predominant partner. If he delay an instant, she will put the saddle on his back, and the bit in his mouth, and mount; nor will she ever dismount except through divorce or death.

14. I was told the following by Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallah b. al-Marzuban, clerk of Shiraz. He had it from a Jewish collector, Sahl b. Nazir. My grandfather, said this latter, Sahl b. Nazir, who was vizier's collector of revenue for a series of years, from the beginning of the civil war² till his death, told me the following. When 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman after serving al-Muwaffaq as vizier suffered his terrible reverse,³ I foresaw that he would be promoted again; so while he was in prison I used to transmit to his family every month a hundred dinars. When he was released, I went on sending them to him till he again became vizier. He recognized the service which I had rendered, did all he could for me, and thanked me profusely. Presently 'Ubaidallah inflicted a reverse on Jarâdah the Clerk⁴ who had had control over 'Ubaidallah, the heads of bureaux, and the people in general. This Jarâdah had done me many a kindness, so I transmitted a hundred dinars every month to his family, sending the money down to Basrah. Without my knowledge 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman heard of this, and one day when I went to see him, he said to me: Good luck to you, Sahl, in your hostility to me!—I said: Who am I,

(1) Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 116 n. observes that this expression "The Fief" when used of W. Baghdad means the Zubaidiyyah, when of E. Baghdad the 'Ajamiyyah. Here it is likely that the former is intended.

(2) Probably this means the murder of Mutawakkil, 247 A.H., after which there was a lengthy period of anarchy.

(3) Described in Part viii.

(4) Mentioned by Tabari iii. 2131 (279 A.H.) as clerk to Isma'il b. Bulbul.

vizier, that I should show hostility to you? I am the meanest cur at your gate!—I was prodigal in protestations of horror, and humility, and sobbed out: What can this mean? If anything about me has been brought to the vizier's notice, let him inform me about it, as I may have some excuse or be able to prove it false.—He said: You are transmitting a hundred dinars every month to the family of Jarâdah. I said: Vizier, I have not been doing this, neither would I venture on such a proceeding. The man who has been doing this is the man who transmitted a hundred dinars monthly to the family of the vizier (whom God sustain!) in recognition of the benefits which the vizier had conferred upon him, and in recognition of benefits conferred on him by Jarâdah has been transmitting to Jarâdah's family the same amounts as he formerly sent to the family of the vizier.—The vizier blushed, hung his head and kept silence for a time; presently his face began to stream with perspiration, and I said to myself: Now I am quite sure to be arrested and ruined, and I regretted having spoken.—Then the vizier raised his head, and said: You have done well, Sahl; you shall meet with no further unpleasantness at my hands, neither do I harbour any further resentment. Continue to deal with them as you have been dealing, and do not be alarmed by what I said to you.

15. I was told the following by 'Ubaidallah b. Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Ahwazi. His authority was Abu'l-Fadl al-Balkhi, a jurist, and his al-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Sijistani, qadi of Sijistan. There came against us, he said, the commander of the army of Khurasan, sent by Nasr b. Ahmad,* with a numerous host; he made himself master of Sijistan, and his followers did much mischief in the land. They laid violent hands on the women in the streets. The inhabitants crowded to me and to another jurist (al-Balkhi gave his name, but I forget it), and complained of this state of affairs. We went with them to the general, whose presence was entered by myself, the jurist, and a number of leading men of the country. The jurist was first spokesman, and he spoke earnestly to the general, telling him what was going on. The general said to him: Shaikh, I could not suppose you to be so silly. I have with me some hundreds of thousands of men, whose wives are in Bokhara.* They have to make substitutes of the women here, as best they can. I cannot make

* The person meant is the second Samanid ruler of this name, who reigned 301-331 A.H. (913-942).

them disaffected to me by prohibiting them. So get out. We came away, and the crowd asked us what the commander had said. The jurist repeated the exact words¹.—When they heard them, they said: This reply of his is criminal, and an incitement to crime, and open violation of God's command. Are we justified in fighting him on account of it?—The jurist said: Certainly, you are justified in fighting him.—They said: Then have we your permission?—You have, he replied.—The crowd hurried off, while we slunk away from the disturbance. By the time of the sunset prayer not a man of Khurasan remained in the place. An innumerable host of the inhabitants had assembled, and slaughtered a vast number of the men from Khurasan; this slaughter proceeded, and the house of the general was pillaged. They wanted to kill him, but he escaped on his horse, with as many of his followers as succeeded in making off, fleeing headlong. Never again did an army come to us from Khurasan.

16. The following was told me by Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Mahrawaihi, ordinarily known as Ibn Abi 'Allan. His authority was Ibn Abi'l-Qasim. I was, he said, secretary to 'Ubaidallah b. al-Hasan b. Yusuf who was over the districts of Ahwaz. 'Ali b. 'Isa wrote to demand our accounts, and ordered 'Ubaidallah b. al-Hasan to make them up and proceed to present them to him. This was in 306.² So I made up the account and produced as total for the year 305 on account of the land-tax in Ahwaz and its districts, exclusive of the crown lands, a sum of 16,800,000 dirhems and a fraction. The whole of this had been collected and paid to the treasury, only a little over 40,000 dirhems remaining as arrears. The money due on the crown lands was similar in amount, only it did not come into our accounts.³

17. The following was told me by 'Abdallah b. 'Umar al-Harithi. My hair, he said, turned grey very early, and as this annoyed me, I bethought me I would dye my beard. In a dream I seemed to be consulting a physician on the subject of hair-dye. He said to me: You do not need a dye, as I will give you a prescription which will blacken the hair, preserve its colour and prevent the black from turning white. Take five drachms of cocoanut, a half

(1) They were grossly obscene, and have been softened down.

(2) At this time Hamid b. al-'Abbas was nominal vizier, but 'Ali b. 'Isa was practically in control of affairs.

(3) The purpose of this story would seem to be to indicate the value of these lands.

drachm's weight of yellow myrobalan, and a sixth of a drachm's weight of sal ammoniac. Pound the lot and mix with oil till it mingles, and anoint your hair with it. The hair will turn black. When I woke I recollected what I had heard and did accordingly. My hair became black and it was a long time before it began to turn grey.

18. *Unsuitable for translation.*

19. Al-Harithi also told me the following. My father, he said, who had an office at the court of Muwaffaq and of Mu'tadid after him, told me that Mu'tadid once wanted certified witnesses to attest a deed which commenced *This is attested by all the Witnesses : that the Prince of Believers, God's servant Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mu'tadid billah bade them testify that he being sane and in control of his affairs.* I showed the deed to 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman who crossed it out, saying : This is unsuitable for issue in the Caliph's name ; Write : *his body being sound and his judgment aright.*

20. The same al-Harithi said to me : I once asked a friend for a present of wine, and he sent me some that was sour. I sent it back with the message : Your neighbours deserve this rather than your friends.

The same man once described to me some new wine that he had been drinking. He said : This is a remedy for the mind, being made of the fruit of the anacardium. What he meant was that its operation was so weak that it would not intoxicate.¹

21. The following was told me by Abu'l-Fath 'Abdallah b. Muhammad al-Burudi, a clerk. He had heard it, he said, from one of the chief clerks. Ibn al-Furat, he said, once asked his clerk Abu Mansur b. Jubair :² Which of us two is the more competent, myself or 'Ali b. 'Isa?—He said : The vizier is the more competent and the more economical.—None of that ! said Ibn al-Furat.—Do you promise that nothing shall happen to me in consequence of my reply ? asked the clerk.—I promise, said Ibn al-Furat.—He then said : When 'Ali b. 'Isa is in the Caliph's presence, and the latter wants him to write some secret message, he requires no other person ; he himself writes, ties up, seals, puts into the post-bag, and sends it off.

(1) According to Ibn al-Jāuzi (Anecdotes of Fools, p. 83) some supposed it to be good for the voice. Modern authorities say it affects the brain.

(2) He was a Christian named 'Abdullah, and is frequently mentioned in Hilal's *History of the Viziers*.

You on the other hand want the assistance of Zanji¹, and Luti who holds his inkhorn. The project is frustrated through two persons becoming privy to it.—So, said Ibn al-Furat, you prefer 'Ali to me.—Assuredly not, I replied,² all I mean is that 'Ali b. 'Isa is fit to be your clerk.

22. I was told by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Dasah that once when Abu'l-Qasim al-Baridi³ was in control of Basrah he had a drinking-party, and missed a crystal goblet which he greatly valued. His butlers made a search for it, but nothing was known about it. He swore that, if they did not produce it, he would scourge them. One of them said to him : Do not hurry, but order all who were present yesterday to appear.—He gave this order ; when the people were seated, he despatched a slave to the house of each one with the message : Send the crystal goblet which I brought you yesterday.—One of the messengers brought the goblet back from the house of one of them. This guest was disgraced, and lost his position.—The narrator proceeded : This is contrary to a story told of one of the Khosroes.⁴ While he was drinking, his eye fell on a slave of his who had purloined a golden dish with its contents, and was making off with it. The king said nothing and the slave secured his spoil. The next day the treasurers missed it, and they came to the palace to search for it. The king called them, and said : Do not trouble to search for it, for it has been taken by one who will not return it, and he was seen by one who will not inform against him. So they desisted. A year later when the king was drinking, the slave entered wearing a golden girdle. The king whispered in his ear : Is this from that ?—The slave said : Yes.—The king said : If the dinars which you got for the dish are exhausted, inform me so that I may give you another.

23. The same person told me the following, which he had heard from Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna. When Hamid b. al-Abbas came to Ubeydullah on his way to Ahwaz, during his vizierate, I, he said, went out to meet him. I saw that he had a *harraqah*⁵ with a crew of white eunuchs and a shaikh on deck reading the

(1) Ibn al-Furat's most faithful adherent. See Index to *Eclipse*.

(2) The change of person is the author's.

(3) Son of Abu 'Abdallah. In A.H. 332 he became supreme in Basrah. See *Eclipse*, v. 65.

(4) General name for the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty.

(5) See Index to the *Eclipse*, S. V. *Rivercraft*. It was a row-boat used for conveying women.

Qur'an. The vessel was covered and curtained all over. When I asked the reason for this, I was told that it was the vessel of the women-folk, and that it was improper for the crew of such a vessel to be virile.

He proceeded : Abu'l-Husain also told me the following : I went to see Ibn al-Jassas¹ at his palace in Baghdad. I saw there some white eunuchs engaged as barbers.

He proceeded : Abu'l-Husain further stated that he had seen two black eunuchs acting as guides to Abu'l-'Aina.²

24. He further told me the following, which had been told him by Abu'l-Husain. Abu'l-'Aina, he said, came to Basrah some time after the year 280, after long absence, during which he had been in the service of the Caliphs and viziers at Samarra. At that time Abu Khalifah³ was the expert in Basrah on Tradition, History, lexicography, and grammar; Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Bassam was qadi of the city, well equipped in literature, lexicography, and poetry. I (said Abu'l-Husain) was in constant attendance on him, studying Law with him. He was the first person who befriended and promoted me. He said to me : Abu'l-Husain, Abu'l-'Aina has come, and I should like to bring about a meeting between him and Abu Khalifah, so that we might see which of the two is to be preferred.—I undertook to do this.—So, he said, I went and met Abu'l-'Aina, and obtained from him a promise that he would come to Ibn Bassam's house, and a similar promise from Abu Khalifah. So they met. Abu'l-'Aina began to recount anecdotes on the authority of al-Asma'i, and his interviews with Mutawakkil, Ibn Abi Du'ad,⁴ and various other celebrities including poets. Abu Khalifah was silenced and could not compete with him, or come anywhere near him. We were loud in our eulogies of Abu'l-'Aina.—Qadi, he said, I have forgotten nothing that I have committed to memory for the last forty years.

25. He told me the following also, which he had heard from Abu 'Ubaid Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Ajurri.⁵ I was, said the latter, with Abu'l-'Aina when he came to

(1) Famous millionaire about whom there is a story in Vol. i of the *Table-talk*.

(2) Famous wit, ob. 283 A.H. There is a biography of him in *Irshad* vii. He was blind. The reason for his employment of these persons will be found in the Arabic text.

(3) His name was al-Fadl b. al-Habbab, ob. 305. There is a short account of him in Dhahabi's *Classes of Traditionalists*.

(4) Chief qadi and favourite of the Caliph Mu'tasim,

(5) "The Brickmaker",

Basrah after 280 with drafts upon the finance ministers. There were with us certain Traditionalists. He was told that Ibn al-Muthanna had come to see him, and he rose supposing the visitor to be Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna.¹ One of those present informed him that it was Abu'l-Husain Ahmed the son of this person ; so that he sat down again before Abu'l-Husain came near. Abu'l-'Aina then bade Abu'l-Husain approach, addressed him courteously, and asked for news of his father.—

(There is a lacuna in the MS. here.)

26. And he said to me : I do not know. One day I was in the room of the qadi Musa b. Ishaq in Basrah, when he passed by us. The Traditionalists were present. Musa would allow no beardless youth to enter his room to hear Tradition, so when Musa saw him, he told his slave to remove him. We said : God exalt the qadi, this is the son of your brother Abu 'Ali b. al-Muthanna. Musa then gave him a front seat and treated him with respect.

27. The same person² told me the following, which he had heard from Abu'l-Husain. When I was grown up (he said) the qadi Abu Hazim³ wrote to my father, saying : I am informed that you have a grown-up son who is a student, etc., (his expressions were very complimentary), so send him to me to be invested with the qadi-ship.—My father said to me : What say you to this ? —I said : Please send me, as you see how straitened our circumstances are, and possibly I may get a salary which will keep me in comfort. *My father said : No, do not go :*⁴ for offices come to an end, whereas integrity endures.

28. He also told me the following. We were told, he said, by one of our Shaikhs that Abu'l-'Aina went to the house of al-Wathiqi, who at that time was governor of Basrah, and was made to sit in the vestibule for a time while leave for him to enter was being asked. He started conversation and a man said to him in the course of a conversation which suggested it : Abu'l-'Aina, you are fasting to-day.—He said : Yes, I am, in this house.—A secret service-man sent word to al-Wathiqi of this, and the latter gave permission for him to come in at once, and

(1) His death-date was 294 A.H.

(2) See No. 22.

(3) Qadi appointed by Mu'tadid, about whom there are stories in vol. i. and in the *Irshad*.

(4) The words in italics are supplied by the translator,

offered excuses for his having been made to wait in the vestibule by the porters, whose conduct he reprehended.

Once, he proceeded, there was a meeting between Abu'l-'Aina and Abu 'Ali al-Basir¹ at a gathering, and Abu'l-'Aina treated the other disdainfully. Abu 'Ali said to him : We are both blind, so why this disdain ?—He said : No, we are not equal: You are one of the blind of the staff, whereas I am one of the blind of the mounts.²

29. I was told the following by Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Uthman b. al-Harith al-Zayyat. He had heard it from his father. A cloth-merchant, said the last, owed me and a number of traders in Baghdad four thousand dinars. He offered himself for examination, and we creditors met, and opened his shop, where we found goods worth four hundred dinars. He said : If you like to take these goods and give me my discharge, you can take them, for I have no other resource. But if you prefer to let the debt remain for a time, let me open my shop and trade with these four hundred dinars, I will pay you four hundred dinars each year, so that each creditor will receive one tenth of his property, and be paid in full in the course of ten years.—We agreed to the latter proposal³ except one of us, who said : Let me have something over and above the tenth, if only one dinar.—We asked the man to assent to this.—He said : If I were to give one dinar more than the four hundred in the year, the four hundred dinars would by the end of nine years have disappeared and the arrears of the debt would remain where they were.—We were surprised by this statement and asked him to show us how it could be true.—He replied : Suppose I trade with these four hundred dinars for a year, and do well, the profit is four hundred dinars. Out of the total I pay 401 dinars, so that 399 remain. In the second year I trade with these, and make 798 dinars. Deduct 401, and there remain 397. At the end of the third year the sum will be 794 ; deduct 401 and 393 remain. At the end of the fourth year the sum will be 786 ; deduct 401 and 385 remain. At the end of the fifth year the sum will be 770 ; deduct 401 and 369 remain. At the end of the sixth year the sum will be 738 ; deduct 401 and 337

(1) A famous man of letters, whose name was al-Fadl b. Ja'far, who was blind, though called "the sharp-eyed".

(2) The retort does not seem very witty. Apparently he meant that he belonged to a higher class of society.

(3) Of course interest on money lent was forbidden by Muslim law, though we find numerous cases in which it was taken.

remain. At the end of the seventh year the sum will be 674 ; deduct 401, and 273 remain. At the end of the eighth year the sum will be 546 ; deduct 401, and 145 remain. At the end of the ninth year the sum will be 290, which will be less by 111 than the 401 due.

So he offered them 400 and the company agreed to restrict themselves to that amount. The man proceeded to open his shop and do business, and succeeded.¹

30. He also told me the following, which he had heard from his father. Suppose, he said, that a purse contains a thousand dirhems. Say you take out one dirhem at a time, and no other dirhem is put in, the whole purse will become emptied ; if this be by trading, through trading at a loss : if by mere expenditure, no proof is needed. Wealth is preserved by surplus, and it is profit which enriches the trader.

31. I was told the following by 'Ubaidallah b. Ahmad b. Dasah, who had it from Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. 'Ubaidallah the Hanefite Jurist, who was an Armenian. He said : The jurist Abu Zuhair al-Jubba'i was a man of honour, well skilled in Abu Hanifah's system. When he came to Baghdad, he was told of the high character of Abu'l-Hasan al-Karkhî. When they met, Abu Zuhair said to the other : Abu'l-Hasan, I am told that you take pay from the government as a jurist.—He admitted that he did.—Abu Zuhair said : Can a man of such practical piety as yourself do this ?—Abu'l-Hasan said : Did not al-Hasan al-Basri (God be pleased with him)² take pay in his time, and So-and-so ?—He proceeded to enumerate a number of saints and jurists who had taken pay from the Umayyads.—Abu Zuhair said to him : Your ignorance of the reason is even more extraordinary than your accepting the pay. The Umayyads came to grief in religious matters, but their collection of the revenue was sound ; they defrauded no-one either in the matter of tithe or land-tax. So the jurists could accept some of their money, since it was honestly acquired. As for the present rulers,³ their religious principles are sound, but their finance is corrupt ; their collection is fraudulent and dishonest.—Abu'l-Hasan had no answer, and when the

(1) The text of this passage is very corrupt, but the argument is clearly what has been given. It rests on the grossly improbable assumption that in each year he would make exactly a hundred per cent. profit on his capital.

(2) Famous saint, ob. 110, A.H.

(3) The 'Abbasids.

time arrived for the receipt of his stipend, he put in no claim, but let it pass, and took no salary till his death.¹ 'Ubaidallah b. Dasah told me that this 'Zuhair² was the teacher of Abu Muhammad b. 'Abdal, from whom the latter learned jurisprudence according to the systems of our school;³ and Abu Muhammad b. 'Abdal was my own instructor in jurisprudence. I studied under him, and had lengthy interviews with him, but I never heard the above anecdote from him.⁴

32. He also told me the following, which he had heard from 'Abdallah b. Mu'adh. When a man becomes old, he said, he develops three undesirable characteristics. In order to rise he presses his hands on the ground; when he walks he displays lameness; when he coughs, he cannot stop.

33. He also told me the following on the same authority. I was told, he said, the following by a shaikh of Madhar.⁵ I had, said he, some agricultural land in an estate; it was very fertile and rich. I had high hopes of its productivity. One night I saw in a dream two persons going round the cultivated fields, and one said to the other: Write the produce of So-and-so one *kurr*, and of someone else two *kurr*. I recollected the names. The calculation proceeded till it reached my lands, when he said: Now write the produce of this person as three *kurr*. I said to him: God bless you, why, I have been hoping for ten *kurr* and more. But he said to his companion: Write three *kurr*.—Next morning I woke wondering, and rose. Before a few days had passed a disaster overtook the crops, from which some people escaped, whereas others were overwhelmed. My neighbours and I started reaping, and, to be sure, my crop came to three *kurr* exactly without a *qafiz* more or less.⁶ I enquired about the people whose names I had treasured in my memory, and the amount of their crops, and found that the amount exactly coincided with those which I had dreamed.

34. I have heard from many trustworthy sources that Mu'izz al-daulah said: No lucky person ever slept

(1) An annotator of the MS. says this statement about the Umayyads is false: meaning that they were as unscrupulous in finance as their successors; and that is certainly the view of the historians.

(2) Son of the Abu Zuhair of the last anecdote.

(3) Probably the Mu'tazils."

(4) Since the author was himself a judge, this doctrine would be of importance to him.

(5) "Capital of Maisan between Wasit and Basrah" (Yaqut).

(6) A *kurr* contained 60 *qafiz*.

between dawn and sunrise. For a foreigner such as he was this is a creditable saying. It belongs originally to the Prince of Believers, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, who recorded that the Prophet said : My people are blessed in their early rising.¹

35. I was told the following by Abu Ahmad b. Abi'l-Hasak, the Witness. The qadi Abu 'Umar,² he said, used constantly to pass by the door of our house on his way to his estate called Salihyyah, while I was a lad and later till I became a young man. I heard then how one day, when he had passed by and reached the bank of the Isa Canal, he saw a man in the water who was crying out that he was drowning. Abu 'Umar had with him only one slave ; he rode his ass up to an eminence and shouted at the top of his voice : You people, you people ! This he did a number of times, but no-one answered, as the place was deserted and the road stopped. So he dismounted, unravelled a turban which he was wearing, flung it to the man, while grasping the end with one hand, whereas with the other he took hold of a tree which was there. He said to the man : You need not be afraid, only pull at the turban with all your might.—The man proceeded to pull at it, and so draw nearer to the bank till ultimately he scrambled up the bank, when he fell in a faint. Some people who were passing saw the qadi in this position, thanked and blessed him, and hurrying to the man squeezed the water out of him ; and the man was rescued and survived.³

36. The same person told me the following. I was told, he said, by our shaikhs that Muhammad b. Sulaiman b. 'Ali al-Hashimi was one day seated in a room in his estate called al-Muhdathah (" the new ") outside Basrah. The room overlooked a garden, in a corner of which there was a large urn of porcelain filled with the perfume Ghaliyah. A number of humble folk came to make requests, and one of them, who was in a wretched condition, seeing the ghaliyah, stole a considerable amount, scooping it out with his hand, and then placing it on his head, which he proceeded to cover with his turban. The visitors sat for a long time, and when they rose, he did the like, but could not see. He called to them : Take hold of my hand, for

(1) In the Musnad of Ahmad b. Hanbal i. 73, the saying takes the form " Sleep in the morning keeps away sustenance".

(2) Chief qadi in Baghdad in the time of Muqtadir. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

(3) The qadi's conduct left something to be desired.

I am blind.—Muhammad b. Sulaiman was deeply distressed, and had a physician brought immediately, The physician asked the man what had happened to him, but the man would not tell the truth. So the physician ordered his head to be uncovered, when he saw the ghaliyah, on which he poured cold water till no trace of the perfume remained; he then treated the man with sandal,¹ rose-water, and camphor, and made him stand for a time in the open air. His sight then returned to its normal soundness.

37. He also told me the following, which he had heard from Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ishaq b. 'Abbad al-Najjar, one of the most respected date merchants in Basrah. He lived long, and taught traditions; I myself² wrote from his dictation, but I did not hear him tell this anecdote.—There was, he said, in our neighbourhood a certain man, who gave alms one night to a blind man by whom he passed. He had intended to open one of two purses which were in his pocket, one of them containing gold and the other dirhems,³ and to give the blind man a dirhem. He gave him a dinar. The blind man went off, not doubting that what he had was a dirhem. He called at a grocer's, with whom he dealt, and bade him take the dirhem, calculate how much the blind man owed him, and give him the change, which would be so much. The grocer said to him: My friend, whence have you this coin?—He said: So-and-so gave it me yesterday. —The grocer told him it was a dinar, and bade him take it. The blind man took it, and on the following day went to the man, and said: You gave me this coin as alms, but I think you intended to give me a dirhem, and as I do not think it right to take it through a mistake, please take it back.—The other said to him: I give it to you, and when the first day of each month comes, come to me and I will give you something more as a reward for your honesty.—After that the blind man used to come to him on the first day of every month, and he would give him five dirhems. He added: I have seen nothing more extraordinary than the honesty of the grocer and the blind man. Had such a thing happened in this time, quite the contrary would have taken place.⁴

He added: Ibn 'Abbad went on to say that the blind

(1) *i.e.*, sandal-wood powder.

(2) The author of the *Table-talk* is speaking.

(3) A silver coin.

(4) The weak point in the story is the blind man not being able to tell the one coin from the other by the weight.

man of the above anecdotes used to recite the Qur'an according to the seven orthodox recensions, and I could hear him reciting the whole night. Being poor, when it was day, he used to go out to beg alms, and I could hear him reciting in the street edifying and ascetic verses; I never heard him solicit alms with any other form of recitation. I said to him one day: My friend, you know the Qur'an by heart, and I notice that you beg with edifying verses. Why do you not recite the Qur'an for this purpose as the blind do?—He said: No, never shall I make of the Qur'an an instrument of mendicancy.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued).

We received the following article, addressed to us in Dr. Josef Horowitz's own handwriting, after we heard the news of his sudden, much lamented death. He had attended the funeral of a friend on a winter's morning in Frankfurt and the same afternoon was walking to the University as usual when he had a stroke, and died soon afterwards. For years he had filled the Chair of Semitic Languages in the University of Frankfurt more than efficiently. His writings on Islamic, and especially Quranic, subjects have won world-wide fame, and in Europe and America are regarded as authoritative. Before the War he was Arabic Professor at Aligarh and did a great deal of scholarly and very useful work for the Archaeological Department of the Government of India in connection with Arabic inscriptions. To the last he retained his love for India, and for Indian Muslims in particular, remembering the days which he had spent at Aligarh as among the happiest of his life. He knew Urdu well, and was loved by his students and respected by his colleagues.

IBN QUTEIBA'S 'UYUN AL-AKHBAR

V.

THE BOOK OF WAR

The manners of war and its artifices.

SAYS Abû Muhammad 'Abdullâh ibn Muslim ibn Quteyba : I was told by Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd, he said : I was told by Mu'awiya ibn 'Amr from Abû Ishâq from Hishâm and al Auzâi from Yahya ibn Abî Kathîr : The messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, said : "Desire not to encounter the enemy for it may be that you will be afflicted through them ; rather say : O God ! Do Thou suffice us and drive away from us their boldness ! And when they come to you playing upon instruments and marching and shouting, sit down on the ground and say : O God ! Thou art our Lord and their Lord, we surrender ourselves and we surrender them into Thy hand.—But when they come upon you, spring at their faces."

I was told by Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd from Mu'awiya from Abû Ishâq from Sa'id ibn 'Abdu'l 'Azîz from one who told him that Abû'l-Darda' said : O people, a good deed is required before engaging in battle, for you fight by means of your deeds.

I was told by Al-Qâsim ibn al-Hasan from Al-Hasan ibn al-Rabî' from ibn al-Mubârak from Heywa ibn Shureyh : 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb, may God be pleased with him, used, when sending out the leaders of the army, to enjoin upon them the fear of God the Great. After that, when

(1) Abû'l-Darda' Uweymir al-Khazraji, who embraced Islam probably after the battle of Uhud and died about 31 A.H., as Qadi of Damascus.

tying on the banners, he said : " In the name of Allah and with the help of Allah, march on with Allah's aid victoriously and keeping close to truth and restraint. And fight in Allah's way those who deny Allah, but exceed not the proper limits, for Allah loves not those who exceed them. Be not down-hearted when meeting the enemy, punish not when you win the power, act not immoderately when you gain the upper hand ; kill no-one old and decrepit, no woman nor child, rather guard against killing them, when the two armies meet in the fever of the onrush and in the flush of the attack. Act not unfaithfully in dividing the booty, keep the fight free from the frail goods of the world, but rejoice at the profit of the purchase you have made,¹ for it is the greatest gain.

People consulted Aktham ibn Seyfi² with regard to a war they intended to wage against a certain tribe, and asked him to give them his injunction, whereupon he said : " Discountenance disobedience towards your leaders and know that to shout much is cowardice and a man becomes impotent, there is no avoiding it. Act deliberately, for the more discerning of two parties is the calm one, and many a time haste occasions delay. And put on the *izâr* for war and enter into the darkness of the night, journeying therein ; for it conceals calamity best ; and there will be no collective body for the one who has been opposed."

And one of the wise said : Allah -Be He exalted :—summed up the manners of war in these words of His (*Sûrah VIII*, v. 47) : " O ye who believe ! when ye encounter a troop, stand firm and remember God ; and haply ye may prosper ! And fear God and his Apostle and do not quarrel or be timid, so that your turn of luck go from you, but be patient. Verily, God is with the patient."

Muhammad ibn 'Ubayd told me : We were told by Mu'awiya ibn 'Amr from Abû Ishâq from al Auzâi, he said : 'Utba ibn Rabî'a said on the day of Badr to his companions : "Don't you see them—alluding to the Companions of the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace—falling upon their knees, as if they were dumb, putting forth their tongues as snakes do ?"

He further said : When A'isha heard them shout " *Allahu akbar* " on the day of the Camel,³ she said : Do not make much shouting ; to repeat the *takbir* too often on the day of battle is a piece of cowardice.

¹ (1) *i.e.*, by preferring Paradise to this world's goods—Ed. " I. C. "

(2) Who acted as judge in pre-Islamic times. see *Aghani* XV 70 : *Naqai'd* ed. Bevan 139, 149.

(3) The battle in which Talha and Zubeyr opposed 'Alî in 36 A.H.

And Abû Hâtîm related in the name of Al 'Utbî from Abû Ibrâhîm, he said : Abû Bakr, may God be pleased with him, gave Yazîd ibn Abî Sufyân the following order when he sent him to Syria : O Yazîd, go with God's blessing, and once you enter the country of the enemy, avoid attacking him, for I do not feel safe for you from defeat. Seek aid of travelling provisions, and travel with a guide ; and do not fight with the help of the wounded, for part of them does not belong to them. And guard against a sudden attack at night, for among the Arabs there is heedlessness. Talk little, for to you belongs that only which is kept in mind as coming from you. And when my letter reaches thee, carry it out, for I act only for the sake of having it carried out. And when deputations of foreigners come to thee make them alight in the middle of thine army and bestow on them amply, but prevent thy people from conversing with them, that they may go away ignorant as they came ignorant. Persist not in punishment, for the lowest of it is a pain ; and hasten not towards it so long as you may be content with something else. Accept men's overt acts and leave them to God with regard to their secrets. Scrutinize not thine army, lest thou disgrace it ; nor neglect it lest thou damage it. And may Allah, whose pledges perish not, make thee guardian of His pledges.

Abu Bakr said to 'Ikrima¹ when he sent him to 'Umân : O 'Ikrima ! Travel with the blessing of God, and do not alight with one who asks for indemnity, and do not give security against the just claim of a Muslim, and make one unbelief void through the other, and let the warning go before you. And when you say of a thing "I shall do it", do it ; and make not your word of no account either in punishment or in pardon. Hope not when you have been made to feel safe, nor fear when you have been frightened, but consider when to speak and what to say. And threaten not disobedience with something greater than our punishment, for if you do it, you commit a sin ; and if you forgo it, you have told a lie. And grant not safety to a noble man, without making him responsible for his people, but do not make a weak man responsible for anything more than himself. And fear God, and when you encounter the enemy stand firm.

'Abdul Malik ibn Sâlih² gave the following injunction to the leader of an army which went into the country

(1) 'Ikrima ibn Abî Jahl who was sent to 'Umân in 11 A. H., see Tabari I 1977.

(2) Governor of Halab 150-7 and of Mausil 169-71 A.H.

of the Greeks : You are the merchant of Allah for his servants, so be like one who trafficks cleverly, who whenever he sees profit trades, but otherwise preserves his capital. Pursue not booty unless you gain security, and be even more cautious of employing cunning against your enemy than about your enemy's employing cunning against you.

- 110 And Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me from Ibn 'Uyeyna, he said : A man of the people of Al-Madînah told me that the messenger of God, God bless him and give him peace, said to Zeyd ibn Hâritha or to 'Amr ibn al As : when I send you out with an army, do not select them, but take them at random ; for Allah helps the people through their weakest.

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me from Ibn 'Uyeyna from 'Amr ibn Dînâr from 'Ubeyd ibn 'Umeyr, he said : One of the prophets or one who was not a prophet went forth to fight, and said :¹ " Let there not go forth with me to fight a man who has built a building without having completed it, nor a man who has married a wife without having gone in unto her, nor a man who has sown a seed without having reaped it".

And Ibn 'Abbâs, speaking of 'Alî, said : I never saw a leader who was a match for him. Verily I saw him on the day of Siffin when his eyes were like two oil-lamps, and he was stirring up his comrades till he came to me, who was standing in the midst of a troop, and said : O Muslims ! Put on fear as your garment and restrain your voices, and adorn yourselves with calmness, and make the breast-plates complete and the helmets light and move the swords in their scabbards before drawing them out, and look askance, and pierce with a lance and contend with the edge, and unite the swords with the steps and the lances with the arrows and march forward towards death quietly. And grasp this great mass of mankind and this tent made fast with ropes, and smite its main part ; for Satan is sitting in its fold, magnifying his testicles, spreading his arms, stretching out one hand to leap, and drawing back one foot to retire.

When Yazîd ibn Mu'awîya had made Salm ibn Ziyâd governor of Khurasân² he said to him : "Thy father satisfied his brother (Mu'awîya) greatly, and I ask thee to do a little for me. Rely not on pleading an excuse with me, for I rely on thy satisfying me. And guard against me

(1) This is a quotation from Deuteronomy XX 5-7,

(2) In 61 A.H. see Tabari II. 89

before I ask myself to guard against thee, for if expectation remains unfulfilled with regard to thee, I shall appoint someone else in thy place. Thou hast reached thy nearest goal, so try for the most remote one. Thy father made thee toil, grant not rest to thyself; exist for thy soul, so thou wilt exist for thine own good, and think today of the news of tomorrow, thus thou wilt be on the right path, if God will". .

111 Al Asma'i said : The mother of Jabghuya,¹ the king of Tukharistân said to Nasr ibn Seyyâr al-Leythî : There are six things which the Amîr ought to have : A wazîr on whom he relies and to whom he confides his secrets ; a fort in which to take refuge when in flight and which allows him to escape—meaning a horse ; a sword with which to encounter his enemies without being afraid of its failing him ; light stores to carry, which he can take whenever misfortune befalls him ; a wife who, whenever he visits her, removes his anxiety ; and a cook who, if he does not long for food, prepares for him what he longs for.

And I was informed through 'Abbâd ibn Kathîr from 'Uqeyl ibn Khâlîd from Al-Zuhrî from 'Ubeydullah ibn 'Abdullâh from Ibn 'Abbâs, he said : The messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace said : The best of companions are four, the best of horsemen four hundred, the best of armies four thousand, and never was a people defeated who numbered 12,000, as long as their words were in agreement.

And a man said on the day of Huneyn : " We shall certainly not be defeated this day on account of small numbers "; their number being 12,000. But the Muslims were put to flight on that day and Allah, unto whom belong glory and power, revealed : " And on the day of Huneyn when you were so pleased with your numbers" . . . (Sûrah IX, 25).

And they said : It used to be said : Three things that are in a man are also against him : the first is wilfulness ; Allah,—Be He exalted—hath said " O mankind, your wilfulness is against yourselves" (Sûrah X, 24). The second is plotting ; Allah —Be He exalted ! —hath said : " But the plotting of evil only entangles those who practise it" (Sûrah XXV, 41). The third is perjury ; Allah, unto whom belong glory and power, hath said : " Whoso perjureth himself, perjureth himself only to his own hurt" (Sûrah XLVIII, 10).

(1) Jabghu was the title of the rulers of Tukharistan. See Marquart *Eranshahr* 69 seq. 2.

And I have read in a book of the Indians :¹ There is no victory with iniquity ; there is no health with greed ; there is no praise with haughtiness ; there is no friendship with deceit ; there is no nobility with bad manners ; there is no piety with avarice ; there is no avoiding the unlawful with coveting ; there is no love with vanity ; there is no administration of law without knowledge of jurisprudence ; there is no excuse with persisting ; there is no security with suspicion ; there is no ease of heart with envy ; there is no rule with avenging ; there is no authority with carelessness and self-admiration ; there is no right judgment without consultation ; there is no steadiness of rule with neglect of manners and ignoring them.

Rebels turned against Quteybah ibn Muslim² in Khurasân and when this caused him anxiety, he was asked : what is it that troubles you about them ? Send Waki ibn Abî Sud, he will give you satisfaction with regard to them. But he replied : Waki is a man full of pride, who despises his enemies, and one who is like that pays little attention to his enemies, and does not guard against them, so that the enemy overtakes him unawares.

- 112 And I have read in one of the books of the Persians, that one of their kings was asked : Which of the stratagems of war is the soundest ? He replied : " The sending out of scouts and trying to gain information and spreading news of victory and manifesting joy and freedom from fear, and being on one's guard against intimate friends without keeping away those in whose counsel one may confide ; not to ask counsel from one who deserves to be suspected as dishonest, nor to shift a thing from another without barring one side of the high places to which scouts ascend ; and to coax pleasantly the man in whom no confidence can be placed, and to keep people busy with something else, in order to draw their mind away from the war in which they are engaged." And on being asked concerning proofs of self-confidence in fighting, he said ; To approach the enemy stealthily from a cultivated tract, and to keep scouts ready for lying in wait, and to offer presents to informers for speaking the truth, and to punish those who gain too much excess through lies, and not to force those who flee to fight, and not to straiten security for him who asks for it, and not to be too young for your companions in a thing wanted, and not to let booty dazzle you so as not to be on your guard.

(1) s. *Kalila* ed. Cheikho 93.

(2) In 96 A.H. v. Tabari II. 1290 ff.

And I have read in a book of the Indians :¹ The prudent bewares of his enemy under any circumstances ; he bewares of his assault when he is near and of his raid when he is far away, of his lurking when he is in the open and his turning back when he is in full flight, and of his stratagems when he sees him alone. And he dislikes fighting as long as there is a way out of it, because the expenses needed for it consist in men, whilst the expenses for other things consist in property.

And I read in the 'Ain : In waging war, it is customary to place on the left wing of the army those who are left-handed, in order that to encounter them may be easy and to shoot them difficult ; and for the shock of the horsemen to go before while this is to be left in an auxiliary position or aloof. And to look out for an elevated place for the centre, and to try to place it there, for the men on the right and the left are not overpowered nor defeated, even though they retire a little, so long as the mares² stand fast ; but once the mares draw back there is no use in the right and the left wing standing fast. And if the army is unable (so to place itself), the men of the right wing and the mares should charge, but of the left wing not one should leave his post except in case there should hasten toward them from among the enemy those whose mischief is feared, in which case they should repel the hurt of them ; the more so since the men on the right wing and the mares are not able to encounter those who charge them and to turn back to the assistance of their comrades ; whilst the
 113 men on the left are not able to charge except to one side but are unable to retire by turning back. And the leader of the army should not under any circumstances omit to make his army turn their back to the rays of the sun and to the wind, and he should not engage in battle except under the strongest necessity and under circumstances in which there is no escape from fighting ; and if that is the case, the commander of the troops should strive to delay the battle till the end of the day. And it is necessary, under any circumstances, to leave the men free to flee or die, so that they should not be made prisoners. And if the men alight at a well and the enemy wants to obtain the water, it would not be right to interfere in this, lest the enemy should feel constrained to vigorous effort in their fight. And if the enemy alighted at a well of which

(1) *Kalila* ed. Cheikho 145.

(2) The correct reading is al-madhiyan v. the correction in 'Uyun ed. Cairo IV, p. 306 and Tabari, *Glossarium* s. v.

they seek to deprive them, the time for trying this is when the enemies have quenched their thirst, and are watering their camels, whilst the army are in want of the water ; for men are most ready to leave a thing alone when they do not need it, whilst they are strongest in attacking it, when they stand in need of it. And the scouts should travel in the plain country and ascend the heights and not pass any region without exhausting all the news thereof ; and the ambush should lurk in a hollow or in hidden places and should raise a prickly hedge in the directions whence they fear a night-raid ; and the commander of the army should guard against news spreading from him, for in this spreading there lies harm and distress for the troops. And if the majority of the men in the army is made up of experienced fighters, men of sound judgment and strength, the best thing for the army will be for the enemy to try to start the fighting with them on his side. If, on the other hand, most of them are inexperienced and yet there is no escape from fighting, in that case the best thing for the army is to start the fight with the enemy on their side. But it does not behove the army to fight the enemy unless their number be four times or three times the number of the enemy. And if the enemy attack them, it is their duty to fight them, but only after exceeding the numbers of the enemy by one half of their number ; if however the enemy are in the heart of their country, it is their duty to fight them, even if their number is smaller than that of the enemy. And it is proper to select for lying in ambush men of daring, courage, vigilance and bravery, men who neither groan nor cough nor sneeze ; and the beasts selected for them should be such as do not neigh nor drink by taking breath at each draught. And for their ambush places should be selected that cannot be taken by
 114 surprise nor entered into, and they should be near water so that they may procure it in case they have to stay long. Their advance should take place after consideration and consultation, and with full confidence in the success of their venture ; they should not frighten beasts of prey nor birds nor wild beasts, their charge should be like the burning of a fire ; they should avoid the booty ; they should rush forth from the lurking-place, dispersing, as soon as the enemy neglect to watch and place sentries¹ as soon as delay and flagging is noticed in their scouts, and they pasture their beasts ; and at the time when the cold is

(1) Read *rabaya* as Brockelmann has it,

severest in winter and the heat strongest in summer. And they should scatter and disperse when they hasten from their lurking-places after selecting one another, and they should hasten to charge the enemy and avoid tarrying and circumspection. And it behoves those who attack by night to seize the opportunity for their nightly raid at a time when the wind blows or the murmur of a river near them is audible ; for it is most desirable that the noise of their approach should not be perceived, and that the middle of the night or its darkest part should be devoted exclusively to the battle ; that a part of the troops gain their way through the middle of the enemy's army and the rest go round it ; and that those that march through the middle, start the battle so that bustle and uproar be heard from that place, not from around ; and that the swiftest of their beasts be scared away before the beginning of the battle and their halters cut and they be pricked with lances in their buttocks so that they may be perplexed and get loose and clamour may be heard from them. And that an unseen voice should be heard shouting : O men of the army, escape, escape, since your Commander N. N. has been killed, as well as many other people, and many have fled ; and another should shout : " O man ! Let me live for God's sake " and another : " Pardon, Pardon " and another : " Alas, alas ", and such like words. For it should be known, that what is necessary for a raid by night is to bewilder the enemy and frighten him, but they should avoid the collecting of goods and the driving away of beasts and the taking of booty. And further : When investing a fort it is necessary to win the heart of those inhabitants of the fort and the town, who can be won, in order to attain one's aim through two things : firstly by eliciting their secrets, secondly by frightening them. Further, to spy out those who think ill of their plight and make them despair of help and tell them that their secret stratagems have been made known ; to gather round the fort and point towards it with one's finger, as if there were strong parts and others weak, and some towards which ballistas could be turned and others for which

115 stone-throwing machines should be prepared, and others in which holes could be pierced, and others again where ladders could be placed and others where the walls could be scaled and others where a fire could be kindled, in order that all this may fill them with alarm. Further, there should be written on a wooden arrow : O people of the fort ! Beware of being deceived and of neglect of watchfulness. Take care of your gates, for the times are bad and

the people are treacherous, most of the inhabitants of the fort having been deceived and won over." This arrow should be thrown into the fort and be secretly handed to one who is wont to address them, eloquent, hitting the mark, prudent, deceitful, not a babbler nor inadvertent. And fighting should be delayed as long as possible, for in fighting there is boldness on their part against those who attack them, and something that leads on to stratagem and wile; but if there is no escape from fighting, they should fight with the lightest equipment and the smallest outfit. And it is necessary to take from the enemy those bits of land in which there are thickets and trees and rivers to be used for camping and marshalling the troops; and the enemy should be kept away from open ground and even country.

And in one of the books of the Persians it is said, that a certain wise man was asked concerning things which give the hardest training to soldiers and sharpen them most. He replied: Habitual fighting and frequent victory, reinforcements in the rear and booty ahead, regard shown to the troops after victory and promotion for the strenuous at the end of the pitched battle, and honour bestowed on the brave over the heads of the people.

Al-Madaini said: Nasr ibn Scyyâr said: The great men of the Turks used to say: A great leader must have some of the qualities of animals: the courage of the cock, the compassion of the hen, the heart of the lion, the charge of the pig, the dodge of the fox, the guile of the wolf.

And it used to be said in praise of an all round man: he has the assault of a lion, the dodge of a fox, the guile of a wolf, the swarming of the small ant and the early rising of the crow.

And it used to be said: The most suitable of men for war is the experienced, the courageous, the sincere.

116 Abû Hâtîm told me from al Asma'î from Abû'l-Asamm: when 'Amr ibn Mu'awiya al-'Uqeyli, who was in charge of summer expeditions, was asked, With what did you manage the summer expeditions to the frontiers? he replied: "With the fat of the backs and plenty of cake and meat cut in slices."

And in the Kitâb al-'Aîn it is said: The first thing you should carry with you, is bread, after that bread, after that bread, and beware of carpets and garments.

Abû'l-Yaqzân said: Shabîb al-Khârijî said: The night serves you against the coward and against half the

courageous. And when the evening came, he would say to his companions : Succour has come to you *i.e.*, the night.

When a certain king was told : Attack your enemy at night, he replied : I do not like to gain my victory by means of theft.

Al-Madaini said : When 'Abdul Malik was busy fighting Mus'ab ibn al-Zubeyr, the chiefs of the Greeks in a meeting they had with their king said :¹ Now your turn has come, since the Arabs are busy with one another, so the thing to do is to make a raid into their country. But the king restrained them from this and declared their view to be wrong. He called two dogs and excited discord between them, whereupon they began fighting each other. After that he called a fox and left him alone with the two dogs ; when the dogs saw him, they let their quarrel go and attacked the fox and killed him. The king of the Greeks said to the chiefs, This is similar to what will happen to us with regard to them. They perceived him to be right and his opinion to be correct, and gave up their own (opinion).

A certain wise man gave a king the following advice : Let not the enemy who has disclosed his enmity fill you with greater anxiety than the suspected one who has concealed his deceit ; for sometimes a man, while afraid of poison which is the most deadly of things, will be killed by water which gives life to things ; or, while afraid of the king's killing him, who owns him, he will be killed by the slaves whom he owns. And do not be more cautious with regard to the enemy against whom you wage war than with regard to the food you eat ; I for one feel more safe with regard to any of the things, however great, against which I have put you on your guard, than with regard to any of the things, however small, against which I have omitted to put you on your guard. And know that your town is a place of protection against your enemy, whilst there is no town in which you are protected against your food, your drink, your garment or your perfume ; and there is not one of these four things by means of which kings are not being killed.

117 'Abdul Malik ibn 'Sâlih al-Hâshimi related : Khâlid

(1) In 69/70 A.H. 'Abdul Malik had granted important concessions to the Greeks *v. Wellhausen, Das arabische Reich* 118. His fight against Mus'ab lasted from 69 to 72 A.H.

ibn Barmak went forth from Khurasân along with Qahtaba.¹ When sitting on the roof of a house in a town where they had alighted, and where they were taking their breakfast, he looked towards the desert and saw flocks of gazelles coming forth from the desert until they almost intermingled with the troops. He said to Qahtaba: O Amîr, summon the people by shouting "O horsemen of God, mount your animals"; for the enemies are rushing upon you and urging their horses; and the utmost your men can do is to saddle and bridle their horses before they catch sight of the quick horsemen. Qahtaba got up terrified, but saw nothing to frighten him nor could he discern any dust. So he said to Khâlid: What do you mean? But Khâlid replied: "O Amîr, do not concern thyself with me, but summon the people; seest thou not that flocks of animals have come forth and left their places until they have intermingled with men? Verily behind them there is a dense crowd." Continuing his tale, 'Abdul Malik said: "And by God, they had hardly saddled and bridled their horses when they saw dust rising; and thus they escaped. Without it the army would have been destroyed."

A certain wise man said to a certain king: I advise you to advance while it is possible to do so and to be ready for to-morrow before reaching the morrow, just as you keep ready the weapon for him whose attack you fear, although he may possibly not attack you; and just as you get ready with the outfit of a building before the heavy rain strike it, although you do not know whether it will strike it; even as you prepare food for a couple of days, although you do not know whether you will eat it.

And it used to be said: Everything you ask for at its time, its time will already have passed.

And I read in the Kitâb Siyâr al-'Ajam: "When Fîrôz the son of Yazdagird the son of Bahmân ruled,² he proceeded with his armies towards Khurasân in order to make a raid on Akhshunwar, the king of the Heytalites³ in Balkh. When he reached his country, Akhshunwar got frightened and alarmed to a very high degree, but when he discussed the matter with his Wazîrs, one of them said:

(1) Qahtaba ibn Shâbib, who fought the Umayyad forces in Khurasân and disappeared in 182 A.H. whilst crossing a river.

., (2) 457-84 A. D.: see the parallel accounts in Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser* 123 ff.

(3) The Hephtalites of the Byzantine and the Yep-tat of the Chinese sources, s. Marquart, *Eranshahr* 58 f.

Make a covenant with me and a compact, so that my soul may rely on your taking charge of my family and my children, and on your doing good to them and on your acting as my substitute with regard to them. After that cut off my hands and my feet and throw me on the road, by which Fîrôz is coming, so that he and his people may pass me ; I shall then defend you against their molestations and I shall hurl them down into an abyss in which they will perish. Akhshunwar said to him : What will you
 118 gain through our escape and our well-being, since by then you will have perished and can take no part in it ? He replied : I gained of worldly life all I wished to gain, and I know that there is no escape from death even though it may delay for a few days but I should like to bring my life to an end in the best way that men's lives can be brought to an end, through acting sincerely towards my brethren and hurting my enemies ; so that through this my end may be noble and I may gain happiness and regard in that which is before me. So he did to him what he had asked and ordered him to be thrown in the place he had described. When Fîrôz passed by, he asked him what had happened to him, and he told him that Akhshunwar had done this to him but that he had exercised cunning until he had been carried to this place, in order to show him the way to a breach in Akhshunwar's frontier or to catch him by surprise. And he said : I shall show you a way which is shorter than the one you intend to go and less conspicuous, so that Akhshunwar will know nothing till you assail him and so that Allah wreak my vengeance upon him through you ; and on this way there is nothing unpleasant, except a two days' journey through the desert after which you will reach all that you wish. Fîrôz took in his words in spite of the advice of his Wazîrs to him to be careful with regard to him, to fight shy of him, and so forth. But he did not listen to them and went along the way until the man had led them to a place in the desert from which there was no return. Then he explained to them his plan whereupon they dispersed in the desert to the right and to the left in search of water until thirst had killed most of them. The small number of those that escaped along with Fîrôz, went on with him until they came in sight of their enemies who were prepared for them and attacked them in that condition, while they were suffering from bodily affliction and weariness ; so they got the mastery over them and inflicted a terrible defeat upon them. After that Fîrôz asked Akhshunwar humbly to act kindly towards him and the remainder of his people,

on condition that he should conclude with him a covenant and a compact to the effect that he would never again, for the rest of his life, undertake a raid against him and that he should fix a boundary between his and Akhshunwar's kingdom, which his armies would never cross. Akhshunwar agreed to this and released him. Fîrôz returned to his kingdom and for a while he remained sorrowful, but after that rage moved him to renew his raid. When he summoned his companions for that purpose, they tried to restrain him, saying : You made a compact with him and we dread for you the sequel of your wrong-doing and treachery, quite apart from the shame and the defamation resulting from it. But he replied : All I promised was, that I would not overstep the stone that I placed between myself and him, and now I shall order the stone to be quickly

119 carried before us. They said : "O King, contracts and compacts which people make one with another cannot be made to accord with that which one who concludes them may keep hidden in his breast, but only with what he proclaims in public. You offered him the contract of Allah and His compact on the basis of what he knew, not on the basis of something that had never occurred to him." But Fîrôz would not listen to them and went on with his raid until he got to the land of the Heytalites. When the two parties were drawn up in battle array, Akhshunwar sent to Fîrôz asking him to come forth to a place between the two lines, so that he might speak to him, and he went. Akhshunwar said : I have come to think that it was only anger with your defeat that incited you to undertake a raid against us, but, by my life, if we did practise a trick against you, as you say, you certainly tried on us something worse than that, and it was not we who started with injustice and wickedness, since we desired nothing else but to turn you away from ourselves and our women. And it would have been suitable for me to be angry and vexed at your requiting us ill for the favours we bestowed on you and those that accompanied you, by your breaking the bond and compact that you had made binding upon yourself ; angry to an even higher degree than you had a right to be on account of what befell you from us. For we had set you free when you were prisoners, and shown you kindness when you were on the verge of death, and spared your blood when we had the power to shed it. And we did not suggest to you that you should undertake any obligation towards us, but it was you who petitioned us for it and desired it of us, so think about this and hesitate between these two things and see which of them is more

disgraceful and more unpleasant to be heard of. If a man aims at something not ordained for him and engages in a cause without being granted his desire, while his enemy gets the mastery over him, at a time when he and those with him are in a state of exhaustion and ruin ; and if the enemy bestows a favour upon them and sets them free on the basis of a term accepted by them and an agreement concluded—well, he acts under the compulsion of an adverse decree, but he will be ashamed of breaking the contract and acting treacherously, lest he be called a man who broke a contract and was unfaithful to the covenant ; quite apart from the success you will in my opinion gain with regard to your relying on the majority of your army and their well preparedness and their obedience to you. For I do not think that I have any doubt that they or the majority of them dislike your bringing them here, knowing well that you have urged them on to a thing that is wrong ; and that you have incited them to something that angers God. They do not really know what a war with us means and their intentions with regard to acting sincerely towards you are not firm today. So think it over. What measure of strength can there be in those who fight under such conditions, and what could the havoc amount to that they could inflict on their enemy, if they know that in case

120 they are victorious there will be disgrace connected with it, and in case they are killed they will go to hell ? So let me remind you of God whom you have made responsible for your soul, and of the favour shown by me to you and to your people, after you had despaired of life and were at the point of death. And I urge you to fulfil your contract as therein lies your welfare and your rectitude, and to follow the example of your fathers who behaved in this way in everything they liked or disliked, and who found the results praiseworthy, and to whom its impress seemed good. Apart from this you cannot rely on defeating us and on gaining your desire with regard to us, for you seek from us only the like of what we seek from you and you oppose an enemy who possibly may be granted victory over you. I did my utmost in arguing with you and came forward to exhort you, but we ask the help of God in Whom we glory, and we rely on what you promised us by Him, while you ask the help of the large number of your troops and while the crowds of your people render you vainglorious. So take this advice, for, by God, no sincere friend of yours will produce for you anything better than it, or improve on it ; and do not let the fact of its coming from me deprive you of its advantage ; for, in the view of

the intelligent, advantages are not brought into disrepute on account of their originating from the enemy, just as little as hurts are endeared on account of their happening through the hands of friends. And know, that what makes me say these words of mine that you hear is not any weakness I feel within me, nor the small number of my troops, but the wish to add through it something to my argument and my using the proper way, and in order to acquire an even greater claim to victory and help from God ; for there is nothing I prefer to safety and good comfort as long as I can find a way to them ". But Fîrôz refused to listen to anything, and stuck to his argument regarding the stone he had fixed beforehand as a boundary between himself and Akhshunwar, and he said : " I am not one of those whom any threat will turn away from a thing he takes into his head, nor one whom menace or intimidation will repel. And if I had thought what I demand of you to be treacherous on my part, there would be nobody more cautious than myself and more careful with regard to my soul : and do not let the state you found us in when you met us for the first time, when we were few, tired and weak, deceive you ". Akhshunwar replied : Do not let yourself be misled by the artifice in carrying your stone before you ; for if it were possible for a people to contract an obligation on the basis of keeping one thing secret and manifesting another, it would not be right for one to be deceived by any assurance or to rely on any contract, and nobody would in that case accept anything offered of this kind. But this contract was based on its manifest meaning and on the intention of those for whose benefit the contracts and compacts were concluded." After that they separated, and Fîrôz said to his people : " Akhshunwar is good at debating, and I never saw an animal equal to the horse he was riding ; for it neither moved its legs nor raised its hoofs from their place nor neighed nor did anything to interrupt the discussion all the time we stood opposite each other". And Akhshunwar said to his people. " I opposed Fîrôz as you know, he was armed but he never moved his head nor did he draw his foot from the stirrup, nor bend his neck nor turn to the right or the left. I bent my feet from time to time and stretched my limbs while on horseback, and turned to those that were behind me and raised my eyes towards those before me, but he remained erect in his seat, and had it not been for his speaking to me, I should have thought he did not see me at all." The intention of both of them, in making these remarks, was merely that the words

should spread in their respective armies, so that through discussing them the troops should be kept back from thinking of the subject of their conversation. But on the second day Akhshunwar drew out the letter which Fîrôz had written to him and raised it on a spear so that the soldiers of Fîrôz should see it, know his treachery and injustice, and give up following him. So the army of Fîrôz dissolved and became disunited, and only a few of them remained till they too fled, and many of them were killed as well as Fîrôz himself. Thereupon Akhshunwar said: He was right who said: There is none who can avert what has been decreed, and there is naught that renders vain the advantages of sound opinion as passion and obstinacy do, and there is no advice more hopeless than that offered to a man who will not induce his soul to accept it, nor make it endure what it dislikes. And there is naught that is more quickly punished and ends worse than injustice and treachery; and naught that draws more shame and disgrace than excess of boasting and scorn.

Abû'l Yaqzân said: When Shabîb ibn Yazîd ibn Nu'eym al-Khâriji rebelled¹ in Mausil, Al-Hajjâj sent out a military leader, whom he killed; after that another and so on, until he had killed five leaders and put their armies to flight; one of them being Mûsa ibn Talha ibn 'Ubeydullâh. After that Shabîb left Mausil for Al-Kûfah, but Al-Hajjâj too left Al-Basrah for Al-Kûfah, and so Shabîb was anxious to encounter Al-Hajjâj before he should reach Al-Kûfah; 122 but Al-Hajjâj urged on his horsemen and so entered Al-Kûfah before him. Shabîb overtook 'Attâb ibn Warqa and killed him and similarly Abdû'l-Rahmân ibn Muhammad al-Ash'ath, who fled from him. After that he proceeded towards Al-Kûfah and swore he would not leave till he had encountered Al-Hajjâj and either killed him or been killed by him. Al-Hajjâj came out against him with his army and when he drew near him, he divested himself of his arms, made his *maula* Abû'l-Ward put them on, and placed him on the steed which he himself had mounted. When the troops stood opposite each other, Shabîb said to his people: "Show me Al-Hajjâj", so they pointed out to him Abû'l-Ward, whom he attacked and killed. After that he proceeded from Al-Kûfah towards Al-Ahwaz, but he was drowned in the Tigris while quoting the words of the Qurân "This is the decree of the Mighty, the Wise" (Sûrah, XLI 11. XXXVI 38, VI 96).

(1) In 76-77 A.H.

THE TIMES CHOSEN FOR DEPARTURE AND BATTLE

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me : I was told by Yazîd ibn Hârûn from Muhammad ibn Ishâq from 'Abdullâh ibn Abî Bakr from Al-Zuhri, he said : The day the messenger of God—may God bless him and give him peace!—liked best for tying on the banner, was Thursday. And the day which the messenger of God—may God bless him and give him peace,—liked best for departure was Thursday.

The Persians said : Delay battle as long as you can and, if you cannot avoid it, postpone it to the end of the day.

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me from Mu'awîya ibn 'Amr from Abû Ishâq from Abû 'Aûn from Muhammad ibn Sirîn : Al-Nu'mân ibn Muqarrin said to his companions : I used to encounter the enemy along with the messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, and unless he was encountered by the enemy early in the day, he liked best to encounter him when the sun had passed away and the night-prayer had become lawful and the winds blew and the Muslims prayed.

People relate from 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib—may God be pleased with him!—that he disliked both scarifying and starting any work during the absence of the moonlight in the last three nights of the lunar month and while the moon stood in the zodiacal sign of Scorpio.

One said : I was with 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz on the roof when he intended mounting his steed. When I looked up, I saw the moon standing in Aldabaran, and I said : Look at the moon, how beautiful is her position ! He
 123 raised his head, looked at her mansion, laughed and said : I only wanted us to look at her mansion, for we do not stop on account of a sun or a moon, but proceed in the name of Allah, the One, the Subduer.

And it used to be said : Saturday is a day of craft and cheating, Sunday a day of planting and building, Monday a day of journeying and search of livelihood, Tuesday a day of war and bloodshed, Wednesday a day of taking and giving, Thursday a day of calling on the commanders and asking for requirements, Friday a day of asking in marriage and marrying.

PRAYER WHEN ENCOUNTERING THE ENEMY

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me : Mu'awîya told us from Abû Ishâq from Abû Rajâ : The Prophet—God bless him and give him peace!—used to say when the

circle of affliction had drawn close, and narrow circumstances had set in : " Be straight, and loosen." After that he would raise his hands and say : " In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, there is no power nor might except in Allah the High, the Tremendous. O Allah ! Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid, O Allah ! turn away from us the strength of the unbelievers, Thou art stronger in power and more severe in punishing." And he would not lower his two blessed hands before Allah had sent down victory.

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me from Mu'awiya from Abû Ishâq from Mûsa ibn 'Uqba from Salîm Abû'l-Nadr, the *maula* of 'Amr ibn 'Ubeiydullâh, whose secretary he was : When 'Abdullâh ibn Abî Aûfa had gone out to the Haruriya,¹ he wrote : " The Prophet—God bless him and give him peace—one day when he encountered the enemy waited till the sun declined, then he stood up among the people and said : Do not wish to encounter the enemy, and ask God for safety, but if you encounter them, be firm and much-enduring and know that Paradise is beneath the shadow of the swords. After that he said : O God, Who sendeth down the Book, Who maketh the clouds move and putteth to flight the factions of men, put these to flight and grant us victory over them." Abû'l Nadr continued : And we heard that he spoke a prayer similar to this and said : " O God, Thou art our Lord and their Lord. They are Thy servants and we are Thy servants and our forelocks are in Thy hand as well as theirs, put them to flight and grant us victory over them."

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me : When Quteyba ibn Muslim, while fighting the Turks, was struck with fear, he asked what Muhammad ibn Wasi' was doing. They replied : He is at the extreme end of the right wing, leaning on the curved part of his bow and pointing his
124 finger towards heaven repeatedly. Quteyba said : That one finger is dearer to me than a hundred thousand drawn swords and sharpened lances. And when Allah had granted them victory, he said to Muhammad : What had you been doing ? He replied : I had been holding for you the meeting-places of the roads.

ON PERSEVERANCE AND INCITING PEOPLE TO FIGHT

Sahl ibn Muhammad told me : Al-Asma'i told us : 'Asim ibn al-Hadathan, a learned Arab of old standing,

(1) The early Khârijites, thus called because in 37 A.H. they retired to Harûra, a village near Al Kûfah.

was the head of the Khawârij at Al-Basrah. Sometimes a messenger from them came to him from Al-Jazîrah to refer to his judgment something with regard to which they were quarrelling. When Al-Farazdaq passed by them he said to his son : Recite verses to Abû Firâs,¹ whereupon he recited :

“ And they are most noble when they break the
sheaths,

“ Persevering ; and when the edges are thrust home,

“ They enter the thick of death, but they are

“ With regard to God small in their own esteem

“ They walk with a Khatti-lance² that does not turn
them from their course.

“ While other men when they get hold of lances turn
merchants.”

Al-Farazdaq said to him : Woe unto thee ! Keep this hidden, lest the weavers hear it and come out against us with their looms. But 'Asim said : O Farazdaq, this is the poet of the believers and you are the poet of the unbelievers.

Sahl told us, Al-Asma'i told us, he said : Sâlit ibn Sa'd said : Bistam ibn Qeys said to his people : “ You are about to come to a people whose footprints are the footprints of women, and whose voices are the voices of sparrow-hawks, but who endure bad things patiently”. He was referring to the Banû Yarbû', about whom Mu'awiyâ used to say : If the stars were to be dispersed, their moon would fall into the breasts of the Banû Yarbû'.

Al-Asma'i said : I asked Sâlit : Was 'Uteyba ibn al Hârith fat ? He replied “ No, nor did he belong to fat people”, referring to the Banû Yarbû'.

- 125 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb said to the Banû 'Abs : how many were you on the day of Al-Haba'a ?³ One of them replied : We were a hundred, like the gold : not more, so as to depend on one another, nor less, so as to be weak. He said : how is it you could subdue those who opposed you, although you did not outnumber them in men nor wealth ? The man replied We used to restrain ourselves from impatience after encountering the enemy for a while.” So 'Umar said : It was for that reason then.

(1) Abû Firâs was the *kunya* by which Al-Farazdaq was known.

(2) Al-Khatt, a place on the Persian Gulf where the lances introduced from India were sold to the Bedouins.

(3) Al-Haba'a is the well at which Hudheyfa ibn Badr and his companions were slain by the 'Abs, see *Naqid* ed, Bevan Index s. v,

And Yazîd ibn al Muhallab said :

“ I held back in order to reserve life for the future,
but I did not find

“ For my soul any life like going forward.”

Said Qatari ibn al Fuja'a :¹

“ And my speech, whenever it heaves and boils over

“ On account of the heroes, is : “ Woe unto you, be
not afraid,

“ For if you were to ask for the life of one day

“ Apart from the term fixed for you, you would not
be obeyed.”

And Mu'awiya ibn Abî Sufyân said : What encouraged me against 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, were the words of 'Amr ibn al-It'naba :

“ My self-restraint did not desire me, and probation
did not desire me

“ And my buying praise for a profitable price

“ And my urging my soul towards what is unpleasant

“ And my striking the head of the toiling hero

“ And my saying to my soul whenever it heaves :

“ ‘Stay in your place so that you be praised, or find rest,

“ In order that I may defend good deeds

“ And protect after this sound fame ’

“ All these did not desire me to appoint a judge with
regard to my doings

“ And to bear patiently a bad thing.”

And Rabî'a ibn Maqrûm said :

“ And they shouted : Away ! (to battle) and I was the
first to set out,

“ Why should I ride it (a steed) if I do not set out.”

Khâlid ibn al-Walîd used to walk between the lines in order to encourage the men, and to say : O people of Islâm, self-restraint is strength, and falling off is weakness, and victory is with self-restraint.

And one of the heroes of the Arabs said :²

“ Roast meat, and meat snatched from the pot, and
loaves of bread,

“ And the beautiful songstress, and the new cup

“ For those that whip the horses when the horses are
walking at a slow pace.”

(1) The head of the Azraqi branch of the Khârijites who was killed in battle about 79 A.H.

(2) The author is Lâqit ibn Zurâra according to Al-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, ed. Wright 428.

A Bedawi said : Allah replaces what men have destroyed, time destroys what men have collected. How many cases there are of death caused by seeking life, and how many lives gained through exposing oneself to death.

And similar to this is the saying of Abû Bakr al-Siddiq addressed to Khâlid : Covet death, and you will be granted life.

The fugitive Greeks came to Heraclius whilst he was at Antioch. He called the most important of them and said : Woe unto you ! Tell me, what like are those whom
 127 you fight ? Are they not men like yourselves ? They said : Yes. " Are you in larger numbers ? " " We are double their number on every battlefield " " Woe unto you, why then do you fly whenever you meet them ? " They kept silent until an old man from among them said : " I will tell you, O king, how it is that you are overcome " " Tell me " " If we attack them, they keep calm, and if they attack us, they advance boldly ; while if we attack them we are slack and if they attack us we do not keep calm " " Woe unto you, why then are you such as you describe and they such as you assert ? " " I was of opinion that you knew well what the reason for this was " " What is it ? " " Because they fast in the day and get up at night, and they fulfil their promise and they enjoin what is reasonable and forbid what is wrong, they do not harm anybody and they act equitably one with another ; and because we drink wine and commit fornication and do that which is forbidden and break contracts and snatch things by force and act wrongfully and enjoin that which angers Allah, and forbid that with which Allah is pleased, and do mischief on earth " " You have told me the truth ; by Allah, I shall leave this town, since you are in this state. Nothing good can come to me from your protection " " We entreat you by Allah, O king, not to leave Syria which is the garden of the world, so long as you are surrounded by the Greeks in numbers equal to those of the pebbles and the dust and the stars of heaven, so that they cannot be overcome " ¹

SAYINGS ABOUT WAR

The Arabs said : War is wrongful, for it affects those who have committed no crime.

And Al-Kumeyt said :

" People in war are wide apart when advancing

(1) Antioch was conquered by the Arabs in 16 A.H.

as far as I remember, if God will, that the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, was clad in two coats of mail on the day of Uhud.

It was said to 'Abbâd ibn al-Huseyn who was the strongest man in Basrah: With what equipment would you like to encounter your enemy? He said: With a death-term that has been deferred.

Ziyâd ibn Yahya told me: Bishr ibn al Mufaddal told us: Daud ibn Abî Hind told us from 'Ikrima, he said: When the night of Al-Ahzâb¹ had fallen, the southwind said to the northwind: Come with us, so as to bring health
128 to the messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace. But the northwind said: "A free woman does not travel at night!" So the wind that was sent to them was the east wind.

Sahl ibn Muhammad told me, Al-Asma'i told me, Ibn Abî'l-Zin'ad told us: Al-Zubeyr ibn al-Awwam struck 'Uthmân ibn 'Abdullâh ibn al Mughîra on the day of Al-Khandaq and cut him to the saddlebow. When they said: "How excellent is your sword!" he got angry because he thought the result was due to his hand, not to his sword.

Al-Walîd ibn 'Ubeyd al-Buhturî said in praise of a sword:

"Penetrating, even if the hand of a horseman does
not make it penetrate;
"Of a hero; and polished though it has not been
polished;
"Sharp, ripping off with the first stroke
"What it reaches, even though it be on mount
Yahbul."²

And another said:

"And the sword is nothing but a cloth of one who
goes out as for show
"Unless its bearer is more penetrating than the
sword."

Al-Jarrâh ibn 'Abdullâh was seen in a certain battle clad in two coats of mail. When he was asked about this, he said: I do not guard my body, I guard my self-restraint.

And Yazîd ibn Hâtim bought coats of mail and said: "I did not buy coats of mail, but I bought lives."

(1) During the siege of Al-Madinah known as *Al-Khandaq*, in 6 A.H.

(2) In Najd, situated in the territory of the Banû Bahîla s, Yâqût s. v.

Badû said, urging his people : O tribe of the Arabs, and O sons of virtuous women, fight for your glory and your women. 'By Allah, if these people overpower you, they will not leave a single red brick nor a single green palmtree without throwing it down. And there have come down upon you arrows of theirs in quivers, like membra of elephants, and they pull the strings of their bows with arrows like thick staves ; the bows groaning like the posts of a well and the men bracing them vehemently until the hairs of their two armpits become separate. After that they will shoot an arrow as if it were a tattered rope, and what is there to prevent anyone of you from his eye being crushed or his heart being split in a place.' Thus he drew the hearts of the people and they ran quickly, filled with terror.

THE CULTURE OF HORSEMANSHIP

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me, he said : Mu'awiya ibn 'Amr told me from Abû Ishâq from 'Asim ibn Suleymân from Abû 'Uthmân, he said : " Umar —may Allah be pleased with him—wrote : Put on an izâr and a cloak and sandals, but throw off the boots, turn away the girth of the saddle and throw off the stirrup, and leap on to the horse and stick to Ma'addism¹ (or he said Arabism) and shun enjoying a pleasant life and the fashion of the Persians, and do not put on silk ; for the messenger of God—may God bless him and give him peace—prohibited it except like this "; wherewith he raised his two fingers.

He further said : Strength will not be weak as long as its possessor can draw and leap, *i.e.* draw his bow and leap on to his steed without using the help of the stirrup.

- 133 And Al-'Umari said : 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb used to seize the right ear of the horse with his right hand, and with his left hand the left ear of his horse, after that he would draw himself up and leap as if he had been created on the back of his horse.

And 'Ali ibn Abî Tâlib—may God be pleased with him—said on the day of Siffin : Bite with your molar teeth, for this will make the swords shrink from the heads.

And they placed a man between the two pieces of wood between which a man's body is extended to be flogged. His father said to him : Press your foot and raise your ears like a horse and think of the event of tomorrow and

(1) *i.e.*, the ways of Ma'add and his descendants.

beware of praising God in this place, for it would be cowardice.

And another said : Press your two feet when leaning on your sword or your staff, for you have the choice of raising them at the time of concluding peace and reconciliation.

And I read in the '*Lin* : In order to do well in shooting with arrows it is necessary for the beginner, while learning the art, to take hold of the bow with his left hand with the strength of the left arm, the arrow being held with the right hand with the strength of the right arm ; to wrap something round the two veins of his temples, to turn his eye towards the guide-post of the shot, to set the bow well after lowering its curved part a little, to grasp it with three fingers, to bend the fore-finger upon the bowstring, to hold it through counting 23 as if they were 63,¹ to draw the three together and to shift his chin towards his shoulder, to relax his neck and to conform with the bow, to straighten his back, to turn his arm, to strain the bow and to draw the string to his ear, to raise the white of his two eyes without grinding his teeth and without shifting his eye and without his body shaking, and to examine well the place of the heads of the arrows.

And I read in the '*Ain* : The excellent thing in hitting with the crooked staff² is to hit the ball onward, snatching it away with the hand turned to the ear and the staff inclined to the lower end of the breast : to hit by looking askew, acting gently and leisurely, not to be careless about the stroke, to loosen the net³ especially, and this is that which prevents the passing through of the ball to the extreme limit of the goal ; then to draw the ball from the place to which it has fallen and to aim at hitting it softly
134 beneath the girth of the riding-beast and in front of the upper part of its breast, and to strive hard to chase and repel in this state, and to refrain from asking the help of a whip to hit the ball or from making traces in the earth with the crooked staff or from breaking it out of ignorance in using it, or from wounding the legs of the beast ; and to guard

(1) This refers to the art of counting with one's forefingers (*hisab al uqud*) by bending their tips down upon the palm, s. J. Ruska in *Islam* Vol. X 87 seq., especially 113. For the counting of 63 in this way, *ibid* Vol. XVI 65.

(2) *Saulajân*, in Persian *chogan*, Pahlavi *chopgan* (*chop*=*chob* staff) sêe further *Hobson Jobson* ed. Yule s. v. "Chicane and Polo" and the quotations collected by Quatremere, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* Vol I, part 1 p. 121 seq.

(3) Perhaps "*al-shubbak*" is the correct reading instead of *al-sinan*.

against harming those who run along with one on the race-course ; and to restrain the beast well in the vehemence of its running and to be careful about assault and attack in this state, and to avoid anger and abuse and flurry and diversion and to be careful not to throw the ball on the top of a house, although six balls may be only one dirhem's worth ; and to avoid driving the beholders away and those that sit on the walls of the race-course, for the breadth of the race-course has been made 60 dhira', only in order that those that sit on its wall may not be removed or constrained.

Abû Muslim, the head of the ('Abbâsid) propaganda said to his people : Clothe your hearts with daring against them, for it is the cause of victory ; and retain enmities in your memory, for it stimulates to advance ; and stick to obedience, for it is the fortress of the fighter.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

UDAIPUR : FROM THE ARTIST'S VIEWPOINT

It is no serious indictment of the artist's way of looking at things to say that he is chiefly concerned with external manifestations. Unlike the historian, the poet, or the architect, he is content to accept the visual impression of concrete facts without question. What happens when he does not, is demonstrated by the host of ultra-modern distortions, which are presumed to reflect the painter's emotions or psychic impressions. Every profession has its limitations, and painting must accept those restrictions which working in only two dimensions upon a flat surface entail upon the delineator of Nature. When it comes to expressing one's mental reactions, the artist is advised to hand on the torch to the scientist. For the strength of the artist's position really lies in its limitations. He at least should be able to "view life steadily and view it whole" as a picture of infinite detail, every part of which, however small or humble, goes to make up the transcendent effect of one unified and prodigious work of art. And in this conviction he can honestly copy his own small portion of the universal masterpiece, and leave it to those greater than himself to portray in their turn more elaborate passages of the inexhaustible original. The architect's business is to probe into the reasons of things, before he can begin to build; and probably his pleasure in studying a fine monument of the past is tempered, to some extent at least, by reflections on the sordid requirements of his own time and the difficulty of repeating, in this business age, the triumphs of the old masters. To rear an edifice as graceful and impressive as the Acropolis, only adding thereto a complete system of drainage, electric light, and all the paraphernalia required by the troublesome modern habits of hygiene, and herding people together, would seem to some of us to be an insoluble problem. Luckily for the painter he is above trumpery considerations of practical utility. All he has to do is to make a picture; and on

those rare occasions when he finds his picture all ready-made for him, as it were, he accepts the find gratefully, and without learned research into the departments of history, health, or hustle. In this simple code of procedure he has the advantage of the poet, who must trim the glowing images of his imagination according to standards fixed not by Nature but by mutable man. So in attempting some descriptions of the beautiful city of Udaipur, the writer makes no critical claims; his humbler purpose being but to indicate and to praise.

Udaipur has been likened to "The Elfin Court of Dreamland". So much may be derived from the official Railway guide; which also notices this city under the heading of "The Venice of India" and (in moments of lesser enthusiasm) as "Udaipur the Coy", "dazzlingly decorative", or "the fairest city in the world".

Recollecting that somewhat similar phrases were applied to "the White City" at Earl's Court (of trivial memory) one may prefer to reserve one's judgment, until the Promised Land is reached. And having arrived at Udaipur, the first thing that people of the most unexceptionable literary taste will be inclined to do is to grant the writer of the official guide-book a full indulgence for his flowery language; the next will be to protest that it is not flowery enough! I do not know whether the old adage that "circumstances alter cases", may be stretched so as to include the intrusion of copious superlatives in reference to Udaipur, which would certainly not be tolerated by the stylists in any other connection! There are times, not many perhaps—but there *are* times—when restrained language becomes odious, if not disingenuous. If one were to practise a judicial restraint when launching forth in praise of Udaipur, one might incur the danger of being regarded as one of those snobs who would rather die than admit that they have seen something new. For—paradox though it be—its novelty is Udaipur's abiding charm. All natural surroundings, embellished (or otherwise) by the hand of humanity are, as Shelley duly pointed out, subject to change of one sort or another. But change is the very essence of the charm of Udaipur. Those who have been lured to undertake the pilgrimage by some of those showy photographs in which the reflections in the lake have acquired all the permanence which the retoucher's art can bestow, may find these reflections entirely absent on the day of their arrival; and instead of regretting this crucial loss, as it might seem, they are delighted by effects upon

the ruffled lake which no camera, and few brushes either, could emulate. Looking out from under the huge mango tree that roofs over the picturesque green corner near the deserted pavilions opposite to the first of the Island Palaces, the painter sees the intervening stretch of agitated water thickly carpeted with sunbeams which hopelessly outvie with their dazzling scintillations the finials that crown the domes and cupolas with flashing crystal. That glittering pageant is of course quite out of the question; so the baffled painter turns his gaze towards the white walls that rise in steps, and tiers, and galleries, and terraces along the lake-side. And he sees these beautiful evidences of man's workmanship improved beyond the ken of any painter living by an overlaid fretwork of wavering lights that are never still but dance in unison with the merry wavelets which they reflect. Then there are the ever marching shadows. Though the water may be still, the shadows will continue their progress. One may settle down early with campstool and easel, in one of those charming little kiosks overhanging the lake, with the intention of nailing to the canvas, so to speak, the majestic palace of the Ranas, just as it looms there, vast and towering, plunged by noon into a blue half-tone, with all its angles and perspectives and abutments basking in brilliant light. But lo and behold! Hardly have we defined our masses and begun to deal with the hues and values of these contrasted tones, when "the scene is changed", and the elusive shadows which were so definitely cut into patterns have escaped us, just when they were on the point of being captured by the brush! So the *seance* is deferred until the next day when, --awful discovery--there are no shadows at all!

And then the people! They come and go in their kaleidoscopic colours, until the despairing painter wonders whether *anything* ever stands still at Udaipur. There is no monotony in the place, or in the difficult but fascinating task of trying to paint it! One may rave over its multi-form beauties by day,--dream of them by night; but when it comes to fixing the spell upon canvas, the lovely thing often dissolves before us like a mirage. The way to paint Udaipur is to resort to crafty methods; to attack it surreptitiously as it were--keeping one's own counsel. You must stalk your objective, very much as the hunter stalks the deer, concealing your intention almost from yourself. You may direct the boatman when you take the boat at the Water Gate, to proceed to the Mohan

Mandir, as the small island Pavilion which forms so obvious and commanding a sketching position, is called. But you must by no means *go* there. Just when the boat is approaching the little flight of steps, and the water tortoises are politely diving off them to make way for your landing, you signal to the oarsman to pass on, and to moor the boat by the old water wheel near the empty courts and colonnades on the other side of the lake. For out of the tail of your eye you have seen that just there, in that neglected Kiosk with the cornice which the overgrowing Peepul tree has treated in such vandal fashion, is the very place to catch that floating line of the Jag Niwas Palace, now busily, and all unwittingly, engaged in marvellously beautifying itself by duplicating its exquisite image in the lake; while enchanting effects are pencilling every dome and turret with light. If now you can succeed in landing at this obscure viewpoint without being spotted by the tricky Fates whose delight it is to envelope the painter of Udaipur in unexpected difficulties, you may really get your picture. But even then you would be well advised not to show it, nor talk about it much, until you get it safely back to the hotel, or some accident may overtake it. Stranger things than that happened in the Arabian Nights, and at Udaipur enchantment is in the very air! Udaipur's unfailing novelty is but the embroidery of its grand and spacious plan. One may select this or that type of Moghul building as the supreme example for effectiveness; but it is by the wholeness of the effect upon the eye that the city wins to a unique place in our affections. This is not due to a unified style of building: the styles and methods are almost as diversified as the lights that flicker across them.* But the city, the castle, the Bathing Ghats, and the Island Palaces, hang together—in harmonious contrast. The fugitive Prince Khurram, when living here under the Rana's protection, chose a refuge on the Jag Mandir Island. No wonder that the lovely little palace, which was built for him, and which seems to speak and tell us that it was inspired by himself, was provided with a tiny courtyard with views in several directions. This court opens from that wonderful circular upper room beneath the dome. It has an elaborate window-seat of the exile's favourite white marble, even though there is little space for much besides. We may be quite sure that the creator of the

* Fergusson says: "Though adopting a Muhammadan form, the Rânâs of Udaypur clung to the style of architecture which their ancestors had practised."

Taj Mahal often sat in that window and looked out over the glorious blue lake, and studied the splendidly placed city to his right, and we may opine that he pictured to himself the time when that little edifice of his retreat should be far eclipsed by noble buildings such as those which today attest the taste and genius of the Imperial Master-builder. I have visited these more august monuments to Shah Jahan but nowhere have sensed his influence more keenly than in this Island Palace, where among the burdened orange-trees, the flowers and the peacocks, he may have indulged musings not less interesting, though probably less martial, than those of the young Alexander among the olive groves of Greece.

The appositeness of this domed palace to the rest of the island, of the island to the lake, and of the magnificent city to its magnificent environment furnishes matter for thought not only to the artist engaged in the business of painting pictures, but to the philosophic spectator of Indian Art thus wedded to the life and features of the country itself. It is hard to imagine other types of palaces occupying the same positions; impossible to think of anything else which could be as satisfying. It is surely the hall-mark of all great art, that it possesses the inevitability which does convince. The dream-like palaces of Udaipur are reminiscent not only of the Moghul's artistic genius but of the pleasant Moghul attitude towards life, which in some ways resembled the Victorian poet's dictum "Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?" Fortunately the Indian craftsmen are still at work at Udaipur; the present palaces are still putting forth shoots; and the hammers of the workers resound cheerfully through the water-side arcades. For the best of Udaipur is that it is not—like so much of India's art—merely the memory of a Dream, but that the Dream still endures.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

THE LAND OF THE TWO SHORES

Bilad el Andalus wa bilad el 'Udwa.

AFTER more than four hundred years of neglect, the Arab sources of Spanish history began to attract the attention of European orientalists about the middle of the XVIIIth Century. As far as the educated public is concerned, the subsequent history of these studies is connected with the names of two scholars and two only.

The first was the Spaniard Jose Antonio Conde who in 1820, published, in Spanish, a work entitled "The History of the domination of the Arabs in Spain". This gave a consecutive account of the chief events in Muslim Spain from the first Arab invasion to the fall of Granada in 1492. It was compiled from the best Arab sources available to Senor Conde, who contented himself with fusing the various accounts into one, without discussing textual or other difficulties.

The publication of this volume, which had certainly involved an immense amount of hard work on the part of the compiler, made a great light in a field of history that had hitherto been in thick darkness. The book was as well received by the learned as by the public, was translated into many languages and quoted as authoritative by all writers on the same subject.

Twenty-nine years later, the Dutch orientalist, Reinhart Dozy, who devoted the best part of his life to Spanish Arabic studies, startled the learned world by demonstrating, brutally but conclusively, that Conde's scholarship had been very faulty, that his famous book abounded in gross errors, and that no reliance could be put on any individual statement in it unless it was confirmed by independent study.

Dozy published his own results in numerous learned publications, and in two works for the general reader—"Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne

pendant le moyen age " Paris 1849, 1859 and 1881, and "*L'histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*" Leyden 1861 (English translation with title "Spanish Islam", London, 1913).

The result was curious. Dozy, like Conde, had been a pioneer in unexplored lands, and had in addition a European reputation as an Arabic scholar; so, when he published his work, there was no-one with sufficient knowledge or authority to question his decisions. It thus came about that his work was never submitted to any effective criticism and achieved a reputation so overpowering that almost every subsequent writing on the subject has been simply a variation upon a theme by Dozy¹.

Now Professor Dozy was by no means so infallible an historian as he was Arabic scholar. He had a lively pen and loved a rhetorically balanced phrase; to secure his effect he sometimes based sweeping generalizations on a very inadequate foundation. His facts are not at fault, but his deductions often are. The Spanish Professor Codera long ago called attention to an example of this, in his "*Decadencia de los Almoravides*" (Saragossa 1906) which discusses Dozy's treatment of the Almoravide government.

Moreover our knowledge of the subject has been revolutionized in the last fifty years, by the further study of Arabic documents, by the renaissance of learning in Spain and by the opportunities, since 1912, for a first-hand study of the Moroccan Empire.

It is these considerations which embolden me to put forward in the following pages a theory which runs counter to a good many old-established prejudices, as it seems to me. Put as briefly as possible, my hypothesis is this.

The theory, Castilian in origin, which represents the age-long struggle between Moslem and Christian in Spain as the struggle of a native population to expel a foreign invader, ignores a whole series of most important racial, geographical, historical and psychological facts. It would in my opinion be equally profitable to consider the struggle as a civil war in which the combatants were distinguished by religion not by race. The final result was the achievement of, the unity of the Iberian Peninsula

(1) For example: S. Lane Poole. "Moors in Spain." 1881. E. P. Scott. "The Moorish Empire in Europe." The Cambridge Mediaeval Hist. Vol. III Ch. XVI (1924). J. & J. Tharaud. "Conference sur l'Andalousie Moresque." Conferencia 1929-1930, No. 10 & 11.

(less Portugal) by the domination of Celt-Iberian Castile over the slightly different ethnic elements which were found in the rest of the Peninsula.

The Iberian Peninsula lies at the extreme south-west of the territories to which a convention of the geographers has given the name of the continent of Europe. The connection by land with the rest of the continent is, however, barred by the Pyrenees; while across the Straits of Gibraltar, at one point only eight miles wide, lies a large tract of country, cut off from the rest of Africa by the snow-clad Atlas Mountains, very similar in climate and general characteristics to the country which lies to the north of the Straits. It is, in fact, desirable to correct the well-known witticism "Africa begins at the Pyrenees" by the corollary "Europe begins at the Atlas". In other words, Spain, Portugal and Morocco (with or without the Eastern extension to Oran, Algeria and Tunisia) form an obvious geographical unit, which may be described as a sub-continent, intermediate between Europe and Africa. In the absence of any more generally accepted name for this sub-continent, it will be convenient to employ a phrase frequently used by Ibn Khaldûn, and to refer to it as the Land of the Two Shores¹.

The history of the Two Shores before the time of the Roman conquest is obscure; it is, however, reasonably certain that from the remotest period there existed in its centre (the modern Andalusia) a highly developed civilisation whose bases were agriculture and copper-mining; and that there was a constant traffic between the two sides of the Straits. The interior of Morocco was in a state of more or less savage tribal anarchy. Northern Spain was rather more advanced and the Romans had to deal there with an organised government whose authority extended over rather more territory than that comprised in the provinces which are now known as Old Castile and Aragon. The inhabitants of Spain were classified by the Roman writers as Iberians and Celt-Iberians². Of these two peoples the Iberians were the older-established and were to be found all over the country. The Celt-Iberians, who lived in the North-western provinces, were apparently Iberians whose characteristics had been modified by inter-marriage with Celtic invaders from north of the Pyrenees. The Celt-Iberian state or confederacy which has been mentioned above and had its capital at Numancia in Old

(1) Kitâb el 'Ibar.

(2) Diodorus Siculus V 31 seqq.

Castile issued coins whose inscriptions were in the Iberian language and alphabet¹.

Now the Spanish Iberians, whatever theories may be held about "Iberian" peoples in general, were in all probability related to the races (called by the Romans Numidians or Getuli, amongst other names) who inhabited the Moroccan shore and whom we now know as the Berbers. Thus it is said that the termination "ez" in the very common and characteristic Spanish names Lopez, Gomez, Perez is really a Berber patronymic equivalent to the Moroccan form "Ait", as in the existing tribes Ait Ayyash, Ait Attat, Ait Yazza.

Now the Berbers are an ancient race (or collection of races, held together by a common language and a common psychology) who, in their nomadic habits,² their intense individualism (which has hitherto prevented their forming a coherent nation), their virility, their love of verse, and their instinctive artistic feeling, strikingly recall the characteristics of the Arabs of the Ignorance. Their language, which is akin to that of the ancient Egyptians, may be classed as "Hamitic"; that is, it belongs to a special group of languages which are neither Indo-European nor Semitic, but nearer akin to the latter than to the former. It is of course highly dangerous to draw any conclusions as to race from a similarity of language. We can however legitimately say that a people which clings to its language through centuries of foreign rule undoubtedly has a national individuality and a cultural outlook peculiar to itself. Similarly, the fact that a people placed between two sharply distinguished cultural groups, such as the Islamic and the Latin-Christian, speaks a language characteristic of one group rather than of the other, is evidence of its cultural affinity. Applying this rule to the Berbers we may say that, as far as linguistic evidence applies, they would probably show greater sympathy for Islamic civilisation than they would for Latin-Christian.

The inhabitants of Spain at the time of the Roman conquest were, of course, pagans. It is interesting, in view of the relationship between the Berber language and ancient Egyptian, that the cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis found a second home in South Spain; and to note that Spanish piety delighted to express itself in devotion to Isis, in a somewhat oriental fashion, as it does today in

(1) *Encycl. Brit.* 9th Ed. article *Iberians*.

(2) Though a great number live in villages and practise agriculture.

devotion to the Virgin Mary, by dedicating to her magnificent images, adorned with precious robes and jewels¹. The point is indeed of some importance, as indicating the continuity of Spanish character from before the Arab invasion to the present day. In this connection we may note another survival. The curious tourist in Spain has probably discovered that besides the classic Spanish dance, with shawl and fan, there is also a strong tradition of the oriental type of dance, sometimes called the "danse de ventre", which can be more easily seen in Barcelona than it can in Cairo. It would be natural to attribute the national genius for, and appreciation of, this dance to Arab influence; we have however the evidence of the Latin Spanish poet Martial that the girls of Cadiz were famous for this art already in the first century A. D. We must then be careful in judging Spanish customs to remember that everything in them which reminds us of the East is not necessarily Arab in origin; but may already have existed centuries before the Arab invasion.

If we attempt to estimate the cultural aspects of the inhabitants of Spain in the last millennium before Christ, we may hazard the guess that they were fundamentally similar to those of the Berber tribes upon the other shore; that is, a good deal nearer to primitive Semitic culture than to that of Northern Europe or Italy. The original character of the people had, however, in the north been modified by the Celtic invasion, in the south it had been at once intensified and refined by the development of an indigenous Andalusian civilisation. Moreover the Semitic-oriental element had received a powerful reinforcement from some centuries of Phœnician and Carthaginian influence around the East and South coast². The Carthaginians married freely with the native women; the famous Hannibal himself having a Spanish wife. The use of the Carthaginian language was no doubt wide-spread in the districts under their rule or protection; possibly it was the Carthaginians who introduced into congenial soil the characteristic female dance above-mentioned.

Roman rule over Spain, lasting for some six centuries (200 B.C.—400 A.D.), profoundly modified the character of the people, as is signalized by the wide diffusion of the Latin language, side by side with the native dialects. The results were manifold. Where a considerable degree

(1) *Corpus Inscript.* Lat. II. 3386.

(2) In Catalonia the influence of Greek colonies in the first millennium B. C. was probably also far from negligible.

of civilisation already existed, it was greatly increased ; in parts that had hitherto been barbarous, civilisation was introduced ; and above all, the whole country (except the very inaccessible districts) was brought under the control of the central authority and lost the habit of tribal individualism.

The force of Roman civilisation, as previously of Carthaginian, was felt much less strongly upon the Moroccan shore. Not more than a half or a third of the country was under any sort of effective control. Roman influence stopped short at a line joining Volubilis (near the modern Meknes) to the site of the modern Sla at the mouth of the Bu Regreg.

The last two centuries of Roman rule (200-400 A.D.) were marked by a steady decline in the efficiency and justice of the government. In Spain, this culminated in a period of prolonged anarchy (150 years) which, after a succession of barbarian invasions from northern Europe, was more or less ended by the establishment of the Visigothic monarchy (500-700). The two hundred years of Gothic rule form an inglorious period of Spanish history ; order was very imperfectly preserved and the Gothic kings seem to have had very little talent in the art of government. The only portion of the population by whom they were sincerely welcomed were the Catholic clergy, who seem to have felt that these simple barbarians (though at the time of their coming Arian heretics) could be made more useful agents in strengthening the position of Latin Christianity than the Roman aristocracy had ever been¹.

Late Roman methods of government continued to be employed in a debased form. Great estates accumulated in the possession of certain nobles, and were worked by serfs and slaves. As the Christian clergy had foreseen, they gained great influence over the Gothic kings. Unfortunately their power was used in forcibly converting the remaining pagans and in repressing any signs of opposition in those already converted, rather than in remedying the injustice and oppression which caused the mass of the population to live in a state of suppressed rebellion. The greatest merit that can be claimed for the Visigothic monarchy is that it caused the Spanish to realize for the first time that the geographical unity of the country had as a natural corollary an autonomous national government.

(1) Dozy. History of the Moslems of Spain. Vol. II, Ch. I.

A remarkable feature of the last century of Gothic rule was the savage repression of the very large Jewish colonies which had made the country their home during the time of the Romans. The repression naturally led to disaffection and the disaffection to conspiracies. In 694 the Visigothic King Egica accused the "Hebrews in these parts of taking counsel with those who dwelt in lands beyond the sea (*i.e.*, Africa) that they might combine against the Christians", with, it is suggested, the intention of overthrowing the existing government and establishing some sort of Jewish régime. It seems more probable that the Jews hoped for aid from the Moslems, already present in Africa; in any case the Gothic-Christian government seem to have been conscious of the oriental-semitic tendencies in the character of the nation and to have been afraid of a reaction in that direction to their own disadvantage¹.

Seventeen years later these favourable circumstances attracted the notice of the Moslem leaders, who under Mûsa ibn Nuseir had, for the moment, reduced the unruly Berbers to some sort of order. It is not therefore surprising that an expedition which started as a reconnaissance in force resulted in the speedy acquisition of the whole of the peninsula and the establishment of a government that lasted for centuries. Resistance might be expected from two sources, racial feeling and religion. But, if our argument has been correct, the majority of the Spanish people at the time of the Moslem conquest, though superficially Latinized, were fundamentally as near akin to the Arab (and certainly to the Berbers, who composed the mass of the invading forces) as they were to the Latin or Gothic aristocracy². Moreover their prolonged experience of the

(1) Cambridge Med. Hist. Vol. II. Ch. 6. Dozy. *Histoire des Musulmans*. Vol. II. Ch. 1.

(2) Even to-day, in modern Spanish, a word which is very obviously of Latin origin (particularly if it expresses a homely idea) strikes a Spanish ear as something remote and foreign. Thus the words *regoldar* (of uncertain derivation) and *eructar* (from Latin *eructare*) affect a Spaniard just as the corresponding words *belch* (from the Anglo-Saxon) and *eructate* affect an Englishman. Cervantes, writing at the time of the final expulsion of the Moslems from Spain, makes Don Quixote, the Castilian country gentleman (whose study of Latin romances has, be it noted, made him mad) teach Sancho Panza, the peasant, to refine his language by adopting Latin derivatives.

"Take care, Sancho, not to chew in public and not to eructate."

"I don't understand *eructate*," said Sancho.

"To *eructate*, Sancho, means to *belch*, which is one of the ugliest words in the Castilian language, though very expressive: and for

decay of Latin methods, as applied under the Gothic monarchy, would lead them to welcome any reasonable alternative.

The question of religion requires rather more consideration.

It is surely an error to suppose that the Christians of the IVth and VIIIth centuries regarded Islam with the same instinctive hostility with which Christians from crusading times onwards have regarded it. After all, something between a third and a half of the Christian world at the time of the first spread of Islam appears to have adopted the new faith within two hundred years of its appearance; and when we have allowed for the percentage converted by interest or fear, there remains a great majority whose conversion must have been perfectly sincere, as is witnessed by the fact, in Spain itself, that the converts were, generally speaking, stricter in their religion and much more inclined to fanaticism than their Arab rulers. Islam took the same view of a revelation through a series of prophets as did Christianity. It recognised the miraculous birth of Jesus, his unique miracles and the divine origin of his teaching. Its claim that the leaders of the Christians had perverted the Gospel, would, to Spanish Christians suffering the misrule of Gothic ecclesiasticism, seem only too probable. Moreover the moral qualities of the great Arab leaders were as impressive as their military and political skill.

Omar bin el Khattâb, for example, "Calif by election not by hereditary right, living as frugally as the humblest Moslem, without display, without civil list, without guards, personally haranguing the assembled people, tolerating patiently the reproaches of the humblest as of the greatest, consulting in every circumstance the other Companions

this reason those people who are particular have had resort to Latin, and instead of *belch* they say *eructate*, and instead of *belches* they say *eructations*. And even if some people don't understand these words, it doesn't much matter: because the use of them will make them familiar in time so that they are readily understood. That is how language, which is the servant of usage, is enriched."

"Why certainly, Sir," said Sancho, "I will hope to bear in mind particularly your advice not to belch, which I do very frequently."

"*Eructate*, Sancho, not *belch*" said Don Quixote.

"*Eructate* is what I shall say in future," said Sancho, "if only I can remember."

Don Quixote. Part II. Ch. 43.

It is also curious that Cervantes pretends that his book is nothing but the translation of an Arabic MS, the author being Cide Hamete (i.e. Mohammed) Benegueli (I. 9).

of the Prophet who, like himself, were the depositories of the latter's words, that is of those sparks of the eternal wisdom which God had not thought fit to include in the Koran"¹— Omar himself was but an unusually perfect example of the type which was dominant amongst the Moslems and which embodied the ideal of universal brotherhood very much more effectively than the contemporary Christian leaders.

Behind the figures of such men as Omar, the Christian could discern the greater figure of the Prophet Mohammed himself, combining, it seemed, the eloquence of an Amos with the robustness and practical ability of a Moses. A Prophet, moreover, who had lived in their own time, whose every action in adversity and success could still be tested by reference to eye-witnesses.

The Christians, then, contemporary with the rise of Islam, must have regarded it in a different light from that in which it appears today to the descendants of those who rejected the new revelation and are the heirs of a secular tradition of hostility, only slightly modified in the last two centuries by the spread of agnosticism and religious indifference.

However this may be, it is at any rate certain that Arab government was established over the greater part of Spain within two years of the first invasion ; and that it was welcomed by the majority of the people. On the material side, this could be explained, in the same way as the ease with which vast colonial empires have been formed in modern times, by the admittedly superior efficiency of the conquerors. This, however, is not sufficient to explain the speedy and enthusiastic adoption by the majority of the vanquished of the religion, and very largely also of the language, of the conquerors ; which can only have been due to the impression caused by the moral qualities of the Arab leaders, and by the fact that Islam was in itself congenial to the national temperament.

The results fully justified the choice of the Spanish people. From the miserable and obscure anarchy of Visigothic misrule, Andalusian civilisation suddenly emerged into a triumphant and dazzling prosperity which made it for the time one of the centres of world civilisation. It is not too much to say that with the exception of certain of the great landowners and the irreconcilables amongst the clergy, every class of the population benefited

(1) Amari. *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* Firenze 1854. I. 70.

from the change. In particular the serfs and slaves who formed the majority of the population, and the small bourgeois of the towns were, in spite of the special tax on non-Muslims, very much better off under the tolerant and practical régime of the Arab government. Nor does there seem to have been any ill-treatment of the portion of the population who remained Christian. They were allowed to practise their worship freely and openly ; it was not until the majority of the population became Moslems, and often fanatical Moslems, that we find the remaining Christians complaining of the destruction of the churches and other vexatory measures. The large Jewish minority was delighted with the change, and managed to secure a high percentage of the increased national prosperity.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the details of the wealth and culture of Andalusia under the Emirate of Cordova, since they are well-known and incontrovertible. It is, however, necessary to analyse their component elements, concerning which serious misconceptions have been often prevalent.

Three elements combined to form the Moslem culture of Spain. The first was the indigenous Andalusian tradition of arts and crafts. The second was the inspiration and unifying force of Islam in the full vigour of its youth. The third was the genius of the Arab leaders for the affairs of government and business.

It is, I hope, not necessary to point out that no element of this civilisation was derived, or could possibly have been derived, from Morocco. Such traces of civilisation as existed in Morocco in the VIIIth century were similar to those of Spain, but inferior in every respect. The only thing that can be said to have been brought to Spain from Morocco by the Moslem invasion was a certain reinforcement of Berber stock ; this may have led to an invigoration of the Spanish population, but certainly did lead to an increase in the spirit of anarchic individualism which was eventually to ruin Moslem Spain.

It is not necessary to labour the point. The Arabs had had no developed civilisation in Arabia. The only assets which they brought with them from that country, besides their religion and their language, were their bodies and their souls. Strong bodies, hardened in the furnace of the Arabian climate ; emotional souls which had never in the times of Ignorance been submitted to any external discipline but that imposed by the spirit of insubordination

of their fellows and by the circumstances of a primitive yet spacious way of life which found permanent expression in the perfecting of the Arab language, at once so elaborate and so naive, a potent instrument of spiritual conquest¹. These were the forces which were welded together by the glowing fire of the religious clairvoyance of the Prophet, and moulded by the discipline of Islam. So that the anarchic tendencies of the Arabs, which find their clearest expression in the complete refractoriness of the nomadic tribes to what is called "progress",² were largely subordinated to the civilising faculties which were clearly in evidence in the political and commercial skill of the great families of Mecca. The Arab nation thus formed, while entirely without Western love of organisation and progress for their own sake, was perfectly willing to adopt all the western instruments of material well-being, provided that they were regarded simply as useful tools or amusing playthings³. Thus, when this new spirit began to work upon the congenial medium of the Andalusian craftsman, there was produced the characteristic Moslem Spanish civilisation, whose architectural monuments, for example, whether or not we care to speak of a specific Arab art, were determined in their main outlines as in most of their details by the peculiar needs, customs and point of view of the Arab nation.

Arab rule in Spain was favoured by certain quite extraneous events such as the usurpation of the Beni el 'Abbâs and the consequent formation of the independent Emirate of Cordoba under a representative of the Beni Omeyya. This attracted to Spain a great many of the best Arab families, of those whose talents had contributed so largely to the formation of an Arab empire. At the same time the independence of the Emirate of Cordoba was naturally a source of pride to the native Andalusians. To a much lesser extent, the establishment of the Idrisian

(1) The most striking means by which this instrument was applied was the Koranic School the degree of whose elimination from a modern Moslem country is the exact measure of its degree of abandonment of Islamic and Arabic universal ideals and of its adoption of modern egotistic nationalism.

(2) To which Ibn Khaldûn refers in the often quoted and sometimes misapplied passage of his *Moqaddima*.

(3) This trait, exaggerated in a time of decadence, is well illustrated by the squandering (from 1895 onward) of the last resources of the Moroccan Empire, during the reign of Mulay Abd el 'Azîz, upon an extraordinary collection of toys in the form of recent European inventions. (jewelled cameras, motor boats, billiard tables, bicycles and so forth). There is a full account in Mr. W.B. Harris' book "*Morocco that was*,"

dynasty in Morocco had similar happy results upon the southern shore.

The Emirate of Cordoba lasted for about three hundred years (755-1031). The history of its collapse is part of the history of the general weakening of Islam; and was due primarily, as Ibn Khaldûn points out, to the exhaustion of the Arab ruling classes and the assumption of power by Berber and native Spanish converts, whose tendency to anarchic individualism triumphed over the common interest. Thus the history of the Califate of Cordoba is in part the history of the struggle of the Arab aristocracy under the guidance of the Emirate to keep control of the influential and much more numerous indigenous Moslem population¹. Finally, consumed by internecine quarrels, and no longer reinforced by fresh arrivals from abroad, the Arab nobles were forced to abandon their influence to the central government in Cordoba. This itself became a partially internationalised institution, reminiscent of Byzantium, and when it was no longer alternately restrained and supported by an independent nobility, suddenly collapsed. From this time onward there was a fairly complete fusion of the various races which composed Moslem Spain.

The Emirs of Cordoba made a fatal mistake in neglecting the focus of Christian revolt in the mountains of the North-west where Celtic influence was strong and Islam had never taken root. This enabled several little Christian kingdoms to come into being and to sustain a rather fanciful claim to be the inheritors of an unbroken Visigothic tradition, and the true representatives of the native Spanish. In Moslem Spain, on the other hand, the government was well aware of the danger of the spread of fanaticism amongst either the Moslem or the Christian population. Thus El Hâkem ben Hishâm in 814 expelled from Cordoba 21,000 families of native Spanish Moslems whose fanaticism was imperilling the tolerant Arab régime². Eight

(1) Rising of native Moslem Spanish against Arab government in Cordoba 814 (mentioned below), Toledo 807, 834 etc., in Seville 886.

(2) It was on this occasion that the Emir El Hâkem ben Hishâm said to the fanatic who continued to insult him to his face "You think that God bids you hate me: well, I think that he bids me pardon you." And to the Vizier who, by a breach of trust, handed over to him a rebel after he had been hidden for a year in the house of a Jew, "What, this Jew had such respect for piety and learning in a man of a different religion that he risked his life, and all that is most precious to him, to protect him: and do you wish to make me use again a severity which I regret? Go, and never appear before me again." A very good example of the spirit of the Arab government of Cordoba.

thousand families of these exiles settled in Morocco in the newly-founded (808) Idrisian capital of Fez and are the first striking example of that spread of Spanish civilisation in Morocco which was one of the happiest results of the constant interchange of travellers, officials and merchandise between the two shores of the straits of Gibraltar.

In the absence of any statistics, it is impossible to say with any assurance either the total population of Spain under the Emirate of Cordoba, or the proportion between the different races. But from the fact mentioned above, that in the year 814, only 103 years after the conquest, it was possible to expel from the capital 21,000 indigenous Moslem families (say 80,000 souls), it would seem that the Spanish Moslem population must have been very large even at the seat of the Arab government, where moreover three thousand troops of the five thousand who formed the Emir's body-guard were also Spanish Moslems. In Toledo which had been the Visigothic capital and remained a stronghold of Spanish sentiment, we know that although the population was chiefly Moslem it contained hardly any Arab or Berber elements, and indeed would not readily tolerate the appointment of an Arab as governor. Only in certain country districts were Arabs or Berbers in a majority. As a rough estimate, we may suggest that three-fifths of the population were converted Spanish, one-fifth Christian Spanish and the remaining fifth Arab or Berber. Even this estimate should, I am inclined to think, be reduced in the case of the Arabs and Berbers who perhaps did not form a tenth or even a twentieth of the total population.

In the first days of the conquest, the chief offices were naturally in the hands of Arabs or Arab-trained Berbers. As early as 755, however, we find that the Arab governor's most trusted adviser was a Spanish convert and from that time onward we frequently find Spanish Moslems occupying high posts. The Arabs called the converts the *Muwalladûn* or "adopted sons", a name which in itself indicates that they were not regarded as slaves or treated with scorn in the fashion which nearly all modern writers (repeating a rhetorical exaggeration of Dozy) would have us believe.¹ The history of Moslem rule in Spain is the

(1) Thus the Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III, p. 414, states that "the position of these renegades was uneasy...socially they were reckoned as slaves and excluded from any share in the government." Yet fifteen lines lower on the same page it is casually mentioned that a "renegade" was appointed to the highly important post of

history of the gradual capitulation of the Arab elements before the growing influence of the Spanish Moslems; in Saragossa there was, as early as 788, an independent Visigothic Moslem dynasty, the Beni Casî. But since it was the Arab Emirate controlled by a free Arab aristocracy (whose feuds were the bloody equivalent of our modern political strife) that was the foundation of Moslem rule in Spain, the gradual weakening of this system was accompanied by a steady weakening of Moslem power in Spain; for the indigenous elements, though profoundly Arabized and Islamized, never produced men of the calibre of the Arabs of the first century.

Even the two great Berber Empires of the 11th and 12th centuries are only apparent exceptions to this rule, in spite of their temporary revival of Moslem power. Yûsuf ben Tashfin was indeed a pattern of antique virtue worthy of the Companions of the Prophet and of the generation that succeeded them.¹ His successors, however, and still more their supporters, fell far short of his standard, nor did the Almoravides at any time possess the tolerant and politic spirit of the great Meccans. Thus they antagonised the intelligent Andalusian population and, to say the least, did nothing to conciliate the still influential Christian population. It is probably true that the little Andalusian princes whom they swept away were corrupt and self-seeking, yet any successful resistance to the Christians could only come from the co-operation of all the Moslem elements. It even seems at this time that the Spanish Moslems had a certain fellow-feeling with their Christian neighbours in respect of these Berbers from over the sea.

Moreover, the effect of the Berber empire was, for the first time, to displace the centre of Moslem culture from Spain towards the much more backward Morocco. This certainly resulted in an increase of Moslem influence on the southern shore; but at the cost of withdrawing valuable elements from what may almost be called the mother-country (Andalusia). It was, by preparing a place of refuge behind the sea, to lead the way to the abandonment of the main position; which came to be regarded, as it

Governor of Toledo: while the embassy of the "renegade" Khâlid from the governor to Abderrahman had been mentioned two pages before!

(1) Dozy's strictures on the Almoravides are exaggerated. See Codera "*Decadencia de los Almoravides*". Codera points out that the Almoravide coins are of much better workmanship than those in use before this time.

had been by the Omayyad Calif Omar ben 'Abd el 'Azîz in the early days of the conquest, as merely a perilous outpost of the Moslem world. Thus Ibn Khaldûn (1332-1406) writes that "the Andalusian shore was from the first days of the conquest the outpost of Islam, wherein was the Moslem's holy war and their bulwark, the stairway by which they climbed to martyrdom and their path to eternal felicity : they lived in that territory as upon red hot stones, between the fang and the' claw of the wild beasts of infidels whose nations abounded in their proximity on every side, while they themselves were cut off by the sea from their brother Moslems." This is the language of a period whose utmost hope was to preserve the Moroccan shore for Islam, and which dared not remember that in the words of another Arab historian—"From the beginning Andalusia was the head of the two Shores."¹

Thus the collapse of the Almohade Empire (battle of Las Navas 1212) was rapidly followed by the capture of Cordoba (1236) and Seville (1248), which left no independent Moslem State in Spain, with the exception of the little Sultanate of Granada which survived, under an Arab dynasty in a state of vassaldom to Castile, until 1492.

From the overthrow of the Califate of Cordoba to that of the Sultanate of Granada is a period of about 500 years, during which Spain, which in 50 years had become a predominantly Moslem country, was gradually reconverted. Though it thus became Christian ten times as slowly as it had become Moslem, and though great numbers of Moslems emigrated after each serious loss rather than remain under Christian government, yet on the whole the Christianisation was caused by the same process as the Islamisation, that is by the conversion of the indigenous population, aided by the same peculiar racial and psychological characteristics. There was, however, a much greater degree of compulsion in the second process. The increasing supremacy of the Christians was marked by a steady decrease of tolerance. In the first three centuries of Moslem rule in Spain, there was a great deal of intercourse between certain members of the two religions. Inter-marriage was not infrequent, at least in the princely families concerning which alone we have information. A great many Spanish Christians talked Arabic and admired Arab literature ; many of the officials at the court of Cordoba

(1) Ibn Idhari el Marrakshi circa 1250 A.D. From the phrase "The land of Andalus and the land of the Shore" which occurs in the *Rawd el Qirtâs* and which I have taken as the title of this article.

knew the Romance dialect.¹ In the XIIIth century, St. Ferdinand, King of Castile and conqueror of Seville, used to sign his name in Arabic and took pleasure in the company of Arab savants. But by the XVth and XVIth centuries there is almost complete intolerance, accompanied by an astonishing ignorance of Islam, which leads up to the order for the expulsion of the "Morisco" population in 1610.² This growth of intolerance, which is noticeable upon the Moslem side as well as the Christian, is a problem of world history; in Spain it was certainly intensified by the influence of French monks, particularly from the reformed monasteries of Cluny and Cister. The crusading spirit passed from northern Europe to Spain, whose inhabitants, however, having much more intimate knowledge of Islam, were slow to develop the characteristic crusading outlook as we find it in St. Ferdinand's contemporary, St. Louis, King of France.

A recent publication of the Protectorate Government of Morocco, entitled "*Les grandes Etapes de l'histoire du Maroc*"³ states that "For more than eight centuries the Moroccans possessed a part of Spain." In accordance with this remarkable statement (which must have been arrived at by translating the Spanish word "Moro" as "Moroccan," instead of as "Moslem" which is its true significance) we should, I suppose, regard the expulsion of the Spanish Moslems in 1610 as the departure from Spain of the last of the "Moroccans". Nothing would be more misleading. Of course there were amongst the exiles a certain number of families of Arab or Berber descent, modified by the Moslem custom of intermarriage with women of the country and with slave-women. But the majority were of a stock in which the various racial elements had long been fused. If we examine the story of Ricote, the expelled "Morisco", in the contemporary work of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, we find that Ricote, though he speaks of the Moslem Spanish as his "nation", has no idea that his "nation" is anything but Spanish or that there is anything but his religion to distinguish him from his neighbour Sancho Panza.

(1) *Espana Musulmana* by B. Gonzale z Palencia. p. 116 Barcelona 1925.

(2) A Morisco is a Spanish Moslem who has been ordered officially to become a Christian.

(3) *Editions du Bulletin de l'Enseignement Public du Maroc*, Mars 1921 No. 29 Paris, 1925, page 74.

"It seems to me" Ricote is made to say, reflecting no doubt the sentiments of Cervantes himself, that is of a humane and thoughtful Christian Spaniard of the day, "that it was divine inspiration which moved his Majesty to take that daring resolution"—of expelling the Moriscos—"Not that we were all guilty¹, for there are among us true and steadfast Christians; but they are a small proportion and cannot make headway against the rest. It would not therefore have been wise to leave the serpent in our midst, to bring up enemies in the home. At last, then, we were, perfectly justly, punished with exile; a mild and humane punishment as it seems to some, but not to us, to whom nothing could be more terrible. Wherever we are, we weep for Spain; which is, after all, our birthplace and our home (*patria natural*). Nowhere do we find the welcome which our misfortune merits; more particularly in Barbary and those parts of Africa where we hoped to be received and welcomed, we are most outraged and ill-treated²."

Ricote's attitude to religion is typical; his decision to become Christian is, one suspects, chiefly due to the extreme difficulty of remaining a Moslem, though he expresses himself with characteristic Spanish dignity. "In short, Sancho, I know for certain that my daughter Ricota and my wife Francisca Ricota are Catholic Christians; and although I am not so sure about myself, still I am more of a Christian than a Moor" (*i.e.* Moslem) "and I pray to God constantly to open my eyes and teach me how to serve Him best³."

On the material side, the emigration of, it is said, perhaps a million persons in the course of a hundred and fifty years, put a serious strain upon the economic system of the country; though complaints seem chiefly to have come from the great nobles who depended upon Moslem labour for the working of their vast estates upon the East coast⁴. It is however not possible to attribute solely or even chiefly to this cause the subsequent economic distress

(1) of remaining Moslems after being ordered to become Christians!

(2) D. Q. II. Ch. LIV.

(3) The Christian Chroniclers of the middle ages reserve the name "Spain" (*Hispania*) for the Moslem territories, referring to the Northern territories as Castile, Aragon, etc. as the case may be. We should remember also that the language spoken in Spain to-day is officially spoken of as Castilian not Spanish: from one point of view the history of Spain since the fall of Granada is the history of Castilian (*i.e.* Celt-Iberian) domination over Iberia proper.

(4) One of the happiest features of Moslem rule had been the breaking up and disappearance of these estates.

of Spain ; it was due primarily to the tremendous effort of colonising Central and South America and to the unceasing wars for the maintenance of dynastic claims in which Spain as a country had no direct interest. Moreover the economic loss was more than compensated, in the eyes of the Christian government, by the increased internal security at a time when a Moslem revival in the West seemed a quite probable result of Turkish successes in the East.

It is indeed very doubtful whether an exhausted Spain would in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries have been in any way helped by the presence of a subject Moslem population, quartered probably in wretched suburbs upon the outskirts of the Christian towns. Moreover the great pressure put upon the Moslems caused the conversion and rapid absorption of many more than were driven into exile.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here that the Moroccans can at no time (except possibly under the Almoravide and Almohade Empires)¹ be said to have possessed Spain ; and that they at no time whatever introduced any civilisation from Morocco into Spain. On the contrary it was native Spanish who first developed agriculture around Fez ; it was with Andalusian workmen and engineers that Yûsef ben Tashfîn about 1070 installed the still existing type of hydraulic mill of Fez ; and it was with the aid of architects from Spain that Ya'qûb el Mansûr about 1170 built the famous Kutubia tower at Marrakesh and the Hassan tower at Rabat. These facts were well-known to the Arab historians and statesmen. El Maqqari in his history "The perfumed breeze from the green bough of Andalus", quotes the following passage from a certain Ibn Ghâlib who is probably a writer who flourished at the beginning of the XIth century A.D.²

"Africa may be said to have derived its present wealth and importance and its extent of commerce from Andalusians settling in it. For when God was pleased to send down on their country the last disastrous civil war, thousands of its inhabitants of all classes and professions sought a refuge on these shores and spread over Mogreb

(1) These were certainly Empires founded by Moroccan Berbers : yet their government was Arab in language and, as far as Berber fanaticism and ignorance permitted, in spirit also. Moreover they were military occupations rather than the imposition of a government differing in race or character.

(2) Author of "The contentment of the soul in the history of illustrious blind men born in Andalus",

el Aqsa and Africa proper, settling wherever they found comfort or employment. Labourers and country people took to the same occupations which they had left in Andalus—they formed intimacy with the inhabitants, assisted them in their agricultural labours, discovered springs, and made them available for the irrigation of their fields, planted trees, introduced water-mills, and other useful inventions ; The inhabitants of the cities, being for the most part well-educated people and being versed in all the branches of learning and polite literature, soon made themselves conspicuous and known at court or in the chief towns where they settled. They filled posts of distinction in the State and were appointed to the charges of vizîrs, kâtibs, governors of provinces and districts, tax-collectors and other offices under government, so that there was no district in Africa wherein some of the principal authorities were not Andalusians.

“But it was in the class of operatives and workmen in all sorts of handicrafts that Africa derived the most advantage from the tide of emigration setting towards its shores. It is well-known that before the arrival of the Andalusians many of the trades which are now in a flourishing state were hardly known in Africa, and that in activity and dexterity the emigrants (from Andalusia) ranked far above the native workmen these being notorious facts, which none but the ignorant or the ill-intentioned could deny¹.”

This passage is confirmed by Ibn Said (1214–1286 A.D.) who states it to be equally true of his own epoch, quoting as particular examples of Andalusian influence the prosperity of Marrakesh and Tunis. He especially warns the reader against thinking that Ibn Ghâlib’s statement is in any way exaggerated, quoting the verse :

“ If they saw Leila they would believe in her beauty and say, Verily we fell short in our praise.”

It is then no exaggeration to say that whatever civilisation was introduced into Morocco from the time of departure of the Romans till the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912 was the work of the Spanish, it being of course understood that the Moslem not the Christian Spanish are meant, and that the work was done, if not under Arab leadership, at any rate in an Arab form.

We have already seen that the effect of the two great Berber Empires was, paradoxically enough, to draw civilising elements from Spain and so to increase Moslem and

(1) El Maqqari. Tr. Gayangos. Vol. I, p. 118,

Arab influence throughout Morocco. This process was maintained by the emigration of Moslems from Spain during the domination of the succeeding Berber dynasty, the Beni Merîn, whose magnificent monuments in Fez (*e.g.* Medrasa of Abû 'Inân, etc.) and elsewhere are some of the finest extant specimens of Spanish-Arab architecture.

The two dynasties which succeeded the Beni Merîn, the Sa'dian and the Aluwiyyin (a representative of the latter of which is still, under the French Protectorate, the nominal ruler of Morocco) were families claiming Sherifian descent who came into power on a programme of restoration of things Arabic and Islamic. In this they were greatly helped by the influx of Spanish Moslems, whose expulsion from Spain was thus a positive benefit to Islam. For it was they who strengthened the Moslem government of Morocco, at a time when Christian Spain and Portugal (Battle of Elksar el Kebîr 1578) and even England (Tangier 1661—1684) were threatening to overrun the country; and enabled it, though remote from the main stream of Islam, to keep its independence right on into the XXth century, by which time the age of religious intolerance had passed and its permanent acquisition to Islam may be said to have been beyond doubt. The immigrants helped also to repel the threatened Turkish invasions and thus preserved to Moroccan town civilisation an Arab character which Egypt and Algiers lost.

The Sherifian government of Morocco, then, was never a national government in the modern sense of the word, and still less a Berber government. It was, and is, an instrument for Islamising and Arabising the congerie of Berber tribes which form the greater part of the country population of Morocco. In spirit and methods it is the heir of the Arab Califate of Cordoba; its power is based upon the town population, chiefly of Spanish Moslem origin, over whom alone its authority in times of weakness is at all effective. In its personnel, also, there predominate the Spanish Moslems; who are indeed the only people whom we may properly call Moors. Thus the Christian or agnostic power, which has in recent years assumed the effective government of nine-tenths of Morocco, is compelled, by loyalty to its undertaking to aid the Sultan in his Government, to join in the secular task of Islamising and Arabising the Berber inhabitants of Morocco; when it would suit its policy much better to spread amongst them its own culture and its own language and even to

some slight extent to encourage the idea of a Berber nationalism.

On the Northern Shore, on the contrary, the process of formation of a nationality has long since been completed. Modern Spain, though marked by great regional divergences, is as clearly marked a national and cultural unit as Germany or France. The Spanish nation is, however, distinguished by the peculiarity that it has been formed not by purely Roman and Christian influences, as has every other European nation, but by an alternation of Christian and Moslem influence, not imposed from without but of spontaneous inward growth. It is the thousand and one Eastern and Arab elements in Spanish character which, though almost imperceptible separately, give Spain that unique character amongst the European nations which is immediately apparent to the most casual traveller.

Lastly, if, in view of these considerations, we regard the recent war in the Rif, or Spanish Zone of Morocco, we shall not see it primarily as a war of Moslem against Christian or of a primitive people against a civilised, but rather as an episode in the age-long process of the unification of the Land of the Two Shores—a land whose European northern territories form with the African southern territories a geographic and psychological unit in which the two great religious forces of the Mediterranean world have greater possibilities, as fanaticism is forgotten and common interests are remembered, of fruitful and harmonious co-operation than anywhere else in the world.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

BOMBAY IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

INTRODUCTION.

AURANGZEB'S dealings with the East India Company have not been thoroughly or objectively analysed. A number of writers have no doubt discussed the subject in brochures whose value and originality are undoubted. It would, however, be true to say that a large amount of printed material in the British Museum awaits the labours of the researcher. The material is of varying degrees of importance, and the worker must thread his way cautiously through the mouldy and musty pamphlets and greasy manuscripts. The controversial material on the East India Company from 1689 is so vast and almost forbidding that none but a hardened and seasoned veteran can sit patiently at his desk and evolve order out of the welter of confusion, contradiction and crotchets. Aurangzeb's war with the Company is no exception to the rule. The war was short, but sharp, and the Company had to accept a Farman which no unprejudiced individual would have hesitated to call humiliating. These were the expressions which the Company's opponents employed in describing the Farman. The English nation, said a bitter opponent of the Company's monopoly, had been dishonoured by the war. The Company retorted by resorting to methods which are euphemistically described as diplomatic. "Such", said Sir Josiah Childe, "hath been God's blessing upon the Company's arms, their unavoidable necessity and the righteous cause of the English nation in those parts of the world, and a truce concluded upon such honourable terms that if a blank had been delivered to the Company in England to write down their own terms they would not have desired more than is granted to them by the said articles". This is truly the language of hyperbole, when we consider the submissive, almost servile, letter addressed to Aurangzeb. Readers who are desirous of pursuing this matter farther, should go through the pamphlets and broadsides comprised in the collection in the British Museum numbered as 816. M. 11. The Harleian MSS., numbers 4753, 5101, 6245 contain a wealth of material; while the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library throw further light on a most interesting subject.

References may also be made here to my work entitled, *Sources for the History of British India in the XVIIIth century*. I should have liked to cite a number of pamphlets, but this would take up too much space, and I have contented myself with giving the necessary references. The period dealt with here is of profound significance to the student of British Indian history. It is pertinent to point out here that the flowery style of Sir William Hunter is partly responsible for the curious notion that Sir Josiah Childe was the first person who wished to establish British Dominion in India. Sir Josiah Childe's despatches quoted below show that his conception of British Dominion was radically different from that which the glowing and passionate imagination of Rudyard Kipling has conceived. His object was trade. But trade without security is impossible. Hence he wanted a few towns which could he fortified and garrisoned. This would protect English trade from the attacks of Indian powers. This was the sum and substance of his policy. Upon this a most imposing edifice has been built; and songs have been sung by impatient zealots in which the coming of the golden age is picturesquely described. The despatches reproduced below will show at a glance how unsubstantial these theories are.

The documents trace the early history of Bombay, and fill many a gap in the published works of the period. I have given a summary of these documents in the beginning. Notes have been added at the end, in order that the reader may follow the documents. Appended to the account of Bombay is a curious manuscript, which I hunted out in the British Museum. It does not deal with Bombay, but, as it describes a phase of maritime and colonial activity which had a repercussion on the growth of British Colonies, I have found it convenient to include it in this series. It will appeal alike to students of British history and to those who are studying the history of colonial expansion.

The records have been transcribed from the principal archives in England, but they are by no means complete. I hope to fill the gap when I find time and opportunity.

The work of transcription is necessarily arduous, and requires patient handling. I am obliged to my colleague in the History Department, Mr. Guruty Venkata Rao, M. A., LL. B., Lecturer in History in the Allahabad University, who has helped me in the preparation of this article for the press.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

Bombay island is one of a group (called Heptanesia by Arrian) lying off the coast of Konkan. It came into prominence during the maritime activities of the Europeans on the Western sea-board of India. In 1532, Nuno da Cunha, the governor of Goa, captured Bassein and made the islands of Mahim and Bombay tributaries to the Portuguese power. Meanwhile Sultan Bahadur of Gujerat, apprehensive of the aggression of the Moghuls, determined to arm himself with their support. Ordinarily the relations between the Portuguese and the rulers of Gujerat were hostile, but the imminent danger from the Moghuls induced Bahadur Shah to take this step. Accordingly, on the 23rd of Dec. 1534, a treaty was signed whereby he "gave and bequeathed to the King of Portugal from that day forth and for ever the City of Bassein, its territories, islands, and seas, with all its revenues, in the same way as he, the Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujerat, held them before, provided all vessels from the Kingdom of Gujerat bound for the Red Sea should first call at Bassein for passes and on return voyage call there again in order to pay duties under penalty and risk of seizure."¹

Thus 'Heptanesia' passed into the hands of the Portuguese and became a bone of contention among the rival powers of Europe.

The Portuguese failed to make full use of the strategical position of these islands. Owing to their religious bigotry and limited financial resources, they could not develop these islands into a commercial and military centre as the English did when they passed into their hands. From the beginning of their occupation by the Portuguese all the lands were divided into fiefs and granted to deserving persons for various periods in return for a nominal rent and military service, of which the last could be commuted into a tax at the discretion of the authorities. Distinguished services were rewarded by grants of land in perpetuity. This sort of feudal administration retarded the development of these islands. It was further complicated by the encroachments of the religious orders. Franciscans and Jesuits vied with one another in the erection of churches, and the conversion of the inhabitants, and

(1) See S. M. Edwardes : *The Rise of Bombay* (1902). p. 68.

appropriated the bulk of the landed property. The destruction of the Hindu temples and Muslim mosque resulted in the unrest and flight of those who might under better treatment have colonised these islands and increased their commercial importance. The priests and monks paid no attention to the orders of the viceroy and usurped from the State the royal jurisdiction and revenues.

These internal troubles produced the inevitable result : they paved the way for an advance of other European nations. The victories of Best and Downton over the Portuguese fleets off Swally early in the 17th century permanently recorded the claim of the English to a footing in India. Within a few years of these naval victories, the drama of 1534 was once more staged, although the characters were somewhat different at this time. In 1534 Bahadur Shah had ceded Bassein and the adjoining islands to the Portuguese to secure their help against the Moghul danger. Now in 1661 Portugal ceded Bombay to the English to guard themselves against the Spanish menace. At this time her very political existence was at stake and the peace of the Pyrenees had revived the danger of Spanish invasion. She was, moreover, at war with the Dutch, and her devastating wars with Spain and the United Netherlands had brought her to the verge of bankruptcy. It was at this critical moment that Charles II came to her rescue, and supplied her with disciplined troops that ultimately won her independence. At the Palace of Whitehall, on the 23rd of June 1661, was signed the Marriage-Treaty between Charles II and the Infanta of Portugal, whereby the " King of Portugal, with the assent and advice of his Council gives, transfers, and by these presents grants and confirms unto the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever, the Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies with all its rights, profits, territories and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, and together with all income and revenue, as also the direct and absolute Dominion and Sovereignty of the said Port and Island of Bombay, and premises, with all their royalties, freely, fully, and absolutely".¹

It was easier for the King of Portugal, who had hardly any idea of the strategic importance of the island, to give it away to the English than to persuade the authorities at Goa to abide by the terms of the Treaty and to surrender

(1) Article XI. See Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II. p. 331.

it. When Charles II sent Marlborough, later on Sir Abraham Shipman, to take formal delivery of the island from the Portuguese, the local authorities raised various technical objections¹ and delayed the actual cession of the territory until the commencement of the year 1665. In 1662 the Portuguese Governor at Goa, Antonio de Mello Castro, wrote to the authorities at home² that the map brought by Marlborough, the agent of Charles II was "so extended as to include that of Elephant, Severn, Caranja, and that of Baragan, and Sulsette" and that if such be the case "we have no further need to come to India, for it will be impossible to maintain what is left to us". It was emphasised that "the mere fact of the English being in Bombay, even though they were truly our friends, will put an end to our commerce in India". He even went so far as to suggest that "it would be better to redeem this promise to the King of England with money". No argument was considered too trivial to persuade his Sovereign to desist from the surrender of Bombay to the English. In his letter Castro recounted various atrocities committed by the English against the Portuguese, and even attempted to rouse the religious prejudices of his countrymen by declaring that "the true faith will become extinguished in these parts and that heresy will take its place". Castro's fervent patriotism is revealed when he says that "if His Majesty resolves that this cession must be made, it will be necessary to send some other person to make it, for neither my honour nor my conscience will allow me to act in a matter by which my faith is destroyed, my King is utterly humiliated and my country disgraced". On 28th Dec. 1662 he again wrote to his Sovereign, emphasising that if the English be once in possession of the island, they would deprive him of the entire north, and take away all his Majesty's trade. In a final letter to his Sovereign, Castro wrote early in 1665, "that only the obedience I owe your Majesty, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed (*i.e.*, the cession of the island), because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese; and that India will be lost on the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay."³

(1) See Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II. pp. 335-348.

(2) See Portuguese Records (Translations), *Noticias da India*, Vol. I. Part 2, pp. 355-365 (Doc. No. I.)

(3) See Dr. Khan : *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations regarding Bombay*.

The King of Portugal, however, was bound by the terms of the Marriage-Treaty, and lacked the enthusiasm and foresight of Castro. Accordingly, in the month of January 1665 the island was formally delivered to Humphrey Cooke, the English representative. But Mahim, Salsette and Karanja were still in the hands of the Portuguese, and the successive governors of Bombay tried to extend their authority over them as well. The non-delivery of these outlying islands rankled in the minds of the English who held that their cession was also contemplated in the original treaty between the Sovereigns of England and Portugal. Hence from the outset the policy of the governors of Bombay appointed by the Crown of England was to acquire more territory adjoining the island of Bombay and to attract merchants and others to colonise it. But they did not meet with any appreciable success. The terms¹ under which Cooke took delivery of the island from the Portuguese not only limited the territorial extent of the original gift, but also placed many restrictions upon the free movement of population. Their attempt to enquire into titles and assess the landholders irritated the Portuguese inhabitants, while the retention of Karanja and Thana by the Portuguese enabled them to retard the commercial development of the island by levying imposts on all boats passing those stations. No doubt Cooke, Lucas, and Gary were able governors; but lack of sufficient time, and the apathy of Charles II were mainly responsible for the postponement of the development of the island until its transfer to the East India Company in the year 1668.

Charles II was as indifferent towards the island as its previous owner. Like the King of Portugal, he too failed to realise the importance of its position in the Eastern waters and its immense possibilities. The friction and rivalry between Bombay and Surat led to the offer of the company to take over Bombay, and Charles II, considering the island an unprofitable possession, transferred it to the E. I. Company by Letters Patent on 27th March 1668 on an annual rent of £ 10 in gold.² The island was delivered over to Sir George Oxenden, who took possession of it in the name of the Company on 21st Sept. 1668.

With the transfer of the island to the E. I. Company, the controversy regarding Karanja and Thana was once

(1) See Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II. pp. 348-358

(2) See I. O. Records Home Series, Miscellaneous, Vol. 42, pp. 151 152, 162 : (Doc. 2 and 4).

more revived. On 13th July 1669 the East India Company presented a petition to Charles II, setting forth their grievances against the Portuguese and praying for his intervention on behalf of the Company. They submitted that "the said island was granted to your Majesty with all the Rights thereunto belonging ; One whereof was, That the Inhabitants usually passed to and from the Moores Countrey with their goods without paying of customs to Tannah or Karnjah : And by the Treaty aforesaid, amongst other Articles for continuing a good correspondence between the Subjects of both Crowns, It is provided That a moderate custom be taken of the English for all goods and merchandises : Yet nevertheless your petitioners doe finde, that the Governours and Commanders of Tannah and Kerrinjah (placed near Bombaym) are so farr from permitting the petitioners to enjoy their right of passing between the said Island and the Moores Countrey without payment of Custom, as that they demand and exact very exorbitant Customs beyond what are reserved and lymited by the said Treaty in case the same were landed in their ports." They requested Charles II to interpose with the King of Portugal to secure either the exemption from payment of duties in their ports or the transfer of Karanjah to the East India Company for some reasonable consideration.¹

Accordingly Charles II wrote to his ambassador in Portugal² to procure letters from the sovereign of that country to his officers at Thana and Karinjah requiring them to permit the East India Company to pass "with their vessels goods and merchandizes by the said places of Tannah and Karinjah to and from the Moores Country etc." But nothing appears to have been settled, because again in March 1686 we find the directors ordering their employces at Surat and Bombay³ "to pay no more custom at Tannah and Carinjah, both which places do of right belong to His Majesty. But that if the Portugalls do attempt to exact it of you by force, you should resist force with force, and if that business bring you into a Warr with them,.....we would have you do your best to recover from them those adjacent islands to Bombay, which.....ought to have been deliver'd to his Majesty when Bombay was surrendered."

• (1) See I. O. Records Home Series Miscellaneous, Vol. 42, p. 255 (Doc. 6).

(2) See I. O. Records, Home Series, Misc. Vol. 42, p. 228 (Doc. 5).

(3) See I. O. Records, Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 98-100. (Doc. 8).

The Policy of the Company in respect of their new acquisition is revealed in their Council proceedings at Surat, dated 7th Sept. 1668. They recorded "It being the Honourable Company's desire that we contrive the best way for the making Bombay a port for the exportation and importation of goods and persons to and from Persia, Mokha, and other parts ;.....We deliberately considering thereon do find many reasons inducing us to build them shipping in this Country, where timber, iron work, carpenters, and many other materials are very cheap, the building far more substantial than in England." To win over the loyalty of the inhabitants, Gerald Aungier, who became President of Surat on the death of Sir George Oxenden in July 1669, concluded an agreement¹ with the chief landholders on 12th Nov. 1672, fixing an annual contribution to the company as lump sum of 20,000 Xercphins (Rs. 13,850) for the defence of the island, and reserving the little isle of Colio (Colaba) "for the use of the said Company, they making such reasonable satisfaction to the persons interested therein." For the better administration of the island, Aungier published civil and military regulations, and established two courts of Judicature, one subordinate to the other, and formed a separate court for the enforcement of martial law. To encourage immigration by offering greater security, he undertook the improvement of the fortifications, and banded a certain number of the inhabitants into a militia. These wise measures coupled with religious liberty and freedom of trade led to an increase of its population to 60,000, three times the number of its inhabitants under Portuguese rule. This 'chivalrous and intrepid statesman' breathed his last on the 30th June 1677 leaving the island on the high road to prosperity.

From the first the East India Company fully grasped the importance of the strategic position of the island, and tried to convert it into a strong and self-supporting base for their trade operations in the western part of India. Their object was to protect themselves against the rivalry of other European nations without depending upon the Court patronage of the Moghuls. They chafed under the shackles of official exactions, and wanted to break them at the earliest opportunity.

The policy of making Bombay the headquarters of their commercial and military enterprise in India was

(1) See *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II. pp. 313-318.

evidently suggested by their strained relations with the Moghuls at this time. Indeed the directors had written to Surat on October 28, 1685 "That you may be always in a posture hereafter to vindicate our just Rights against the Moores and all other people, we would have our General Keep his constant residence upon our Island of Bombay, and that all Our Surat Ships for the future shall be loaden from thence for Europe, that being the place which we resolve to make our great Magzin of all Europe and India Goods.....We know very well, this making Bombay the principal seat of our trade as well as of our power will cause a little sullenness at first in the Moores of Suratt. But that we value not..... You should enter into a close confederacy and friendship with Sombajee Rajah, and maintain always a strict friendship with him; and then you need not fear either the anger of the Mogul or the Portuguese having Sombaje's country and his arms always to friend." Similar extracts are available to show how the Directors persistently emphasized the necessity of making Bombay the centre of all their activities in the East, and of entering into an alliance with the successor of the great Shivaji as a counterstroke to the hostility of Aurangzeb and his officers at Surat and in Bengal.² They even went so far as to authorise their agents³ in India to furnish 'Sombajee' constantly with 'so much powder, great guns and shott and small Arms on reasonable terms as he shall desire annually, for which purpose wee have now sent you a double proportion of Powder, etc.' 'Let no time be lost nor money spared in making Bombay as strong and defensible as you can' is the refrain of all their despatches to Surat during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.⁴ Side by side with the strengthening of the defences of the island, the company strove hard to make it self-supporting, healthy and prosperous. Orders were issued by the Directors to impose a small duty on all houses, and to lay out regular streets⁵ and markets.⁶ They wrote⁷ in Sept. 1689, saying "you must make Buzars and all the other conveniences directed, especially a

(1) See Letter Book, Vol. 8, p. 10 (Doc. 7).

(2) See Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 98-100 (Doc. 8). : pp. 192 : 263-264 : 298-301 : 302-306 : 319-334 : 394, 500. (Docs. 13- to 177 : pp. 544-550 (Doc. 22.)

(3) See Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 98-100 (Doc. 8)

(4) See *Ibid*, pp. 319-334 (Doc. 177, pp. 393-97 (Doc. 18).

(5) See *Ibid*, pp. 544-553 (Doc. 22).

(6) See *Ibid*, pp. 544-53 (Doc. 22) : Vol. 9. pp. 44 (Doc. 27).

(7) See *Ibid*, Vol. 9. p. 66 (Doc. 29).

mote for Boats, a crane and Wharfe for landing goods, and above all things a dry Dock to repair and secure our Shipping and men's lives. Settle your Flesh Market and all other markets in a better order, that the Inhabitants may easily, constantly and regularly be supplied with whatever they want for their money, as it is in other well regulated Cities and Townes." Repeated instructions were sent out for the reclamation of marshes¹ and the construction of a dry Dock.² They were very keen about the circulation of their coins within the dominions of the Indian sovereigns and urged upon their agents to secure farmans from the rulers of the country granting them the privilege of doing so. On 26th March 1686 they wrote³ to Surat 'Endeavour, if you can, to obtain a Phirmaund from the Mogull, and if you cannot from him, from Som-bajee, that our money coyned in Bombay shall pass in his country". With a view to placate the Moghul officers they were even prepared to abandon Persian characters upon their coins provided their circulation remained undisturbed.⁴ Their anxiety to establish a mint at Bombay is evident from what they wrote on 3rd Aug. 1687. They said⁵ "Till your mint is goeing, you are lame of one foot, and not an intire sovereign state, as the Dutch company call themselves."

Post office was not neglected. Detailed instructions were sent out to organise a postal system which was expected⁶ to bring "insensibly a vast Revenue to the Company and a much greater conveniency to Merchants and Trade". In imitation of the Dutch they also attempted an organisation of poor-relief for which they sent out⁷ a special despatch on 11th Sept. 1688.

Special attention was paid to the encouragement of the weaving industry. The Directors wrote⁸ in 1696 that "the more weavers and other Manufacturers you can bring to reside at Bombay the more eminent service you will do us."

(1) See *Ibid* Vol. 8, p. 116 (Doc. 10) p. 334 (Doc. 17) : p. 553 (Doc. 22) : Vol. 9, p. 42 (Doc. 27) p. 497 (Doc. 42).

(2) See *Ibid* Vol. 8, p. 334 (Doc. 17), p. 499 (Doc. 19) p. 544 (Doc. 22) Vol. 9, p. 9 (Doc. 26).

(3) See Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 117-118 (Doc. 10) : pp. 300-301 (Doc. 15).

(4) See *Ibid*, Vol. 9, p. 569 (Doc. 43).

(5) See *Ibid*, Vol. 8 p. 319-334 (Doc. 17.)

(6) See *Ibid*, Vol. 8 pp. 544-556 (Doc. 22).

(7) See *Ibid*, Vol. 8 p. 590 (Doc. 23).

(8) See *Ibid*, Vol. 9, pp. 496-502 (Doc. 42) : pp. 570-71 (Doc. 43).

Thus by 1697 there was all round improvement in the commercial and military position of Bombay, so that the directors expressed that 'now, and at all times hereafter, it shall be the residence of Our Generall, and to which we will first consign all our ships designed for the North parts of India, that our Estates may not hereafter be subject to every caprice of the Moors.'

But all these improvements did not progress unhampered. During their exertions to lay the foundations of Bombay City as a commercial and military base, the Company had to face innumerable obstacles. Indeed at times man and nature combined to undo their cherished schemes. The one desire of the English merchants was to be left to pursue their calling in peace; but this was rendered impossible by the disturbed state of the country and the high ambitions of the agents of the East India Company.

For a brief space after Aungier's death Henry Oxenden was at the head of the Government of Bombay; he was succeeded soon afterwards by Mr. Thomas Rolt, who assumed the pompous title of 'Governor of Bombay, President of India, Persia, etc.' He in turn yielded place at the close of the year 1681 to Sir John Child. Of all these, the last named was most active, whose administration of the Company's affairs was a momentous period in the annals of the East India Company.

Sir John assumed his office at a very critical period in the history of Bombay. Since the death of Aungier the Sidi of Janjira had used the island as a base in his operations against the Marathas, and indulged in all kinds of atrocities against its inhabitants. The Company felt powerless to oppose his enormities for fear that the Moghul Emperor might hinder their trade at Surat.¹

While things were thus in rather a deplorable condition, the East India Company, dominated by Sir Josia Child, deliberately abandoned their traditional policy of a peaceful commerce, which dated from Roe's time, for one of active domination. Child held firmly the view that the true line of action was to follow the example of the Dutch, by building up a power on the Indian coast-line which should be sufficiently strong to repel all attacks and to enforce respect from its neighbours, even the Moghul Emperor himself. In this scheme Bombay was to be the

(1) Orme : *Fragments*—pp. 103-110,

counterpart of the Dutch settlement at Batavia. It was to be strongly fortified and provided with sufficient military and naval strength to protect English trade, while the cost of all this was to be met from increased rents and reduced expenditure. In promotion of these designs Sir Josia Child found a willing tool in his namesake, John Child, who in 1682 became President of Surat and Governor of Bombay.

The first fruits of the new policy were, however, disconcerting. The endeavour to enforce reductions caused a revolt¹ of the garrison in Dec. 1683, under its commander Richard Keigwin. The rebels declared that 'we are therefore resolved not to suffer these abuses any longer, but revolt to His Majesty, taking all into our possession for his use.' The Deputy Governor was seized, the authority of the Company was annulled by proclamation, and the Island declared to be under the King's protection. Keigwin held Bombay for a year, governing it well and honestly. He then surrendered the island peacefully on honourable terms to a King's officer.

Soon after the suppression of this formidable rebellion, the peaceful development of Bombay was obstructed by a war with the Moghul Emperor. Already the Company's differences in Bengal over Aurangzeb's Farman² of 1680, their partiality for Sambhaji³, and their attempt to shift their trades from Surat to Bombay were creating a wide gulf between the East India Company and the Emperor. A despatch to Surat⁴ dated 28th Oct. 1685 declared "We have heard how shamefully our people have been abused in the late interloping times by the Mughal Governors and officers at Surat.....Whilst we are at peace, we must provide for war. This is the surest way to preserve peace." In order to forestall the Moghuls, the company went so far as to order⁵ the seizure of all their ships pending an amicable settlement with the Emperor. At the same time a letter was sent to Aurangzeb,⁶ setting forth their grievances against the acts and omissions of his officers in Bengal and at Surat, especially protesting against the searching of the persons of their servants journeying from Swally to Surat 'which hath of late been practised

(1) See Strachey: *Keigwin's rebellion* (Clarendon Press, 1916).

(2) See Stewart: *The History of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1910), App. V.

(3) Letter Book, Vol. 8. p. 10, 98-100, 298-301 (Docs. 7, 8, and 15).

(4) See *Gr. of Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 72-73.

(5) See Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 98-100 (Doc. 8).

(6) See Letter Book, Vol. 8 pp. 101-102,

with such regour and indecency..... that we cannot bear'. On 3rd Feb. 1687 they wrote¹ to Sir John Child asserting their determination 'never to be enslaved by the Moors Governors hereafter, not to be satisfied with less, or meaner priviledges than our Ancestors enjoyed..... Now is our time or never to settle our head Factory upon our own land at Bombay'.

Failing to receive any redress of their grievanees and being continually harassed by the local officers of the Moghul Emperor, the East India Company resolved to resort to arms and despatched a fleet of ten ships with a considerable military force under Captain Nicholson to retaliate the injuries sustained by them. It was arranged that as soon as the fleet should enter the Indian waters, the Moghul's ships should be seized and the city and territory of Chittagong captured.² Soon after the capture of Chittagong, the troops were to proceed against Dacca and compel the Nabab to cede it formally to the Company, to sanction the establishment of a mint there, and to restore all their former privileges.³

Sir John Child was vested with powers of Director General of all their settlements in India to carry on these operations. In April 1686 Job Charnock assumed the chief direction of the Company's affairs in Bengal, and was apprised of the Company's decision to wage war against the Moghul. In July a Royal proclamation⁴ was issued requiring all the British subjects to withdraw from the service of the Indian rulers within six months. By the end of the year half of the English forces reached Bengal, and the arrival of the remainder was daily expected.

These preparations did not fail to attract the notice of the Moghul officers and the conflict became inevitable. In point of fact a rupture was forced by the Moghul Governor of Hugli, who in Oct. 1686 made an attack upon the factory there.⁵ All the warlike operations of the Company were attended by failure; an attack on Chittagong hopelessly miscarried, in spite of the re-inforcements sent under captain Heath. The English in Bengal were compelled to take refuge on their ships; they fled to Madras

(1) See *Ibid* pp. 263-264.

(2) See Bruce : *Annals*, II, pp. 559-60.

(3) See *Ibid* p. 560 : Court's letters to the Agents in Bengal dated 14th and 20th Jan., 24th Feb., and 16th 31st March 1686.

(4) See India Office. Record Dept. Misc. Letter Books, 8-9.

(5) See C. R. Wilson : *Early annals of the English in Bengal*, Introduction.

and remained there for fifteen months.

On the Western Coast the seizure of some Moghul vessels towards the end of 1688 resulted in the imprisonment of the English Factors at Surat, and the siege of Bombay by the Moghul forces aided by the Sidi of Janjira. Sidi Yakut¹ landed on the island 20,000 men, made himself master of the small fort there, plundered Mahim, and hoisted his flag in Mazgaon fort. A fruitless attempt was made to dislodge him ; and by 15th Feb. 1689 he became master of the whole island except the castle and a certain area of land to the south of it. The impossibility of making any headway against the invaders by force made Sir John Child ' Sick ' and so in Dec. 1689 he despatched to Aurangzeb's court two envoys to sue for peace, which was readily granted on such humiliating terms as were probably never experienced by the Company since the first settlement of an English factory in India.

According to the terms of the treaty² the East India Company was compelled to pay a fine of 150,000 rupees, to restore the merchants' goods they had seized during the war to their rightful owners, to promise to observe the ancient customs of the port, and to expel Mr. Child, ' who did the disgrace '.

Poor Sir John died on the 4th Feb. 1690, just before the above terms received the signature of the Emperor, little knowing how tragic would be the end of the struggle which was begun in great presumption and high hopes. Sidi Yakut eventually evacuated Bombay on 8th June 1690.

Keigwin's rebellion and the war with the Moghuls greatly retarded the progress of the island. But this was not all. The activities of the English pirates and interlopers further aggravated the complexities of the situation. From the Cape of Good Hope to the head of the Persian Gulf, from Cape Comorin to Sumatra, every Coast was beset by English, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Arab pirates. The greatest sufferers from their depredations were the English ; for not only were the greater number of pirates of English blood, but pirate Captains of other nationalities often sailed under English colours. The Indian officials, unable to distinguish the rogues from the honest traders, held the East India Company's servants responsible for the misdeeds of the picaroons, from whom they suffered so

(1) See *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, pp. 81-85,

(2) See *Bruces : Annals*, II p. 689,

grievously¹. On the other hand a large body of Englishmen felt aggrieved by the Company's monopoly of the East India trade supported as it was by royal charter, and daring spirits among them started business as 'interlopers' breaking through the Company's monopoly and causing immense damage to its trade. Even though Mr. Harris, the successor of Sir John Child, was authorised² to seize and destroy all the pirates and interlopers, yet their activities remained unsuppressed for a considerable period.

These disturbances together with the unhealthy climate of the Island and the insanitary habits of the people—drink and debauchery—diminished the population to almost a fourth of what it had been at the time of President Aungier's death. Peace with Aurangzeb, draining of the marshes and other improvements at Bombay, and the plenary authority granted to the Company³ to deal with the pirates and interlopers did not bring the much wanted respite. The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 raised the hopes of the opponents of the monopoly of the East India Company. A vigorous campaign was organised in support of the demand for a revision of the existing system, and the press teemed with pamphlets for and against the Company.⁴ The Company defended itself ably and at times unscrupulously; but for the time being the odds were against it. Early in 1690 a parliamentary committee recommended⁵ 'the best way to manage the East India Trade is to have it in a new joyn't Stock, and this to be established by Act of Parliament'. In 1693 the Company's charter was declared void for non-payment of a five-per cent. duty laid by the Crown on their Capital stock; and it was only renewed upon condition of its being terminable at three years' notice. But soon after the Parliament passed a resolution "that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament" and the opponents of the Company, after several tactics, succeeded in forming a New Company in 1698 by an Act of Parliament. The rights of the Old Company were secured by a saving clause allowing it to continue its operations until the expiry of the three years' notice required by its Charter of 1693.

(1) See John Biddulph : *Pirates of Malabar*.

(2) See. Letter Book, Vol. 9 pp. 205-213, (Doc. 34).

(3) See *Ibid*.

(4) Public Record Office, London, C. O. 77, Vol. 16.

(5) See Letter Book, Vol. 9. p. 78. (Doc. 30).

The Old Company was powerless to prevent the formation of a rival company. The Revolution in England brought in its train the hostility of France which caused immense loss to its trade, and necessitated it to bring the Eastern goods round the Coast of Scotland.¹ So, when its monopoly was virtually put up to auction to meet the financial needs of King William's government, its opponents came forward, advanced the necessary loan, and the Parliament recognised their incorporation into a new Company.

The appearance in India of a second and rival Company created serious internal complications. Each association did its utmost to ruin the other; each hoisted the English flag and sent an embassy² to contend for the Moghul emperor's patronage at his Court. This bitter rivalry between the servants of the Old and New companies was more ruinous to the interests of the Old Company than the activities of the pirates and interlopers. This discreditable state of affairs was at last closed in 1708 by the union of the two companies. The effect of this measure was to concentrate all the enterprise, capital, and maritime experience of one powerful corporation upon the consolidation of the British position in India, and from this date we see Bombay permanently placed on the high-road to power and prosperity.

(1) See. Letter Book, Vol. 9. pp. 56, 82, (Docs. 28, 31).

(2) See Harihar Das : *The Embassy of Sir William Norris*.

SUMMARIES OF THE DOCUMENTS.

I.

Information concerning India.

[Undated 1662].

Instructions from Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro to Father Manuel Godinho to relate to Pedro Vieyra da Silva and to the Conde de Soure, and afterwards to all those with whom he would converse, the ill-treatment which the Portuguese had received from the English, viz.,

Portuguese
Records
(Trans.)
Noticias da
India Vol.
I, Part 2 pp.
355-365.

(1) how the English debarred them from all Commerce at Sao Lourenco (Madagascar),

(2) how they committed various breaches of faith,

(3) how the Earl of Marlborough, the agent of Charles II to receive Bombay from the Portuguese, brought with him maps upon which it was so extended as to include Elephanta, Seven, Caranja, Bargam and Salsette. "If such be the case we have no further need to come to India."

(4) how the English tried to collect information about Bacaim (Bessein) and Caranja with hostile intentions,

(5) how the English carried away some Portuguese and threw them into the sea,

(6) how they plundered the merchant fleet from Goa.

It was urged in the end that the mere fact of the English being in Bombay would put an end to the Portuguese commerce in India, and that it would be better to redeem the promise of its surrender to the King of England with money. "If his Majesty resolves that this cession must be made, it will be necessary to send some other person to make it, for neither my honour etc., will allow me to act in a matter by which my faith is destroyed, etc."

II

Att the Court att Whitehall the 13th of Dec. 1667.

This is an order of the Council upon the Company's petition and proposals touching the surrender of Bombay as submitted in his report by Sir William Coventry. The proposals were as follows :—

(1) That His Majesty will be pleased to assign over to the E. I. Co., all his rights in the island of Bombay.

(2) That the Company may have full power to govern the said island.

(3) That the surrender be free of all charge.

(4) That the Co. may have liberty to retain the souldiers that may be willing to remain in the Co's. service on the Co's charge.

(5) That the remaining souldiers to return to England at Co's. expense.

The order of the council on the foregoing proposals was that a draught of the Letters Patent embodying the said proposals be prepared and presented to His Majesty in Council.

III.

Ibid. Vol. 42 p. 162. The Petition of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London to His Majesty for letters to the States General to issue orders to their agents in Batavia to observe peace and not to molest the English in any way until the Treaty Marine is finally settled.

IV.

Ibid. Letter from Charles II to Sir Gervase Lucas (31 March 1668) to deliver the Port and Island of Bombay to the agent of the E. I. Co. sent for the purpose.

V.

Ibid. p. 225. The petition of the London Company of Merchants to His Majesty requesting that in accordance with Article II of the Marriage Treaty the King of Portugal be requested to cede Tanna and Karanjah as well, or at least to direct the authorities there to allow the Co's goods to pass freely those places on reasonable terms (13 July 1662).

VI.

Ibid. p. 228. A clause desired to be inserted in his Majesty's letter to his ambassador in Portugal touching Tanna and Karanjah (14 Aug. 1669). For the prevention of misunderstandings between the subjects of the two nations the English ambassador was desired to interpose with the crown of Portugal for orders to be sent to Tannah and Karanja to permit the goods of the E. I. Co. freely to pass those places from the Moor's country on reasonable terms.

VII.

Extract of a general letter to Surat dated 28 Oct. 1685.

Letter Book
Vol. 6, p. 10 To vindicate their just rights against the Moors, the Co's General is desired to be always at Bombay and

to make it the centre of trade in place of Surat. This might create some sullenness in the Moors of Surat. "But that we value not, having Carwar and Rajapore to friend." The General is desired to enter into friendship with Sambhaji as a counter-stroke against the anger of the Moghuls or the Portuguese.

VIII.

Letter to General and Council of Surat and that of Bombay dated 31 March 1686.

Due to the 'differences in Bengal' and consequent apprehension of a war with the Moghul Emperor, the General and Council of Surat and that of Bombay are directed to note that all their Captains were ordered to seize all ships belonging to the Emperor or his subjects and to bring them to Bombay till the settlement of all the differences. If war be declared, the ships so seized were to be condemned and one-sixth of the proceeds were to be reserved for the reward of commanders, officers, seamen etc. They were also instructed not to pay any more customs at Tanna and Carinjah, and any force on the part of the Portuguese in this respect was to be met with force, and if hostilities broke out with the Portuguese on this account, the adjoining islands should at once be captured. Sambhaji's friendship should be secured by supplying him with arms and ammunitions. The letter to the Moghul Emperor sent therewith was to be disposed of according to the situation.

Ibid pp. 98-100.

IX.

Company's Letter to the Great Moghul (31 March 1686).

In this Letter the Moghul Emperor's attention is drawn towards the injuries inflicted by the Nabob of Dacca and the Governor of Bengal and Orissa. Specially, he is requested to pay up the debts due to the Company, and to order his officers to refrain from searching the persons of the Co's servants journeying from Swally to Surat.

Letter Book Vol. 8 pp. 101-102.

X.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat (26 March 1686).

The authorities at Surat are desired to begin the draining of the drowned lands, to double the revenues and to strengthen the fortifications at Bombay. A passage for Capbiloes through Sambhaji's territory and the encouragement of manufactures were, if achieved, deemed to be

Ibid pp. 116-18.

of immense advantage to the Co. The Company's stock was ordered to be left on board their ships or to be landed at Bombay. It was in no case to be landed at Surat till their affairs in Bengal should show a favourable turn. Intimation is given about the formation of a committee of secrecy at Bombay. The pardoning of the Traitor Clarke is condemned. It is insisted that attempts should be made to secure a firman from the Emperor or Sambhaji Rajah that their money coined in Bombay should circulate in his country. It is also announced that no more officers above sergeant's grade would be sent in future so that the inferior officers in India might be encouraged by prospects of promotion.

XI.

Bombay General Letter (28 July 1686).

Letter Book
Vol. 8. p. 168

The Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay are blamed for their imperfect letter and their neglect in sending the accounts of the two Smiths. They are warned against applying the English Statutes in Bombay saying 'Your law there is what his Majesty is pleased to constitute by himself, or his East India Company, etc.' Mr. Vaux's continuance in his judicial post is approved, and the process of dealing with the overflowed ground in Bombay is left to the discretion of the General himself.

XII.

Ibid. p. 169-
70

Capt. Clifton and Lieut. Naugle's commission bestowed upon them the command of a company of English foot soldiers at Bombay (20th Aug. 1686).

XIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat (15th Oct. 1686).

Ibid. p. 192.

Expresses a desire to hear of the General's safe removal to Bombay from Surat, since it was the only place to repair in time of war. In the policy of strengthening Bombay, they are encouraged to imitate that of the Dutch.

XIV.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Committees to "Our General and Council of India" (3 Feb. 1686/7).

Letter Book
Vol. 8. pp.
263-4.

Expresses a resolution 'never to be enslaved by the Moors Governors hereafter, nor to be satisfied with less, or meaner privileges than our Ancestors enjoyed, or than any other European nation doth now enjoy in India....Now

is our time or never to settle our head Factory upon our own land at Bombay'. The example of the Dutch is recommended for imitation in settling their affairs at Bombay. It is announced that in future no sloops would be sent from England since they could be built better in India. The people of Bombay, soldiers as well as civilians, were to be governed according to Martial and Civil laws framed under the Charter, the Common Law of England being inapplicable to India.

XV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay (13 May 1687).

The authorities at Bombay are urged "to create such a revenue upon that island as may in some measure support our constant great charge". For this purpose it is suggested that all English ships should sail under the protection of passes to be granted at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ Dollar (one rupee) per ton by the General and Council or by some of the Presidents. All ships sailing without such passes were to be seized and treated as Interlopers. The native ships were to be granted passes on the same terms as in the days of the Portuguese control of the Island. All goods imported to Bombay were to pay 5 p. c. custom. Instructions are given to start a Mint immediately.

XVI.

Extracts of a Letter to Bombay (6th June 1687).

The General and Council of India are directed to pursue all former orders for strengthening Bombay, and to increase the life guard of the General to forty.

XVII.

Bombay General—Dated London 3rd Aug. 1687.

(1) In imitation of the 'General' at Batavia, the English General of the North of India is given the title of 'General of all affairs in India', and he is urged to spare no time or money in making Bombay as defensible as possible. All factors and writers are ordered to be instructed in the exercise of arms. To face the contingencies of war, the General is asked to bring all English fugitives and other Europeans into the service of the Company. Deserters were to be tried by a Court Martial. Certain affidavits are sent with this letter to show with what care and cost the Dutch enticed away English sea-men.

(2) The policy of the Dutch is set forth for imitation, and the special advantageous position of the English in certain respects is pointed out in detail. *e.g.* "we have but very few forts to defend, which are comparatively strong". The importance of the trade in pepper is pointed out, and the considerations to be borne in mind while building a fort are enumerated.

(3) All free ships were to pay their dues of powder etc. every voyage, and were to ride in the Roads of Bombay just like the Co's ships, on the penalty of the Co's displeasure.

(4) No more delay was to be made in starting a Mint for all sorts of Indian Coins. For 'till your Mint is goeing, you are lame of one foot, and not an entire Sovereign State, as the Dutch Co. call themselves.'

(5) "During these presages of war (with the Dutch), it will be prudence, if you can presently make a peace with Mogol on good termes, at least for that side of India. But on the other side we shall never adventure to trust our Estates agen in the Bay, unless the Nabob will allow us a fortified place. . . . if we be so fortunate as to be possessed of Chittegam, we will not part with it while we have strength to keep it."

(6) The General's life-guard is ordered to be increased to 50.

(7) The personnel and the pay of the Council of India is detailed.

(8) "Delay not a dry Dock at Bombay and drayning the drow (*n*) ed lands."

XVIII.

Extracts of a general letter to Bombay dated London 28th Sepr. 1687.

Letter Book
Vol. 8 pp.
393, 394, 395
396, 397.

This letter contains an order of dismissal of Mr. Zinzan and the appointment of Mr. Thomas Mitchel in his place. Further the General is ordered to make Bombay as strong as art and money could make it, being resolved not to lay down arms until 'we are Righted of all those who have done us notorious injuries'. (The reference is to the Co's war with the Moghul Empefor). Directions are given for the realization of 5 p. c. sea-custom, With reference to a peace with the Moghul Emperor, attention is drawn to the demands of the Agent and Council in the Bay. Notwithstanding the war, the

General is urged to continue the trade between Surat and Bengal 'either by confederacy with some private Banyaues . . . or with some particular French, Dutch or Portuguese merchants'. Perhaps it may be better effected with some Persians or Armenians : Twenty-five per cent. above the sea-custom was to be allowed to them for their adventure.

Satisfaction was to be taken from the King of Maldives 'for the damages of the *Bengall* and the *East India Merchant*'.

XIX.

Extracts of General Letter to Bombay (6th Jan. 1687/8).

Now, the trade at Bombay being settled, it was expected that the General and Council of India would secure double of the revenues, and build a dock at Bombay instantly. They are ordered to compel all ships to pay port charges according to the Tariff made at Fort St. George. In imitation of the Dutch at Batavia, Bombay was to be made a Regency.

Ibid pp. 499
500, 501.

XX.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay dated 11th April 1688.

Though for the time being the fear of a Dutch War seemed to vanish, yet the General and Council of India are urged to keep in a strong posture of defence. Despatch of '30 books of the state of controversies between us and the Dutch' is intimated.

Letter Book
Vol. 8, pp.
524, 525 526,
528, 529.

With reference to the peace with the Moghul, it was not to be made 'untill he allowes us fortified settlement to Secure our shipping estates and servants in Bengall'. Among the articles of peace stipulation was to be made for the circulation of the money coined at Bombay in all his dominions. Rich houses of the Jews and Armenians were to be invited and encouraged to settle at Bombay, and as many Europeans as possible were to be retained in the Co's service. Mocha was to be laid under contribution for sheltering an interloper ship which caused great damage to the Co's interest.

XXI.

Bombay Generall—London 26th July 1688.

Intimation of an agreement with the Armenians. War with the Moghul being concluded 'honourably and happily', the General and Council are directed to buy all the usual

Ibid, p. 540.

sorts of callicoes which might be had now 20 p. c. cheaper. Although the war was ended, Bombay was still to be their headquarters and all the soldiers were to be kept under strict military discipline.

XXII.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay dated London 27th Aug. 1688.

Letter Book
Vol. 8. pp.
544-553, 556

(1) Detailed instructions are given for the construction of a dry dock at Bombay, and the charges to be levied for its use or misuse. Consulage was to be realised from all those living outside the fortified towns, and all ships were to be 'loaden' only from Bombay. Batavia was to be the model for the improvement of Bombay, where their ships were to ride in spare times.

(2) "The French and Dutch protests we value not. We will take our enemies, whatsoever colours they wear, or whose Passes so-ever they have Just and stout is the Motto wee hope to merit and wear."

(3) Copies of the agreements with the Armenians sent for their confirmation. Had it not been for war those agreements would have been made harder ; but being done, they were to be strictly observed.

(4) Considering the fruitless charge of maintaining a Vakeel at the Moghul's court, the Co. express their desire to gain their purpose through the Armenians, for which purpose Coja Panous Kalendar was to be consulted.

(5) "Bombay's security the greatest thing to secure the English Priviledges in India."

(6) Warehouses for the goods of the Armenians were to be constructed and a small duty was to be levied for their use.

(7) A small quit-rent of 2s. 6d. to 12d. (accor. to size) per annum was to be imposed on all houses in the town of Bombay and regular streets were to be laid out.

(8) A small duty was to be levied upon the market people that made use of the markets.

(9) Detailed instructions are given for the erection of a Post Office at Bombay.

(10) Although the Moghuls courted the English to bring them back to Swally, the Co. expresses its determination 'not to return to it again upon any hopes

of advantage', and urges upon its agents to make Bombay their chief Magazine.

XXIII.

Bombay Generall -London 11 Sept. 1688.

Instructions are given for the organisation of a poor- *Ibid.* p. 590. relief Fund in India (of course for Englishmen), and the Dutch method is recommended as a model.

XXIV.

Bombay Generall -London 8th Oct. 1688.

(1) Information regarding the impending invasion *Ibid.* p. 592. of the Prince of Orange, and the dislocation of shipping caused thereby.

(2) "The Moors and Armenians should pay double freight in the country, because...the ordinary freights do not defray the charge of...Demorage."

(3) "Concluding you have made a peace with the Moghul, we think this the fittest time...to pursue vigorously His Majesty's former orders touching Sallsett.."

XXV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 29th Jan. 1688/9

"We understand by Capt. Pines, who came from *Letter Book* Goa" that "you took the *Nezame*", the great ship of the *Vol. 9. p. 1.* Moors, and "what goods were on board of her". "We shall be glad to hear that....you have sent them all home for us to Europe etc."

XXVI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 15th Feb. 1688/9.

(1) "Your resolution to build a Dry Dock at *Ibid.* pp. 17, Bombay is most acceptable to us.....We have by an *18, 20, 21, 24.* order of Court....enjoynd all our ships to make use of it, and to pay for the Co's use such rates....as may bear the full charge of repairing etc., and that may in some number of years fully re-imburse us our first charge in making of them.....We confirm our former orders....that neither President nor any of our Council of India shall ever hereafter reside at Surat or Swally....no returning ship for Europe shall ever load in Swally, or at Surrat River."

(2) "The best way to secure the Peace is to keep Bombay defencible; the Garison well disciplined etc."

(3) "Our General hath done exceeding well in setting our Mint at work in coining RupeesOmit not coining small money....."

(4) "Establish a Terriffe for all ships using the Dry Dock.....and require all ships loading for Europe to cleanse etc.....within our said dry Dock."

XXVII.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay dated 19th March 1689

Letter Book
Vol. 9. pp.
42, 43, 44,
46

(1) "We understand....that there is a very good and usefull sort of Callicoc made at Bombay that will wear and wash better than most that comes from Surratt..... as also that there are come to you many Manufacturers in silke.....Send us some Bales by every ship of such your home-made Callicoes and Silks, such as they are.... to encourage your Manufacture."

(2) "Finish the moat about our Fort etc....by contracts with small Undertakers....Make a good wharf for landing of Goods...., as also a convenient peer.... settle a Terriffe....for the WharfigeMake convenient Buzars for Flesh, fish, Herbs and all other things....for which each person having that Accommodation is to pay.. a small duty....Have a publick slaughter house....."

(3) Instructions concerning the keeping of stores of rice and paddy and the draining of the 'overflown lands'.

XXVIII.

General Letter to Bombay (18 May 1689).

Letter Book
Vol. 9. p. 56.

(1) Receipt of the King's warrant about a war with France.

(2) Orders to seize all French ships.

(3) Instructions for the despatch of the copies of His Majesty's warrant to the Fort and Bay.

XXIX.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 11th Sept. 1689.

Letter Book
Vol. p. p. 66.

"Our Printed Papers shew the high Esteem we have for Bombay....Therefore cultivate it accordingly in making Buzars, Wharfs and Dock etc.....Pay the workmen speedily and fully....Finish the Church with the soonest....shall send you another Minister...."

XXX.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 31st Jan. 1689/90.

The news of "the invasion of Bombay made mighty noise among the Interlopers, who thereupon apply'd for a new Company to be settled by Parliament. The house of Commons appointed a committee to consider of the East India Trade....and the Co. were heard in answer to severall charges suggested against us." On the 16th Jan. the Committee decided that "the best way to manage the East India Trade is to have it in a new Co. and a new Jbynt Stock and this to be established by Act of Parliament....but the present Co. to continue....untill it be established."

Letter Book
Vol. 9. p. 78

XXXI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 14th March 1689/90.

This is to advise that the ships during the wars 'to come with the Dutch fleet by the North of Scotland' because 'That Northern passage is a Tract never frequented by the French men of war'.

Ibid p. 82.

XXXII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 3rd Oct. 1690.

(1) 'Shall acquaint the King and Parliament of the many English Pyrates in India' and

Letter Book
Vol. 9. pp.
111, 113.

(2) 'that we cannot suppress them if we have not the same powers as the Dutch Co. do enjoy and exercise in India.'

(3) Advantages from the Armenian contract are noticed, and instructions are given to accord the Armenians kind treatment to encourage their bringing in new sorts of 'Superfine goods'.

XXXIII.

Extract of a general letter to Surat 25th Sep. 1691.

Appreciation of the services of the late general (Sir John Child) and at the same time notices of his error in not fortifying Bombay and Returah.

Ibid p. 167-8.

XXXIV.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat 29th Feb. 1691/2.

(1) Concerning the forfeiture of lands of those who deserted the Island during the last invasion, the law for it being that observed in the case of De Tavora.

Ibid 205-7,
211, 213.

(2) Confirmation of Mr. Harris as President of Bombay and Surrat, and his salary.

(3) Orders to take interlopers, and to seize and destroy all pirates.

(4) Present friendship with the Dutch to be utilised to build a fort at Retorah.

(5) Bombay to be the headquarters.

XXXV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 29th Feb. 1692.

Letter Book
Vol. 9 p. 214
215.

(1) "You will do well to wall in Bombay town if you can do it at the Inhabitants charge."

(2) "Improve our Revenue, which is a matter that imports us more than any other thing.....If the Dutch had that Island they would in a few years bring up the Revenue of it to above 100,000 pounds per Annum."

XXXVI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 1st April 1692.

I id p. 237
238.

Intimation of the despatch of the Portuguese envoy's memorial touching the forfeited lands at Bombay, and the Co's answer thereunto. Request for the copies of the proceedings in that affair.

XXXVII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 27th April 1692.

Ibid pp. 239
-240.

This letter expresses disapprobation of the meagre and dull despatches from Surat and the imperfect account of their investments contained therein. Since differences with the natives were made up, the Co. intimated that "now we do not desire our President, Mr. Harris, should remove from Surratt.....You may assure the Governour we shall never desert the trade of Surrat while he is so just etc."

XXXVIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay dated the 1st May 1693.

Letter Book
Vol. 9, pp.
277 279, 280,
281, 282, 283

(1) Intimation of the appointment of Sir John Gayer as Lt. Gen. Governor of Bombay.

(2) Notices of the abuses of 'Permissive Trade' (Trade by Co's servants on their own account under the permission of the Co.) and detailed instructions to set them right.

(3) Factors refusing writing work to be turned out.

(4) Armenians to be encouraged to ship any goods on the terms of their general contract.

(5) Former letters touching the Revenue at Bombay to be perused.

(6) All the forfeited lands at Bombay to be condemned formally as in the case of de Tavora. 'Meaver' Portuguese to be shown some commiseration and admitted to their own estates after condemnation on certain conditions.

(7) Instructions for the obstruction of the voyage of the Interloper Hudson, as 'Interloping is a publick Dammage and has been the Rise of Pyracý....they have always left Debts unpaid in India'.

(8) Concerning the English pirates the Co. writes. "We look upon such Pyrates all Rogues as worse than Highwaymen, and therefore if the Mogol hang those he hath taken, its but what they deserve and what we shall never revenge or resent."

XXXIX.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat dated 27th Oct. 1693.

(1) "The principall end of this letter is to informe you that after a multitude of conflicts with the InterlopersWe have obtained their present Majestyes King William and Queen Mary's Charter of Confirmation of our present, and all our former Charters....You should make such solemn publick intimation of it to the Natives as is usuall upon such occasions."

Letter Book
Vol. 9, pp.
294, 295.

.....

(2) "Upon the grant of our new Charter we have personally by bond engaged to their Majestys that we will send out this year to the value of £150,000 in the commodities of the growth and production of England...."

(3) Further instructions are given for the sending of 2 or 3 writers more to Persia to learn the language so that they might not altogether depend upon such 'Syrian Knaves as Daud etc.'

. XL.

. Extract of a general letter to Surat (3rd Jan. 1693/4).

Touching the forfeited lands, the authorities at Surat are empowered to appoint a Judge Advocate to condemn

Ibid pp. 341,
343.

those lands, and a promise is made to despatch more soldiers from home as 'best Arguments or Cards' to secure the said lands at Bombay.

XLI.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 4th May 1696.

Letter Book
Vol. 9. p. 476

'Reason why the Company was not settled the last session' by an Act of Parliament is given in this letter, viz.

That if the E. I. Co. were now settled with addition of a great sum of money from the old and new adventurers, it would defeat the scheme of the Parliament 'to raise 2,500,000 li. for carrying out the present war by a Land Bank'.

XLII.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay dated 1 July 1696.
THESE EXTRACTS CONTAIN

Ibid pp. 496,
497, 500, 501
502.

(1) Directions to make Bombay 'the Magazine of our Treasure and Merchandize' due to the apprehensions of disorder which 'might follow the death of the Mogal'.

(2) Approval of an inventory of the Co's goods and revenues at Bombay, and orders to do the same every three years.

(3) Suggestions to encourage the weaving trade at Bombay, to drain the marshy lands, and to minimise the charges of building out forts.

(4) Appreciation of the action taken touching the forfeited lands at Bombay, and a keen desire to 'root the Jesuits out of Bombay'.

(5) Approval of the endeavours to make Bombay the centre of the Co's trade.

(6) A desire to recover the drowned lands.

XLIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 16th April 1697.

THIS EXTRACT CONTAINS :—

Letter Book
Vol. 9. pp.
568, 564-66,
569, 570, 571

(1) An approval of the appointment of Aga Pera and Ben Walidas, and a distrust of the Parrocks,

(2) an approval of 'complying with the Moors Demands to have two of our ships to convoy their Mocho and Judda fleets',

(3) a suggestion to Keep in store 200 tons of cotton wool and to encourage the spinning of cotton yarn,

(4) directions for supplying Agent Gladman's place in case of his death,

(5) directions to forbear the coining of Rupees with Persian characters, if it be offensive to the 'Mogol',

(6) expression of satisfaction at the progress made in settling 'Callico Manufactory' at Bombay.

(7) orders to encourage all sorts of spinners, weavers, painters, and other artists to settle at Bombay.

XLIV.

Extract of a General Letter to Bombay 1 Sep. 1697.

THIS EXTRACT CONTAINS :—

(1) an appreciation of the services of 'our General', and an order to make Bombay his residence, and the centre of their trade so that 'our Estates may not hereafter be subject to every caprice of the Moors'. Letter Book
Vol. 9. pp
604, 605.

(2) suggestions to create a trade and lay in store plenty of paddy and rice so that the poor may live at Bombay 'as cheap as in other places upon the main'.

(3) suggestions to increase the manufacture of cloth and the revenues of Bombay.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

(To be continued.)

*CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEXICOGRAPHY
OF THE SHAH NAMA.**

پ

پار سا "Circumspect, prudent." (Sh. N., I., 53).

بحوبی سخنهاش پاسخ دهید چو پرسد سخن رای فرخ نهید

از ایراکه پرورده پار سا نباید که باشد مگر پار سا

سخن گوی روشن دل و پاک دین بکاری که پیش آیدش پیشین

Answer his words appropriately ; when he questions upon any matter, offer a suitable opinion ;

Since those fostered by a king must be nothing but circumspect,

Eloquent, enlightened, pure of faith, and fore-sighted in any affair which might occur.

پاشنه خیز کرد "To spur up." (Sh. N., IV., 1926).

دل روشن را در اتیز کرد مرآن باره را پاشنه خیز کرد

His bright and noble heart was stimulated (at the sight) ; he spurred up his horse (to meet the procession).

پاسخ دادن (with prep. به) : "To accede" (to), "to acquiesce" (in). (Sh. N., III., 1461).

سزوده شد از جان او مهر و داد بهیچ آرزو نیز پاسخ نداد

Kindness and justice were erased from his soul ; he never acceded to any desire.

[Yazdagird, the father of Bahrâm Gûr is spoken of here].

پای داشتن (with prep. با) : "to cope" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1911).

* (For the earlier portion of this article see *Islamic Culture* for October 1929 pp. 612-686).

چو نامه بخواند زبان برگشای بگفتار با تو ندارد پای

When (the Kaisar) has read the letter use speech ; they cannot cope with you in eloquence.

[Khusrau Parvîz is sending a letter to the Kaisar by Kharrâd-e Barzêm and telling him to speak with his unequalled eloquence].

پای گزاردن “To set out, to walk, to ‘step out.” (Sh. N., IV., 2017, & 2021).

2017 :

همی باش تا من بجنبم از جای تو بالشکر خویش بگذار پای

چو زین رو و زان روی باشد سپاه شود در میان رای قیصر تباه

Remain, you, till I move from here, (then) with your troops set out.

When on each side there is an army, the judgment and counsel of the Kaisar will be helpless.

2021 :

فروماند شیروی گریان بجای از آن خانه تنگ بگزارد پای

Shîrûy stood there distressed and weeping, (then) stepped out from that narrow chamber.

از پای افگندن (فگندن) “To throw down, to knock down.” (Sh. N., II., 506).

گرفتند نفرین بران رهنمای بزخمش فگندند هر يك ز پای

They uttered curses on the (stupid) guide ; they knocked him down with blows dealt by each.

از پای اندر آوردن “To bring down, to make fall.” (Sh. N., III., 1504).

مر اشاه فرمود کین سبز جای بدینار و کنج اندر آورد ز پای

The King had commanded me to bring down this verdant and flourishing place by the use of gold and treasure.

از پای نشستن “To sit down to rest, to desist.” (Sh. N., IV., 1902).

چو بندوی بگرفت استا و ز ند چنین گفت کز کردگار بلند

مبینا د بندوی جز درد ورنج مباد این اندر سرای سپنج
اگر من چو خسرو بیا مد ز جای چو بینم من او را نشینم ز پای
مگر کو بزد تو انگشتی فرستد همان افسر مهتری

When Bandûy took the Zend Avesta, he said :
" From the exalted Creator.

" May Bandûy see naught but pain and trouble, may he be not secure in this transitory abode,

" If he rest, when he sees the Prince on his return,

" Until the latter has sent you a signet-ring and a crown of greatness."

[Turner Macan's reading of the third distich is

اگر نه چو خسرو بیا مد ز جای نه بینم من او را نه شینم ز پای

" The two negatives make a very awkward construction, and *شینم* is objectionable, though of course one could render :

" Unless I fail to see the Prince on his return, I will not rest until, " etc.

but this leaves no connection with the previous lines unless another *اگر* could be understood, or taken from *اگر نه* which is impossible].

بپای آمدن " To be brought down, to come to the ground, to fall." (Sh. N., III., 1504).

بد و گفت موبد که از يك سخن بپای آمد این شار سان کهن

هم از يك سخن ده خود آباد گشت دل شاه ایران از ان شاد گشت

The Mûbid said to him, " At one expression this flourishing and populous place was brought down.

" At one expression also the village became prosperous, and by that the King of Persia's heart was rejoiced."

(Sh. N., III., 1504). (بپای آمدن as) بپای اندر آمدن

چو مهتر شد ند آنکه بود ند که بپای اندر آمد سر مرد مه

When those who have been subject become rulers, the head of the ruling man is brought down.

"To examine thoroughly." (Sh. N., IV., 2009). بپای آوردن

جوآن را مشی گفت خسرو شنید بآواز او جام می در کشید
بفرمود کین را بجای آورد همان باغ یکسر بیای آورد
بجستند بسیار هر سوی باغ بردند زیر درختان چراغ

When he played and sang that modulation, the King heard, and drank a cup of wine to the tones.

He ordered them to find out about it, and to examine the garden, thoroughly throughout.

They searched much on every side of the garden, (even) carrying lamps under the trees.

—(Sh. N., I., 394).

همه روز بانان درگاه شاه بفرمود تا برگر قند راه
همه شهر و بر زن بیای آوردند زن بد کنش را بجای آوردند
بزد یکی اندر نشان یا قند جهان دیدگان تیز بشتا قند

The King ordered all the "Farrashes" of the court to set out,

To examine thoroughly all the town and streets, and to find out about the wicked woman.

Those experienced men found some indications not far off, and they hastened on.

بیای بودن "To subsist." (Sh. N., IV., 177)

چنین داد پاسخ که تن بی زمان که پیش آید از گردش آسمان
بیای است دار و نیاید بکار نگه دارد گردش روزگار

He gave answer thus: "Until the appointed time, which comes on from the revolution of the sky,

"The body subsists, and remedies are not required, for the revolution of time preserves it."

بیای شدن "To come to an end, to cease," (Sh. N., IV., 1892.)

چو شد گردش روز هر مز بیای تهی ماند آن تخت و فر خنده جای

When the revolution of time ceased for Hurmuzd, that throne and felicitous place remained empty.

بیای کردن "To appoint" (to some work). (Sh. N., III., 1504).

یکی با خرد پیر کردم پیاپی سخن گوی و بادانش ورهناپی
 بکوشید و ویرانی آباد کرد دل ز یردستان بران شاد کرد

I appointed a wise old man, persuasive, having knowledge, fit to guide.

He used exertion, and turned the desert into a flourishing place, by this rejoicing the hearts of the subjects.
 "To be or remain in a subordinate position." پیاپی ماندن
 (Sh. N., IV., 1819).

پرهیز ازین جنگ و پیش من آی نما نم که مانی ز مانی پیاپی
 ترا کدخدائی و دختر دهم همان ارجمندی و افسردهم

Abstain from this war and present yourself before me ;

I will not let you remain a moment in a subordinate position.

I will give you kingly rule and my daughter ;
 I will give you distinction and a crown.

[The literal sense of پیاپی ماندن is, of course, "to remain on foot", as one who serves].

"To station, place." ابر (i.e. بر.) پای کردن
 (Sh. N., IV., 1818).

همان چل هزار از دلیران مرد پس پشت لشکر ابر پای کرد

He stationed also in the rear forty thousand of the brave and bold.

پدرود (padrûd)

"Farewell !" (Sh. N. IV., 1906). پدرود باش

بیا ز ارگان گفت پدرود باش خرد را بدل تار و هم بود باش

He said to the merchant, "Farewell ! Be wise and follow the dictates of wisdom."

[Lit., "Be in heart the warp and also the waft of wisdom"].

پدرود بادی "Farewell !" (Sh. N., IV., 2038).

بدان کودك تیز نادان بگوی که ما را کنون تیره گشت آب روی

که پدرود بادی تو تا جاودان سرو کار ما باد با بنجر دان

Say to that foolish and impetuous boy, “ My honourable place has now become disgraced.

“ Farewell to you for ever then ! (Henceforth) let my business be (only) with the wise.”

[From the two expressions پدرودباش and پدرودبادی we may infer a verb پدرودبودن “ To receive a farewell greeting, to be bade farewell to ”.]

پر (par).

پر بر آوردن “ To develope wings ” (*i.e.*, to race as a bird flies). (Sh. N., I., 427).

همه شهر از آواز چنگ و رباب همی خفته راس بر آمد ز خواب

همه خاک مشکین شد از مشک تر همه تازی اسپان بر آورده پر

The whole city (was alive) with the tones of the harp and rebeck ; the sleepers (even) raised their heads from sleep.

All the ground was musky with fresh musk ; the Arab horses raced as though with wings.

[In description of festivities held on the approach of Siyâvash to the city of Afrâsiyâb].

پر داختن (a form of پر داختن with prep. پر of thing and از of person) : “ To use, employ.” (Sh. N., I., 394).

وزان پس بخواری و چوب و بیند پر دخت از و شهر یار بلند

Afterwards the exalted King employed ignominious treatment, blows, and bonds with her.

پر مایه “ Wealthy ”. (Sh. N., IV., 1792).

بدرویش بر مهر بانی کنم به پر مایه بر پاسبانی کنم

I will be kind to the poor and a guardian to the wealthy

————— “ Excellent, noble ”. (Sh. N., I., 468).

بود نام آن کرد پر مایه گویو بتوران نه بینی چواو نیز نیو

The name of that noble champion is Gîv ; in Tûrân you will see no hero like him.

پر منش “ Ambitious, proud,” (Sh. N., IV., 1850).

همان کاخ جاد و ستانی شناس بران تخت زن جاد وئی ناسپاس

که بهرام راز و سترگی فرود چنان تاج و تخت بزرگی نمود

جو برگشت از و پر منش گشت و مست چنان دان که هرگز نیاید بدست

Know that palace as a witch's abode ; the woman on the throne as an ungracious witch,

Through whom contentiousness increased in Bahrâm-e Chûbîn, to him appearing such a crown and throne of greatness.

When he turned from her he was full of ambition and drunk (with pride) ; know well that he will never be recovered.

—————" With ambition gratified, having reason to be proud. " (Sh. N., IV., 1883).

بدو گفت خسر و که ای بدکنش نه از تخم ساسان شدی پر منش

Khusrau Parvîz said to him : " O evil-doer, have you not gratified your ambition through the descendants of Sâsân ? "

پس (pas).

ازان پس " Thenceforth, in consequence." (Sh. N., II, 510).

کندی واسی مرا یار بس شاید کشیدن بدان مرز کس

چو مردم برم خواستار آیدم ازان پس مرا کارزار آیدم

A lasso and a horse suffice me as companions ; I should not take any one to those regions.

If I took peoples I should meet with inquirers, and difficulties would in consequence arise for me.

پست کردن " To dip", (as a pen into ink). Sh. N., I., 423).

نخستین که بر نامه بنهاد دست بعبور سر خامه را کرد پست

جهان آفرین راستایش گرفت بزرگی و رایش نمایش گرفت

First, when he put his hand upon the letter-paper and dipped the head of the reed into ambergris,

He entered upon praise of the World Creator, and set forth His greatness and wisdom.

[Ambergris, being dark, is used as a symbol for ink].

پست گشتن " To be ruined or destroyed " (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

چنان شد که از شب گذشته سه پاس یک آواز آمد چنان بر هر اس

له گفתי جهان سر بر سر گشت هست پس آنگه یکی گفت کایوان شکست

It so befell that when three watches of the night had passed a voice was heard so fearful

That you might say the world had been destroyed from end to end.—Then some one creid : “ The portico has crashed.”

[A sign of Muhammad's birth, shortly before the death of Nûshîrvân].

پشت باز هشتن (with prep. به) “ To rely ” (upon). (Sh. N., IV., 1892).

سخن‌دار از ست و کاری درشت بیزدان کنون باز هشتم پشت

There is much to be said, and it is a hard matter ; I (can) now rely (only) upon God.

پناه خواستن (in rubric) : “ To seek protection.” (Sh. N., IV., 1834).

پیام فرستادن بهرام نزد پرموده و پناه خواستن پرموده

Bahrâm-e Chûbîn sends a message to Parmûda, and Parmûda seeks protection.

پناه گرفتن (with را of the person) : “ To take as refuge.” (Sh. N., IV., 1913).

موبد چنین گفت کاین دادخواه ز گیتی گسرتست ما را پناه

The Kaisar said to his Minister : “ This seeker of justice would take me as refuge out of all the world ”.

پوزش باز جستن (with genitive of “ fault ” or بر) : “ To make excuses, to ask pardon ” (for). (Sh. N., IV., 2028).

کنون پوزش این همه بازجوی بدین نامداران ایران بگوی

Now ask pardon for all this : address yourself to these renowned ones of Persia.

پوزش کردن (as پوزش باز جستن q. v.). (Sh. N., III., 1414).

هر آن کسی که پوزش کند بر گناه تو بپذیر و کین گذشته مخواه

Whoever asks pardon for a fault,—accept (his plea), and exact not vengeance for what has passed.

پوشیدگی “ Retirement, seclusion.” (Sh. N., IV., 2047).

سند یگر که بالا و ریش بود به پوشیدگی نیز خویش بود

Thirdly, (a King's bride) should be tall and beautiful ; her temperament should be disposed to seclusion.

پیچیدن (with prep. به). "To engage" (in). (Sh. N., IV., 1742).

که چندان به پیچد برزم این جوان که بر خویشتن بر سر آرد زمان

(I had foretold) that this young man would engage so much in war that he would bring death upon himself.

[Lit., "that he would bring time to an end for himself"].

—————"To be vexed or troubled." (Sh. N., IV., 1850).

نبایست آن خلعت ناسزا فرستاد نزدیک آن بر خفا

که ایرانیان زان به پیچیده اند امید از شهنشاه بریده اند

That unmerited robe should not have been sent to that man of oppression,

For by that the Persians have been troubled, and have lost hope in the King.

پیر "Decrepit, infirm, helpless." (Sh. N., IV., 1829).

فرستاده گفت ای سرافراز شاه بکام تو شد کار آن رزمگاه

انوشه بدی شاد و راهش پذیر که بخت بداندیش تو گشت پیر

The envoy said : " Exalted King, the business of that battlefield has turned out to your wish.

May you be blessed, glad and joyous, for the fortune of your enemy has grown infirm."

پیر سر A "grey-headed or bald-headed old man." (Sh. N., II., 499).

و دیگر که از پیر سر موبدان زاختر شناسان و از بخردان

زاختر بد و نیک بشنوده بود جهان را چپ و راست پیموده بود

And moreover from grey-headed old Mûbids, astrologers and sages

He had heard of the bad and good fortune (prognosticated) by the stars ; he had traversed the world in all directions.

پیر سر (as پیر سر). Sh. N., IV., 1897).

بکھانام او بود شهران گراز گوی پیره سرمهتری سرفراز

Whose name was Shahrân Gurâz, a grey-headed old hero, an exalted chief.

پیکر “The design” of a stuff as opposed to its ground-work. (Sh. N., IV., 1846).

بران تخت فرشی ز دینای روم همه پیکرش گوهرو زرش بوم

On the throne was a covering of Grecian brocade, the design of which was entirely of jewels, the groundwork, of gold.

پیمان سندن “To receive a pledge” (to fidelity). Sh. N., I., 393).

چو پیمان ستد زرش بسیار داد سخن گفت ازین در مکن هیچ یاد

When she had received a pledge (to fidelity from her) she gave her much money and said, “Do not utter a word on this subject.”

پیوسته (with اضافت): “Connected” (with). (Sh. N., IV., 2004).

هم آنان که پیوسته او بدند که رای جستن بر او شدند

همی برگرفتند از ایشان شمار که و مهفزون آمد از سه هزار

Those also who were connected with him, and who came to him when he sought counsel

Of them they took count, (and found that) they amounted, small and great, to more than three thousand.

ت

تا “Whether.” (Sh. N., IV., 1755).

چنین گفت پرسنده را راه جوی که بیژوه تا دارد این ماه شوی

The investigator said to him who was asking questions (for him): “Inquire whether this beautiful woman has a husband.”

[Buzurjmihr, Nûshîrvân's Vazîr, has been blinded and imprisoned by the King; and he is subsequently called upon to solve a momentous puzzle and, being blind, engages a learned man to ask questions for him].

تاب آوردن “To be angry, to resent.” (Sh. N., II., 504).

بدوگفت آن کس که تاب آورد دگر یاد افراسیاب آورد
هم آنگه سرش راز تن دور کن وزو کرگسان رایکے سو در کن

(Rustam said to (Tûs): “The person who is angry (at this change), and again bears Afrâsiyâb in mind—

At once separate his head from his body, and make a feast for the vultures of him.”

تاختن (sometimes transitive): “To ride over” (Sh. N., IV. 1745).

برقی زهر سو رخ کینه خواه همی تاختی او همه رزمگاه

The hostile “rook” would move in any direction ; it would ride over the whole field of battle.

(بی تارو بود see تارو بود

تار referring to one thing and بود to another are used to indicate a close connection. (Sh. N., II., 527).

بدوگفت خسرو که پدر و دباش جهان تارو تو در میان بود دباش

Khusrau said to him, “Fare you well ! May the world be warp and you within it woof !”

[i.e., May you live as long as the world !]

(تبه تباہ

تبه (for تباہ) : “Set against” (Sh. N., IV., 2020).

دل زاد فروخ تبه داشت نیز سپہ را همی روی برگاشت نیز

He considered the heart of Zâd Farrukh as set against him, and that the face of the army was turned from him.

تلاش “Scattered, dispersed.” (In this sense seems connected with the Arabic تلاشی (Sh. N., IV., 1887).

بدین رزمگہ امشب اندر مباحی نمان تا شود گنج و لشکر تلاش

Do not remain on this battlefield to-night ; do not stay till treasure and troops are dispersed.

“To come close.” (Sh. N., II., 522).

بدو گفت کای مرد بارنج خیز که آمد ترا روزگار گریز

یکی لشکر آمد پس مادمان بترسم که تنگ اندر آید زمان

(Farangîs) said to him (Gîv): "O man, enduring toil, arise, for the hour for flight has come ;

An army is galloping after us, (and) I fear death is coming close."

[تنگ اندر آمدن] may, however, signify "To be in a bad way", and the ordinary sense of زمان is "Time", or "Fortune", so that the meaning of the preceding fourth hemistich may be "I fear fortune will be in a bad way (for us)."

I think, however, the former rendering is better].

جهان بر دل تنگ آوردن To bring distress upon the heart
(Sh. N., II., 515).

فرونگیس گفت اردرنگ آوریم جهان بر دل خویش تنگ آوریم

Farangîs said: "If we delay, we shall bring distress upon our hearts."

تنگ خو "Mean, avaricious." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

جهان تنگ دیدیم بر تنگ خو مرا آرزو زقی نکرد آرزو

We have found worldly possessions to be of narrow compass for the mean; covetousness and hard dealing are no desire of mine.

تیره روان "Gloomy, disturbed, troubled, vexed, angry." (Sh. N., IV., 1854).

ز گفتارشان خواهر پهلوان همی بود بیجان و تیره روان

The hero's sister (Gurdiya) at their words was worried and disturbed.

[Bahrâm-e Chûbîn's sister tries to dissuade him from aiming at the sovereignty].

تیمار بردن (with از): "To show solicitude" (about), "have care" (for). (Sh. N., IV., 2029).

گلینوش گفت ای جهان دیده مرد بکام تو باد ا همه کار کرد

تو تیمار بردی ز نازك تم بجا آهین بود پیراهنم

بکاری بجا آمدستی بگوی پس آنکه سخنهاى من بازجو

Galînûsh said to him : “ Experienced man, may all deeds be according to your wish !

You have shown solicitude about my tender frame, seeing my garment is a coat of mail.

(But) say (now) on what business you have come, and then seek words in answer.”

[Galînûsh, who is in charge of Khusrau Parvîz, has been asked by an envoy from Shîrûya (Siroes), Khusrau's son, why he is fully armed when the latter has peacefully taken his father's place].

ج

جان بر سر نهادن “ To sacrifice one's life ” (for a person). (Sh. N., I., 481).

جهان آفرین راستایش گرفت مر آن شاه نور انیایش گرفت
چهدانست کوجان نهد بر سرش وزان کشت نیکو بد آید برش
بپاشید تخم نکوئی بجاك زمین شور بد جایگاهش مغاك

He entered upon praise of the World Creator, and uttered blessings on the newly-born Prince.

How could he know that he should sacrifice his life for him, that evil fruit would come from that good planting :

He scattered seed of goodness in the earth ; the soil was brackish and its places pits.

جای A “ subject, Topic.” (Sh. N., II., 535).

ز هر جای پرسید و هر چیز گفت نرد با هنر کردم اندر نهفت
ز سرگر پرسید گفتم ز پای ز خوردار پرسید گفتم ز جای

He made enquiry upon every subject and spoke at large ; I kept my intelligence and acquirements veiled from him.

If he asked about head, I spoke of foot ; if he enquired about food, I spoke of place.

بحای آمدن “ To be understood,” (as a letter or message). (Sh. N., IV., 1724).

رسید آن فرستاده رای زن اباجتر و ییلان و آن انجن
همان بازو شطرنج و پیغام و رای شنیدیم و پیغامش آمد بحای

That envoy of good judgment has arrived, with canopy and elephants, and all his company ;

With tribute also and the game of chess. The message of the Râjâ too when heard has been understood.

[Nûshîrvân is writing to the Râjâ of India].

—————“ To be discovered or found out ” (as a game).
(Sh. N., IV., 1724).

ورایدون بکارای بارهنمای بکوشند و بازی نیاید بجای

شتر و ار باید که هم‌زین شمار به پیمان کند رای قنوج بار

And if it be that the Râjâ and his advisers exert themselves, and the game is not found out,

The Râjâ of Kinnauj must engage to (send) camel-loads amounting to the same (as sent by me).

بجای آوردن “ To discover or find out ”. (Sh. N., IV. 1724).

برهنه فراوان بود پاک رای که این بازی آرد بدانش بجای

The Brahmin must be very keen-minded who by his wisdom can discover this game.

—————“ To invent.”

بسی رای زن موبد پاک رای پژو هید و آورد بازی بجای

An excellent counsellor, a keen-minded Mûbid, has studied, and invented a game.

بجای ماندن “ To subsist.” (Sh. N., IV., 1732).

نرد مند گوید که در یک سرای چو فرمان دو گردد نماند بجای

The wise man says that a house in which the command is divided cannot subsist.

—————“To remain in good order.” (Sh. N. III., 1409).

میانه گزینی بمانی بجای نرد مند خواندت پاکیزه رای

If you choose moderation you will remain in good order ; the wise man will call you a man of good judgment.

جایگه “ A fitting place, a suitable occasion.” (Sh. N., III., 1504).

سخن بهتر از گوهر آبدار چو بر جایگه بر نرندش بکار

Speech is better than lustrous pearls when they use it in a fitting place.

جز (juz) : "Other than", (Sh. N., I., 363).

بسهراب گفته ای یل شیرگیر کند افکن و گرز و شمشیرگیر

دگر گونه زین باشد آیین ما جز این باشد آرایش دین ما

He said to Suhrâb : "Lion-taking hero, thrower of lasso, holder of mace and sword,

Our usages are different from this, other than this the laws of our religion."

جستن (justan).

جستن "To search", (e.g., a person). (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

بجوئید گفت این بلاجوی را بداندیش و بدکام و بدروی را

بجستند و آن نامه از دست او ی گشاد آنکه دانا بدوراه جوی

"Search", said he, "this seeker of trouble, this malevolent man of evil designs and aspect."

They sought, and one who was (most) intelligent and keen in search took that letter out of his possession.

باز جستن "To examine, to study." (Sh. N., I., 458).

چو افراسیاب این سخن باز جست همه گفت گرسوز آمد درست

پشیمان شد از رای و کردار خویش همه تیره دانست بازار خویش

When Afrâsiyâb studied this speech, all the words of Garsîvaz were, (he concluded), justified.

He regretted his (previous) judgment and action, and his procedure assumed a dark complexion in his eyes.

[Garsîvaz is persuading his brother Afrâsiyâb to act against the latter's son-in-law Siyâvash].

جعد موی presumably means "curly hair", (not "curly-haired"), in Sh. N., IV. 1805.

بیالادراز و باندام خشک بگردش جعد موی چو مشک

Tall in stature, lean in body, with curly musk-like hair around his head.

[Part of a description of Bahrâm-e Chûbîn, "Musk-like" means "dark"].

جهاندار “The Possessor of the world, God.” (Sh. N., I., 418).

ورایدون که جنگ آورم بی گناه چنین خیره باشاه توران سپاه
جهاندار نپندد این بد ز من کشایند بر من زبان انجمن

And if I engage so wantonly in war with the King of the Turanian army who is innocent,

God will not approve of this wickedness in me, and all the people will speak in blame of me.

[Siyâvash is considering Kai Kâ'ûs's letter inciting him against Afrâsiyâb, therefore neither of those two Kings can be meant by جهاندار]

Besides this, جهاندار evidently signifies God in other passages |.

ج

جوى : “Bewildered, at a loss.” (Sh. N., IV., 2017, *et passim*).

بدو گفت قیصر که خسر و بکاست بیایدت کفن مراراه راست
از و خیره شد که تر چاره جوی ز بیمش پیاسخ دژم کرد روی

The Kaisar said to him : “Where is Khusrau ? you must tell me truly”.

The bewildered and helpless official was stupefied at him ; through fear of him he looked downcast and anxious when answering.

چاره جوی *e contra*, may mean “Using one's best efforts, making desperate efforts.” (Sh. N., I., 328).

سر نیزه را سوی سهراب کرد عنان و سنان را پرا ز تاب کرد
بر آشت سهراب و شد چون پلنگ چو بدخواه او چاره جوشد بجنگ

He pointed his spear-head at Suhrâb ; he gave their fullest force to steed and spear.

Suhrâb grew excited and as a leopard when his enemy made desperate efforts in the fight.

چاره‌ها باز راندن “To suggest remedies,” (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

شما چاره‌ها هر چه دانید زود زهر نیک و بد باز رانید زود

Quickly suggest any remedies you know for all the incidents of whatever nature.

چست (chust).

چست پرسیدن “To question narrowly and to the purpose.” (Sh. N., I., 417).

فرستاده را خواند و پرسید چست از و کرد یکسر سخنها درست

He sent for the envoy and questioned him narrowly ; he ascertained about the matter in its entirety from him.

چشم (chashm).

چشم (as حلقه) : A “ ring, in tent-pegging.” (Sh. N., III., 1465).

نوك سنان بچشم اندر آوردن “To bear away the ring.” (Sh. N., III., 1465).

وزان پس بمنذر چنین گفت شاه که اسپان این نیزه داران بخواه

بگو تا به پیچند پیشم عنان بچشم اندر آوردن نوك سنان

Then the Prince (Bahrâm Gûr) said to Munzir : “ Send for the horses of these lance-bearers ;

Tell the riders to ride before me and to bear away the ring at the point of the lance.”

چشم خواباندن occurs in the senser of چشم خوابیدن in Sh. N., III., 1413 :

بدان کوش تاد و رباشی ز خشم برمدی بخواب از گنه گار چشم

Strive to avoid giving way to anger ; manfully shut your eyes to the offender's (fault).

چمیدن “To drink wine.” (Probably an example of this sense is in Sh. N., IV., 2014).

یکی اندر آید دگر بگذرد ز مانی بمنزل چمد یا چرد

One comes in, another passes on : for a brief space each drinks wine or eats at the inn.

چندی “A number, a few.” (Sh. N., IV., 1731).

ز لشکر بخوانیم چندی مهان خردمند و برگشته گرد جهان
ز فرزندان چو سخن بشنویم برای و بفرمانشان بگرویم

Let us send for a number of the army chiefs, wise men who have been around the world.

When we have heard the wise men's words, let us incline to their judgment and command.

چهر (chihr).

چهر (as روی): “Appearance, semblance.” (Sh. N., IV., 1819).

ترا بر تن خویش بر مهر نیست و گر هست مهر ترا چهر نیست

You have no kindness for your own body, and if you have, there is no appearance of your kindness.

چهر گشادن (with prep. بر): “To look (at), to gaze (on).” (Sh. N., IV., 1798),

بر شاه شد شاد بوزر جمهر بران خواسته شاه بگشاد چهر

Buzurjmihr came joyfully to the King; the King gazed on that wealth.

چهر نمودن (as التفات کردن): “To show regard.” (Sh. N., IV., 1737).

ز پند آموخیم و چندی ز مهر بگفتیم و طلحند ننمود چهر

I have tried counsel, and spoken something of kindness, but Talhand has shown no regard.

چین (chîn).

چین دربر و افگندن “To have frowning brows, to frown.” (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

نگه کرد شاه اندران چار سو سپه دید افکنده چین دربر و

The King looks out on all four sides, he sees (his) army frowning and perplexed.

چین “Chin”; but also “the people of China”, in Sh. N., II., 523, if the reading *ترکان و چین* be correct; but an Indian lithographed edition reads *ترکان چین*. We have

however the analogy of *عرب* and *عجم*.

که چندان بزرگان و ترکان و چین تبه گشته بر دست من روز کین

When so many chiefs, Turks, and Chinese were destroyed at my hands on the day of hostility.

ح

حق سپاسی سپردن “To acquit oneself of an obligation.” (Sh. N., I. 435).

سپاسی نهادی ازین بر سرم که تا زنده ام حق آن نسپرم

You have put me under an obligation of which I shall not be able to acquit myself as long as I live.

خ

خار A “spike.” (Sh. N., IV., 2036).

سپاه سلیح است دیوار او ی بیر جش همه تیر ها خار او ی

Armed troops are its walls, and on its turrets arrows are its spikes.

[Persia is likened to a fruitful garden which must be guarded everywhere by troops].

خاك میدان گرفتن “To gallop across the ground”. (in polo). (Sh. N., I., 453).

چو کر سیوز آمدینداخت گوی سپید سوی گوی بنهاد روی

چو او گوی در خم چوگان گرفت هما ورد او خاك میدان گرفت

When Garsîvaz came to the polo-ground he threw the ball, and the Prince turned towards it.

When he got it into the crook of the polo-stick, his opponent galloped across the ground.

بخاك کشیدن “To treat with ignominy.” (Sh. N., I., 475). (Possibly, however, to be taken literally).

نبرد دست و ریش شهنشه گرفت بخواری کشیدش بخاك ای شگفت

He raised his hand and seized the Prince's beard; he treated him—wondrous to relate—with ignominy.

خشك "Lean, spare." (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

بیا لا دراز و باندام خشك بگرد سرش جعد موئی چو مشك

Tall in stature, lean in body, with curly musk-like hair around his head. [See جعد موی].

— "Tightly hermetically." (Sh. N., IV., 1755).

یکی درج زرین سرش بسته خشك نهاده برو قفل و مهری زمشك

فرستاد قیصر سوی مازروم یکی موبدی نام بردار بوم

A golden casket the lid of which is hermetically closed, with a lock on it and a seal of black sealing-wax

Has been sent me by the Kaisar, together with a famous Mûbid of the country.

خشم "Indignation, resentment." (Sh. N., I., 461).

سیاوش و را دید پر آب چشم بسان کسی کو بیچد ز خشم

بدو گفت نرم ای برادر چه بود غمی هست کاز انشاید شنود

Siyâvash saw that his eyes were full of tears, as one who is moved by indignation.

He said to him gently, "What has happened, my brother? Is it a trouble that must not be heard?"

خشم گرفتن (with prep. بر). (Sh. N., IV., 1837, rubric).

رسیدن نامه هرمز بیهرام درباره زینهارى پر موده و خشم گرفتن بهرام بر پر موده

A letter reaches Bahrâm from Hurmuzd to grant protection to Parmûda, and Bahrâm is angry with Parmûda.

خفیه (Khufya), for "In secret." (Sh. N., I., 452).

همان مادر كودك ارجمند جریره سربانواب بلند

بفر موده خفیه بفر مانبران زدن دست آن خرد در زعفران

The mother also of the noble child, Jarîra, chief of exalted princesses, in secret ordered her attendants to put the hands of the little one into saffron.

خوار "Disregarded." (Sh. N., IV., 1769).

سپاس از جهاندار پروردگار كز ویست نيك و بد روزگار

كه روز جوانی هنر داشتم بدو نيك را خوار نگذاشتم

Thanks be to the Holder of the world, the Fosterer,
from whom is all the good and evil of fortune,

That in the days of youth I had my (soldierly) merits,
and left not the good and evil disregarded.

خوار کردن “To disregard.” (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

چو بشنید پر ویز پوزش گران بر انگیخت از هر سوئی مهتران
که باشند خواهش کنان پیش شاه نبرد دم و گوش اسپ سیاه
بر آشت ازان اسپ او شهر یار جهان دیدگان را همه کرد خوار

When (Khusrau) Parvîz heard (of this), he stirred up
a number of grandees from all parts (as) intercessors.

Who should petition the King not to have the tail and
ears of his black horse cut off.

(But) the King was angry with that horse of his, (and)
disregarded all those tried and experienced men.

خوار کار “Negligent.” (Sh. N., IV., 1815).

چنین گفت پس با پسر ساوه شاه که این بدگان مرد چون یافت راه
شب تیره و لشکر بی شمار طلایه چرا شد چنین خوار کار

King Sâva then spoke thus to his son: “How did
that disaffected man manage to get away?”

The night was dark, the army innumerable; why were
the scouts so negligent?”

خوار مایه “Insignificant.” (Sh. N., IV., 1845).

ازان پس که با خوار مایه سپاه بتیزی بر قم ز درگاه شاه
همه دیده اند آنچه من کرده ام غم ورنج و سختی که من خورده ام

After I had, with an insignificant army, hurriedly
left the King's Court,

All people saw what I achieved, with all the trouble,
pain, and hardships I endured.

خواری آوردن (with را of the person). “To attach
ignominy (to).” (Sh. N., IV., 1773).

ندارد کسی را بزرگی بچیز نه خواری بنا چیز آرد بنیز

One should not consider a person has greatness because
of his wealth; neither should one attach ignominy to him
on account of his poverty.

خواستار is used in the sense of خواستاری "Search enquiry", in Sh. N., I., 365. خواستار کردن "To search for, to enquire after." For quotation see خواستن "To be intent on."

خواستن "To be intent on." (Sh. N., I., 365).

ازان نامداران گردن کشان کسی هم برد سوی رستم نشان
که سهراب کشته است و افکنده خوار همی خواست کردن تراخواستار

Of those proud famous men someone will inform
Rustam

That Suhrâb has been killed, cast abjectly to the ground, when he was intent upon searching for him.

—————"To be on the point of." (Sh. N., I., 414).

چو بادافره ایزدی خواست بود مکافات بدهادی خواست بود
شمارا بران مردری خواسته بدان گونه بر دل شد آراسته

When the divine requital was on the point of being carried out, and evil was to have been the punishment of evil deeds,

Your hearts were in such manner set upon that worthless wealth!

خواهندگی "Asking in marriage." (Sh. N., IV., 1804).

بدانگه بکا مادرت رازچین فرستاده خاقان بایران زمین
بخوهندگی من بدم پیشرو صدو شست مرد از دلیران گو

At the time when the Khaqan was to send your mother from China to Persia,

I was the leader (of an expedition) to ask her in marriage, (having with me) a hundred and sixty brave heroes.

[Mihrân Satâd, now a very old man, is speaking to King Hurmuzd].

خوردن

در خوردن (with با); "To accord" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1941).

گر این در خورد با خرد یاد دار سخنهاى ایرانى باد دار

If this accord with wisdom, bear it in mind, and reckon the words of the Persians as wind.

د

داد راست In Sh. N., III., 1459 is used apparently in the sense of با عدل “Keeping the mean course”, in which is perfection : inclining neither to افراط “excess”, nor to تفریط “deficiency”. (Sh. N., III., 1359).

همه دانش او راست و ما بنده ایم که کا هنده و هم فراينده ایم
جهاندار یزدان بود داد راست که نفزود در پادشاهی نکاست

All wisdom is His and we are (but) his slaves, for we diminish and also increase.

God, the Maintainer of the world, keeps the mean course, for he neither increases or diminishes in His dominion.

————— “Justice.” (Sh. N., IV., 1876).

کرایدون که این پادشاهی مراست پرستنده باشیم و باداد راست

If this sovereignty is (to continue) mine, I will be your worshipper and (act) with justice.

دارنده “The Possessor, the Holder (of all), God.” (Sh. N., IV., 1874).

جهان جوی و گردی و یزدان پرست مدارادارنده باز از تو دست

You are ambitious of conquest, a hero and a worshipper of God. May the Possessor (of all) withhold not his hand from you.

[Words of Khusrau Parvîz to Bahrâm-e Chûbîn].

داستان زدن “To consider, to discuss.” (Sh. N., IV. 1849.)

بفرمان او پس زبان بر کشاد سخنها یکا یک همه کرد یاد
بدوشاه گفت این چه شاید بدن همه داستانها بیايد زدن

At his command he began to speak ; he narrated all the matters in detail.

The King said to him, "What can this be! all this must be considered."

----- (Sh. N., IV., 1915).

که بامو بد نیک دل پا کرای ز دیم از بدو نیک هر گونه رای
ز هر گونه داستانها ز دیم بران رای پیشینه باز آمدیم

As to the good and bad, in every way, I have consulted with a benevolent Mûbid of good judgment.

We have discussed (the matter) in every wise; we have gone back upon our former judgment.

--- (with prep. به): "To speak" (of), (in sense of "to count upon"). (Sh. N., I., 443).

چو گیتی تهی ماند از راستان تو اید ربودن مز ن داستان

Since the world has become void of the good, do not speak of *your* remaining here.

داشتن

برداشتن "To represent". (Sh. N., IV., 1758, and 1760).

ز کار آلهان موبدی نیکخواه چنان بد که بر داشت روزی بشاه : 1758

که گاهی گنه بگذرانی همی بید نام آن کس نخوانی همی
همان را دگر باره آویزش است گنه گار اگر چند با پوش است

It happened that a faithful Mûbid, an experienced reporter, one day represented to the King;

"At one time you pass over an offence, you do not make ill mention of the author of it.

"(But) on another occasion (a person) held responsible for it (by you), however much he, the offender, offer excuses."

دگر باره برداشت مردی که شاه ز شاهان دگر گونه خواهد سیاه : 1760

کدامست کو بایدت روز جنگ ز شیران اسپ افغن تیز چنگ

Again, a certain man represented that the King willed his army to be different from those of other Kings.

"What sharp-clawed lions must you have", (said he) "tamers of horses, on the day of battle?"

دانشر (as دانادل) : A “learned, or wise man”
(Sh. N., IV., 2017).

ازان مرز دانا ساری را بجست که او پهلوانی بخواند درست

He sought a learned man of that country (*i.e.* Persia),
who could read Pahlavî well.

دانشی (as adjective) : “Learned”, or “wise”. (Sh.
N., II., 503).

پس آنگاه پیران فرستاده یکی دانشی مرد آزاده

فرستاد تا آورد شاه را فرستاده ببرد آن راه را

Then Pirân sent an envoy, a wise man of noble character.

(With instructions) to bring the Prince ; and the envoy
travelled on his road.

داوری “Contention, case in dispute.” (Sh. N., III.,
1483).

کنون این که گفتیم پاسخ دهید درین داوری رای فرخ دهید

Now give an answer to what I have proposed : offer
a happy opinion in this disputed case.

[Bahrâm Gûr, contesting the succession with a usurper,
has proposed that the crown should be his who dares to
take it from between two lions].

—————A “case”, a “matter”. (Sh. N., I., 462).

تو دانی که من دوستدار توام بهرنیک و بدویژه یار توام

نباید که فردا گمانی بری که من بودم آگاه ازین داوری

You know that I am your friend : in all good or bad
(fortune) I am your special associate.

I should not wish you to have afterwards any suspi-
cion that I was aware of this matter.

[Garsîvaz has been sent by his brother Afrâsiyâb
to bring Siyâvash before him. The Turanian King is
simply suspicious, and there is no case “in dispute”].

دراز

دراز شدن “To become difficult.” (Sh. N., II., 522).

بدوگفت کیخسروای رزم ساز کنون کار من بر تو بر شد دراز

Kaikhusrâu said to (Gîv), "O warrior, my business has now become difficult for you."

| Pîrân, the Vazîr and General of Afrâsiyâb, with an army, has overtaken Kaikhusrâu, who has only Gîv, the Persian hero, to defend him. The "business" is evidently not "long" but "difficult".

cf. too کار دراز کردن (Steingass)],

(ایستادن) استادن "To set to work." See under

در خوردن (with با): "To accord" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1914). See خوردن .

درد

درد خوردن "To endure pain; (e.g., with or through manliness). (Sh. N., I., 356).

ز دگر زو آورد کتفش بدرد بیچید و درد از دلیری نخورد

He struck him with the mace and hurt his shoulder.
He suffered pain, but endured it with manliness.

درست

درست آمدن "To strike as true." (Sh. N., I., 458).

چو افراسیاب این سخن باز جست همه گفت گرسوز آمد درست

When Afrâsiyâb had considered this matter, all that Garsîvaz had said struck him as true.

درست بودن (with را of person): For one "to be sure or convinced" of a thing. (Sh. N., IV., 1739).

مرا این درست است که ز پند من تو دوری و دوری ز پیوند من

I am convinced of this that you are averse to my counsel and to union with me.

درست شدن (with prep. بر): "To be established or proved" (against) "To be fixed" (upon). (Sh. N., I., 393).

بکاؤس گویم که این از منست چنین کشته بر دست اهریمنست

مگر کاین شود بر سیاوش درست کنون چاره این بیایدت جست

I will tell Kâ'ûs that this infant is mine; that it has been killed so by Ahriman.

Perchance this may be fixed upon Siyâvash.——
Now you must effect this (for me).

(گشتن or) درست شدن (with را) : “To be settled”
(by). (Sh. N., I., 457).

سه روز اندرین کارای آوریم سخنهای بهتر بجای آوریم
چو این کار گردد خرد را درست سر رشته آنگاه بایدت جست

Let us deliberate for three days upon this matter,
and advance the best arguments (we can).

When the matter has been settled (in our minds)
as wisdom dictates, then you must seek some means (of
dealing with it).

[Lit., “has been settled by wisdom ”].

درست کردن “To ascertain.” (Sh. N., IV., 1836).

از ایرانیان هر که نزدیک تست که کردی بدل راستی شان درست
بدین نامه در نام ایشان بر ز رنجی که بردند یا بند بر

Whatever Persians there are with you whose loyalty
you have ascertained in your heart——

Inscribe their names in your letter, that they may gain
the fruit of the toil they have borne.

————— “To follow”, (in the sense of “to trace out”).
(Sh. N., III., 1480).

همی پادشاهی که میراث تست پدر بر پدر کرد شاید درست

This sovereignty which is your inheritance can be
traced out through father to father.

(علم شدن cf.) “To become notorious.” در فشی شدن
(Sh. N., I., 457.)

بر و بر پناه ندارم بید گراز من بدو اندکی بدرسد
زبان برکشایند بر من مهان در فشی شوم در میان جهان

I could not allege against him any evil deed ; if I should
do him any ill,

The great men would be loud in blame of me,
I should become notorious throughout the world.

کشیدن (اندر) : “To withdraw, to retire.” See under
کشیدن (اندر) : “To pass ;” (as time. v. n.). See under

درنگ

درنگ آوردن “To delay.” (Sh. N., II., 515).

فرنگیس گفت ارد درنگ آوریم جهان بردل خویش تنگ آوریم

Farangis said, “If we delay, we shall be reduced to difficulty and distress.”

دست

دست باختن (with prep. به): “To raise one’s hand” (against). (Sh. N., IV., 1796).

میان تنگ خون ریختن را بیست به بهرام آذر مهان باخت دست

He made full ready to shed blood; he raised his hand against Bahram Azar Mahân.

دست بردستن گذاشتن “To pass from hand to hand.” (Sh. N., IV., 2002).

چو مو بد چنین گفت بر داشتند همه دست بر دست بگذاشتند

When the Mûbid had spoken thus they took up (the bowl), and all passed it from hand to hand.

دست بردن (with prep. به): “To touch, handle.” (Sh. N., IV., 1954).

بدین درج و این قفل نا بر ده دست نهفته بگویند چیزی که هست

Without touching this casket or the lock, let them say what thing is concealed in it.

———— (with prep. به): “To treat with violence.” (Sh. N., I., 339).

بگیرش ببر زنده بر دار کن و زو نیز مگشای بامن سخن

ز گفتار او کیور ا دل بنخست که بردی برستم بدین گونه دست

(The King shouted), “Seize him, take him off, and put him living on the cross: and henceforth speak not of him to me”.

At his words Gîv’s heart was wounded that he should treat Rustam with such violence.

دست بسر بردن (دست بسر بردن): “To be perturbed, dismayed.” (Sh. N., IV., 1834).

نشستی کنون در درّی چون زنان بر از خون دل و دست بر سر زنان.

Now, like a woman you have settled down in a strong-hold, with heart afflicted and (with mind) perturbed.

دست ساویدن (with prep. با) : “To engage” (in) v. n. (Sh. N., IV., 2014).

مساوایچ با آرو با کینه دست بمنزل مکن جایگاه نشست

Do not engage in greed or hostility. Do not take up your abode and settle in a caravansera.

دست ساویدن (سائیدن) cf. (Sh. N., IV., 1911).

بچیزی که بر مانیا ید شکست بکوشید با او بسائید دست

Use effort and engage in matters so far as I may not suffer detriment.

دست گشادن “To take in hand” (any matter). (Sh. N., I., 386).

کنون از بزرگان زنی برگزین نگه کن پس پرده کی نشین
بخان کی آرش دگر نیز هست ز هر سویار ای و بگشای دست

“Choose now a wife from those who are great; sit behind the curtain of the King and look.

“There are others too in the palace of Kai Arash-- settle (the matter) and take it in hand from any quarter (you will)”.

[Kai Arash was a younger brother of King Kai Kâ'ûs, who is speaking here].

————— “To exert oneself, to make efforts.” (Sh., N., I.,)

همه دست بگشای تا یکسر ه چو گرگ اندر آیند پیش بره

Make all effort, so that (the troops) may suddenly fall (upon them) as wolves upon the lambs.

دسترس (with prep. به) “Resource” (in). (Sh. N., IV., 1819).

ز پیشین سخن و آنکه گفتی ز پس بگفتار دیدم ترا دسترس

From your previous words and what you have said subsequently, I see that your resource is in speech (alone).

دل

دل از آب تیره شستن “To sully one's mind with a dark thought or suspicion.” (Sh. N., I., 415).

همه یافتی جنگ خیره مجوی دل روشنست ز آب تیره مشوی

You have gained everything, do not wantonly seek war; do not sully your brilliant mind with dark suspicion.

[Rustam is trying to disabuse King Kai Kâ'ûs of his suspicions of Siyâvash his son, and to dissuade him from war with Afrâsiyâb who has made friendly overtures].

دل از گردشتن “To get a clear view of things.” (Sh. N., I., 384).

ز مانی همی با دل اندیشه کرد بکو شید تا دل بشوید ز درد
گمانی چنان بر دکورا بندر بژوهد همی تا چه دارد بسر

For a time (Siyâvash) set his mind to think ; he tried to get a clear view of the matter.

He had a suspicion that his father (Kai Kâ'ûs) was seeking to fathom what he had in his mind.

دل بستن (with prep. در or به) : “To turn one's mind” (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1913).

بقیصر چنین گفت پس رهمای که از فیلسوفان پاکیزه رای
بباید تنی چند بیدار دل که بندگان با ما درین کار دل

Then the Kaisar's adviser thus spoke to him,

“Of the philosophers of judgment bright,

“Of mind alert, some should be (here), to turn their minds with us to this affair.”

دل بجای داشتن “To have one's wits about one.” (Sh. N., I., 485).

بدو گفت کاین دل ندارد بجای ز سر پر شمش پاسخ آرد ز پای

He said to him, “This person has not his wits about him ; I ask him about ‘head’ and he answers about foot.”

دم (with prep. بر) : “To count the breath of any one's life” ; i.e., to give him short respite. (Sh. N., II., 523).

یکی داستان زد هر بر زیان که چون بر گوزنی سر آید زمان
زمانه بر و دم همی بشمر د بباید که بر شیر نر بگذرد

A fierce lion has said, “When time is coming to a close for a stag,

“Fate gives it short respite ; it comes upon the male lion in its passage.”

دمیدن

بر دمیدن “To be excited.” (Sh. N., IV., 1817).

بیامد بگفت آنچه دید و شنید سر شاه ترکان ز کین بر دمید

He came and told what he had seen and heard ; the brain of the King of the Turks was excited by animosity.

—————"To rush forth, to spur up." (Sh. N., III., 1468).

چو بهرام گوران شتر مرغ دید بکمر دار باد هوا بر دمید

When Bahrâm Gûr saw the ostriches, he rushed forth like the wind.

[Occurs often in this sense, but the spurring up may be supposed to have been accompanied by excited cries].

دیه (as دیاه or دیا) : "Flowers." (Lit. "Brocade"). (Sh. N., I., 442).

هوا خوشگوار و زمین خوب رنگ ز دیه زمینش چو پشت پلنگ

The air was wholesome and the earth beautiful with colours : the soil with flowers was like the leopard's back.

دیدار

"To pay a visit." (با (with prep. (دیدن کردن (as دیدار کردن (Sh. N., I., 432).

سیاوش با سپر دگر بر نشست بینداخت آن گوی لختی زد دست

پس آنکه بچوگان پرو کار کرد چنان شد که باماه دیدار کرد

Siyâvash mounted another horse ; he threw up the ball a little,

Then struck it with the polo-stick, so that it paid a visit to the moon.

دیدن "To anticipate." (Sh. N., I., 411).

کسی کو ببیند سر انجام بد ز کردار بد باز گشتن سزد

It behoves him who anticipates an evil issue to desist from evil action.

—————"To meet," in the sense of "to cope with." (Sh. N., I., 430).

ز هر کس شنیدم که چوگان تو نه بینند گردان بمیدان تو

I have heard from every one that the heroes cannot cope with your polo-stick in the ground where you (play).

دیر

"To delay." (v. n.). (Sh. N., I., 465).

اگر دیر سازی تو جنگ آورد دو کشور بمردی بچنگ آورد

If you delay he will make war ; by his valour he will take possession of the two countries.

دیر ساز "Ancient." (Sh. N., IV., 1711).

بدیدم که این گنبد دیر ساز نخواهد همی لب کشادن براز

I have seen that this ancient Dome will not speak of (its) secrets.

[The "ancient Dome" is the Sky.

ساز has the sense of ساخته "made", as in بد ساز "ill-made"].

----- "Slow to decide, deliberate." (Sh. N., IV., 1763).

یکی گفت کای شاه کهر نواز چرا گشتی اکنون همی دیر ساز
چنین داد پاسخ که با بخر دان همانیم و هم نیز با موبدان
جو آواز آهر من آید بگوش نمائند بدل رای و با مغز هوش

One said, "O King, cherisher of your subjects, why have you now become slow to decide and deliberate?"

He answered, "With the wise and the Mûbids I am at one-----"

"If the voice of Ahriman is listened to, neither judgment remains in the mind nor intelligence in the brain."

دیر یاب "Of long date." (Sh. N., IV., 1859).

جو بهرام را آن نیامد پسند همی بد ز گفتار خواهر نژند
دل تیره ز اندیشه دیر یاب همی تحت شاهی نمودش بخواب

Since they did not meet Bahrâm's approval, he was angry at his sister's words.

His heart, darkened by considerations of long date, showed him the Kingly throne (even) in dreams.

دیوار

پیش دیوار کردن "To put outside the walls, to banish." (Sh. N., IV., 2049).

مگر مرگ را پیش دیوار کرد که جان پدر را چنین خوار کرد

He must have banished death (from his consideration) to treat his father's life as of so slight account.

راز

راز راندن "To reveal a secret or secrets." (Sh. N., IV., 1851).

ازان پس گرانمایگان را بخواند بسی رازها پیش ایشان براند

Afterwards he summoned the nobles and chiefs, and revealed many secrets to them,

راست

همان راست داریم دل بازبان ز کژی و تاری به پیچم روان
I will also make my heart accordant with my tongue ;
I will turn my soul from what is false and dark.
—————(with prep. با) : “ To hold as equal.” (to), or
“ the same ” (as). (Sh. N., IV., 1910).

که هر چند کاین پادشاهی جداست تر ابا تن خویش داریم راست
For although this is a separate kingdom (from yours),
I hold you as the same as myself.
راست شدن “ To be rightly conducted.” (as policy or
deliberations). (Sh. N., III., 1504).

چو مهر یکی گشت شدرای راست بیفز و د خوبی و زشتی بکاست
When the ruler was one, the policy was rightly conduct-
ed ; good was increased, and evil was diminished.
————— “ To be concluded (as deliberations) (Sh. N.)

راست کردن “ To adjust, to put into a suitable position.”
(Sh. N., IV., 1812).

سپهد برانگیخت اسب ای شگفت بنو ک سنان زان سری برگرفت
همی راند تا نیزه را کرد راست بینداخت آن سربدان سو که خواست
The general spurred up his horse and with the point of
his lance lifted a head from the (basket).
He rode on until he had adjusted the lance, and then
cast the head in the direction he wished.
————— “ To establish firmly”. (Sh. N., IV., 1892).

هر آنکه که او خویشتن کرد راست نژندی و کژی بیوم شماست
As soon as he has established himself firmly, distress
and perversion will be (the lot) of your country.
[The country is that of the Eastern Empire, to which
Khusrau Parvîz is fleeing from his father's court].

راست گشتن “ To become on a level ” (with).
(Sh. N. I., 431).

خروش تیره زمینان بخواست همی خالک با آسمان گشت راست
از آواز صنج و دم کره نای تو گفتمی بچنید میدان ز جای

The roll of the drums arose from the polo-field ; the earth became on a level with the sky.

From the clashing of the cymbals and the blow of the trumpets the plain seemed to move up from its place.

راندن "To speak." (Sh. N., I., 457).

سپهدار توران و را پیش خواند ز کار سیاوش فراوان براند

The general (and ruler) of Tûrân summoned him to his presence : he spoke much to him concerning Siyâvash.

----- (with prep. بر) : "To impress" (upon). (Sh. N., IV., 1749).

هر آن در کزان نامه بر خواندی همه روز بر دل همی راندی

Every section of the book which he read--he impressed it every day upon his mind (as he read it).

[The book is the Fables of Bidpây which Barzûy, Nûshîrvân's envoy to the Indian King, is allowed to read only in the latter's presence].

راه

راندن "To adapt the habit" (of). (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

نباید که راه پلنگ آوریم که با هر کسی رای جنگ آوریم

We must not adopt the habit of leopards and resolve to fight with every one.

راه برگزیدن "To be of opinion." (Sh. N. I., 149).

چو کشور سراسر برداختند گروگان و آن هدیها ساختند

همه موبدان برگزیدند راه که ما باز گردیم ازین کینه گاه

Since they have cleared out of the whole country, have given hostages and presents.

The Mûbids. all, have been of opinion that we should turn away from this field of contention.

راه جستن "To wish to come." (Sh. N., I., 422).

پرسید کاین را چه در مان کم و زین راه جستن چه بیان کم

He asked him, saying, "What course shall I follow in this ? what measures shall I take as to (his) wish to come ?"

راندن (with از of the person): "To indicate as good, to speak well" (of). (Sh. N., IV., 2047).

بزرگان که بودند در پیش شاه ز شیرین بخوبی نمودند راه

که چون اوزنی نیست اندر جهان چه در آشکار و چه اندر نهان

The grantees who were in the presence of the king all spoke well of Shîrîn,

Saying, "There is no woman like her in the world whether in public (conduct) or in private."

براه آمدن "To come away." (Sh. N., I., 422).

اگر خود جزا ینش نبودی هنر که از خون صد نامور با پدر
بر آشفست و بگذاشت تخت و کلاه بکهر سپرد و خود آمد براه
نه نیکو نماید ز راه خرد کزین کشور آن نامور بگذرد

If he had no merit but this, that for the lives of a hundred famous men,

He had been indignant with his father, and had abandoned throne and crown, leaving them to one younger, and himself coming away.

It would not look well to the eyes of wisdom that that illustrious (Prince) should leave this country.

[The hundred famous men are the hostages given by Afrâsiyâb, and whom Kai Kâ'ûs, the father of the Prince Siyâvash, wishes to execute].

راه "For" (Sh. N., III., 1480).

چو منذر بنزدیک جهرم رسید بدان دشت بی آب لشکر کشید
سرا پرده زد راه بهرام شاه بگرد اندر آمد ز هر سو سپاه

When Munzir arrived near Jahram, leading his army to that waterless plain.

He pitched a tent for Prince Bahrâm Gûr, and the army came round from all sides

[Cf. "To put at one's disposal" در راه کس نهادن].

راه راست "Truthfully." (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

بدو گفت قیصر که خسرو بکاست بیایدت گفتن بمن راه راست

The Kaisar said to him, "Where is Khusrau Parvîz? you must tell me truthfully."

رای

رای پیش آوردن "To deliberate, to consult together." (Sh. N., III., 1413).

ز مانی غم پادشاهی برد خود و موبدش رای پیش آورد

For a time (each day) he should bear the toil of sovereignty: he himself and his minister should consult together,

رای جستن “To consult another.” (Cf. استشاره).

رای دیدن “To think proper, to think the best plan.”
(Sh. N., II., 506).

بر انگيخت دل آر میده ز جای تهنن هما کرد کودیدرای

(Zavâra) roused his heart which was at rest, and Rustam did as he (Zavâra) thought proper.

[Zavâra has urged his brother Rustam to devastate Tûrân in revenge for the murder of Siyâvash].

رای رفتن For “opinionsto be given.” (Sh. N., IV., 1731.)

بیامد دو فرزانه نیک را میانشان همی رفت هر گونه رای

Two wise men of good judgment came, and between them opinions of every kind were given.

رای زدن (with prep. به) : “To resolve to go” (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1692).

بسغد اندرون بود خاقان که شاه بگرگان همی رای زد با سپاه

The Khâqân was in Sogdiana, when the King (Nûshîrvân) resolved to go to Gurgân with his army.

[“Gurgân”, the ancient Hyrcania].

رای گفتن “To exchange opinions.” (Sh. N., I., 456).

زیگانه پردخته کردند جای نشستند و گفتند هر گونه رای

They cleared the place of strangers, and sat down and exchanged opinions of all kinds.

رسیدن

در رسیدن (with prep. به on with که) : “To ascertain.”
(Sh. N., IV., 1814).

فرستم يك مرد تا در رسد که او نیکخواهست اگر مرد بد

I will send a person to ascertain if he is a friend or an enemy.

رفتن “To be committed”, (as an offence). (Sh. N., IV., 1902).

تو دانی که من هر چه گویم بدو نه پیچد ز گفتار من هیچ رو

بخوام گناهی که رفت از تو پیش به بخشد ز گفتار من تاج خویش

You know that whatever I say to him—he will in no way reject my words.

(I will ask him to overlook the offence that was committed by you before—he would give his crown at my words.

رو (rû). See روی (rûy).

روارو (ravârau). (Used for بانگ روارو in Sh. N., I., 484):
“A trumpet blast announcing the approach of a great man.”

روارو برآمد که بگشای راه که آمدن و این کوتاج خواه

A warning blast arose (to signify), “Come, clear the way! a wondrous hero, claimant to a crown, arrives.”

روز

روز اندر روز آمدن (for): “To go on indefinitely,” (as some proceeding). (Sh. N., III., 1450).

تو دل خوش کن و شهر چندین مسوز نباید که روز اندر آید و روز

Be reconciled and do not devastate the country so. (This strife) must not go on indefinitely.

روزگار

روزگار پیچیدن “To become unfortunate,” (Lit., “to twist fortune”). (Sh. N., I., 471).

به بینم پاداش این زشت کار به پیچی بفرجام ازین روزگار

We shall see the requital of this evil deed; you will become at the end unfortunate through it.

[On the analogy of روزگار سیاه کردن but the expression might mean “To turn fortune away”, e.g., from oneself].

روزگاران

بی روزگاران بید سپردن (sapardan or sipardan): “To pass the time, to live, unfortunately” (Sh. N., IV., 1805). See

سپردن

روشن “Lighted up, illuminated, enlightened,” (as the body by the soul, or men by guidance). (Sh. N., III., 1456).

جو مغز و دل مردم آلوده گشت بنو میدی از رای بالوده گشت

بدان تن در آسیمه گرد و روان سپه چون زید شادی پهلوان

چو روشن نباشند پیرا کنند تن بی روان را بخاک افکنند

When the brain and the heart of men have become contaminated, and hopelessly drained of judgment,

The soul in the body becomes bewildered— how can an army live happily without a leader ?

When they are not enlightened they scatter—the body without a soul is cast into the earth.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued.)

*A PERSIAN MINIATURE OF THE XVI
CENTURY BY RIZA LABBASI*

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF F. ROSENBERG.

(*Translated by L. Bogdanov.*)

THE miniature discussed here represents a لوح (*lauh*), i.e., "a leaf" torn out from an album, 38×23.5 cm. in size. It was purchased in Egypt and came further into my possession from Louis Rouart's collection in Paris in 1897.

Such albums, still held in high esteem by collectors and lovers of books in Persia, are the outcome of the collaboration of a miniaturist, a calligrapher, a gilder and a setter-off, and, very often, a binder enters such a group of artists on an equal footing, so that frequently it is difficult to say, who of those five is responsible for the most important part of the work.

The obverse side of our leaf is occupied by a miniature portrait of a young woman. The picture, 14.5×9.75 cm. in size, is pasted inside a threefold frame of brick-pink colour enclosed in a further fivefold frame of multicoloured lines. The centre of the reverse side of the leaf is occupied by a calligraphical specimen in the form of a quatrain written in *nasta'liq* characters in white ink on a blue ground. The spaces between the writing disposed in two rectangles containing two hemistiches each are filled up with a thick layer of bright gilding, the remaining parts of the ground are illuminated by four triangles of which the one in the left hand bottom corner contains the signature of the calligrapher, the other three being ornamented with a gracefully executed floral design. The upper right-hand triangle, painted in gold and white on a black ground with a red insertion, is enclosed in a greenish frame. The central shield (14.5×7.5 cm.) is inserted in a fourfold frame, three stripes of which are of the same brick-pink colour as on the obverse side and the fourth stripe is of a dirty yellow hue. On the second stripe of the frame six

labels are pasted with inscriptions in prose and verse executed in China-ink on a white ground, two on each long side of the rectangle and one on each short side of the same. The margins are ornamented with graceful designs executed by hand and representing a forest with animals. The pasteboard is composed of four layers, of which the upper one is of a dirty-yellow colour on the obverse side and of a dark-blue colour on the reverse side. These layers are pasted upon sheets of ordinary paper and afterwards pasted together. The setting-off is somewhat lacking in finish by the fault of the gilder, whose work, owing to the coarsening of the artistic tastes of the time, seems to have been very considerable. That weak point, however, has its good side as it enables us to trace back the technique of this art.

We know that in Persia the exercise of some artistical handicraft was by no means considered beneath the dignity of a first class artist. The preparation of paper for books and pictures, the marbling and graining of the same, the pasting together of the cardboard, the composition of the coloured inks, the arrangement and the drawing of the lines composing the frame and the border, the painting of the margins, the gilding, the binding, let alone the drawing of arabesques, all this enters the sphere of accomplishments obligatory for a painter; and a certain skill and dexterity in the technique of that, from the European point of view, mechanical side of the work, were considered an important quality. In one of the most important sources of biographical information regarding painters, in the collection composed in 1587 in Turkish by Mustafa b. Ahmad 'Ali, the state comptroller of Baghdad (د قتر دار), *Manaqib-i hunarvaran* (منائب هنروران) i.e., "The Attainments of Artists", a special chapter (the 5th) is devoted to different arts and crafts of that kind and to the representatives of each of them.¹

(1) Unfortunately the manuscripts of that work both in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences and in the former Institute of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were removed from St. Petersburg among other more valuable manuscripts as far back as 1917. We were therefore limited to the use of abstracts in Dorn (Melas. II, 38 foll.), in Huart's *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris, 1903 (passim): in Martin's *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century*, London, 1912, v. I., passim, more especially pp. 110 foll.; and in Karabacek's *Zur orient. Altertumskunde*, III, Rizâ-i 'Abbâsi, *Ein persischer Miniaturenmaler*, Swaw, 1911, etc. (The removed manuscript came back in late summer of 1921, but could be no longer used as the present article had already been set up by the press).

Certain well-known painters and calligraphers became famous merely on account of their skill in the above-mentioned domains. Thus, for instance, the miniaturist and calligrapher of the end of the 16th century, the pupil of the painter Mani and of the calligrapher Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi, Ghiyâthu-d-dîn Ahmad of Sabzavar bore the sobriquet of "gilder" (مذهب) and another, not less renowned, court calligrapher of Shâh 'Abbâs was before all famous for his skill in composing colours and for his dexterity in preparing pasteboard (رومال)¹. As regards calligraphy, it is considered an altogether first-class art, no less self-sufficient than painting and, we may take it that, in the cult of writing as an aesthetic entity, Persia does by no means cede it to her chief master in the arts, China.

As mentioned above, the work of the gilder on the leaflet under discussion is very considerable and variegated. Besides the six golden lines which divide the four stripes of the frame containing the central shields, the stripes themselves are covered with a floral design in the shape of flowers and leaves, partly finished, partly merely primed in view of a light transparent gilding, partly altogether still in the stage of golden outlining tracery. A thick layer of bright gold, as mentioned, covers the spaces between the pieces of writing and encloses the signature of the calligrapher on the reverse side; on the obverse side, in the same way, are treated a part of the head-dress and of the crossbelt. A special kind of gilding covers the transversal stripes of the trousers; here the thick layer of gold is made speckled by means of needle-pricks, wherewith the illusion of some kind of soft brocade stuff is obtained. Numerous merely primed places give to the picture a somewhat untidy appearance; that effect is still more aggravated by the grounding of natural paper-colour. If we may judge from a trial-daub and from the traced contour of a leaf the artist meant to cover it with a light golden design in the form of a flower garden as is met with on the pictures of that epoch. The golden design on the margins, especially on the reverse side, *i.e.* on the side occupied by the specimen of calligraphy, is highly artistic. The design represents here a forest with different animals and with a great variety of foliage and flowers. The theme is repeated with slight digressions on both sides of our leaflet. The bold contours of gracefully disposed

(1) Huart, 236. Dorn, *Melas*, II, 47, understands, however, on the authority of Kazembek, رومالان as "repairers of damaged manuscripts".—

branches and leaves are filled with a light transparent layer of gold put on with great skill and taste, so that, in spite of the nerves of the leaves for instance being scarcely marked, a very great life-likeness is attained, which effect is still more enhanced by an attempt at disposing them in a certain kind of perspective. Quite a success are the trunk and the branches of a big tree on the edge of the forest, from the half-height of which a bear on the alert shows his teeth to a lion ready to spring; a little to the left, one can see a running lynx. On the top of the frame are represented a rampant stern-looking lion and in the right-hand corner a fleeing antelope. The animals are mostly traced in mere outline, their muscles being hardly marked, but owing to the amazing precision and boldness of the lines an expressiveness and fullness of life are obtained which leave far behind both the famous hunting-party of Shâh Tahmasp, attributed to Sultân Muhammad (first half of the 16th c.)¹ and those magnificent field-pictures of the time of Tahmasp (1524-76) and 'Abbâs I (1587-1629);² here, however, the influence of a Chinese original is less felt. The style is in general the same as on plates 130 ff. in Martin's book, but, as far as one can judge from the phototypes, the treatment on our leaflet is much more refined. Unfortunately, on our plate the pale gold on the blue ground of the reverse side does not show properly. The obverse side, however, which consists almost of mere contours very little prominent on the yellow ground in the original is more successful on our photo. In the upper left-hand corner are well seen a haughty lion in a sitting posture and to his right, a lynx on the alert. On the tree of the obverse side there is no animal; at the bottom there are two deer, one quietly lying on the ground, the other grazing; unfortunately the drawing in that place is a little damaged. As regards precision and life-likeness these animals are the best that I have ever come across up till now among specimens of Persian painting; and though we have to admit that the drawing is based on a Chinese stencil, still we must recognize that in this case the composite is thoroughly *iranized* and its stencil is well veiled.

The calligraphic specimen bears the signature in full of one of the greatest artists, if not the first, of his time Mullâ Muhammad Husayn Tabrîzî (محمد حسین تبریزی).³

(1) Public Library MS. No. 489 : Martin plates 116, 117.

(2) cf. plates 130 foll. : 250-256 : 261, 262.

(3) Dorn, *Melas*. II, 44 and 49,--

The above-quoted *Manaqib-i hunarvaran* mentions as his teachers Maulâna Isma'îl, Mîr Haydar, the famous Sayyid Ahmad Mashhadî and Maulâna Mâlik. He himself is also mentioned in the list of calligraphers in *nasta'liq* of the court of Shâh Isma'îl II.¹ Sayyid Ahmad Mashhadî, the most prominent of his teachers († 1578), enjoyed for some time the favours of Shâh Tahmasp and of his successor Shâh Isma'îl II. Mullâ Muhammad Husayn Tabrizî, son of Maulâna 'Inâyatullâh of Tabriz, was called *mihîn ustad* (میهن استاد) "the greatest artist". He lived mostly in Tabriz, where he applied himself to decorating with inscriptions the local mosques and convents of dervishes : these inscriptions have almost entirely disappeared owing to several earthquakes. In 1576 he was employed as the head of the personal chancellery of Shâh Isma'îl II. He performed on foot a pilgrimage to Mecca, after which, having returned to his native place Tabriz he continued his work of calligrapher and copyist. He was also a poet, and it is said he composed on his deathbed some verses in praise of the pen, which he ordered to be written down by one of his numerous pupils, the famous favourite and court-calligrapher of Shâh 'Abbâs, Mîr 'Imâd,² whose tragic death (in 1615) must have taken place not without the knowledge of his more fortunate rival in the favours of Shâh 'Abbâs, 'Alî Rizâ-yi 'Abbâsî called *shah navâz* (شاه نواز) "the flatterer of the Shah". The latter was a colleague of Mîr 'Imâd in the studio of their common teacher Mullâ Muhammad Husayn Tabrizî. The exceedingly great number of pictures signed by 'Alî Rizâ made Prof. Karabacek conceive doubts as to the authenticity of the signature so often met with, and resulted in his enriching the literature of the subject by the publication of the above-quoted valuable monograph on our artist.³ The sources, as far as I can judge by the abstracts accessible to me, do not mention either the dates of the birth or of the death of Muhammad Husayn, but the exact dates of the death of his two great pupils are well-known. Of them Mîr 'Imâd died in 1615, in his 63rd year, and Mullâ Muhammad Rizâ Tabrizî in 1627. The year of the birth of their teacher must therefore obviously

(1) Dorn, 49 has got erroneously "Isma'îl I".—

(2) A calligraphical specimen bearing his signature in the album in the Public Library, cat. No. 389, fol. 65a. —

(3) cf. Huart, 230 and 237 : cf. 239 foll. and 245 : Martin I, 120 foll. : Sarre, *Riza Abbasi, ein persischer Miniaturenmalers*. KK X, 1 (1910) : Karabacek, passim.

fall somewhere in the first quarter of the 16th c. During the brief reign of Shâh 'Isma'îl II (1676-77) his name, as we have seen, is found in the lists of court-calligraphers, so that he died probably towards the end of the century, that is to say during the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great.

In the collection bearing the title *قلم*, of the Public Library of St. Petersburg (Cat. No. 488, fol. 22) there is a signed specimen of his handwriting exactly coinciding with that reproduced on our plate. The similarity, one would almost like to say, identity, of the outlines of the letters, connecting strokes, diacritical dots etc., is amazing : one feels really entitled to apply with no exaggeration to our master what was said, according to the traditions, with regard to the first Arabian calligrapher, the Caliph 'Alî, who was renowned for the perfection of his writing in Cufic script and quite particularly for the beauty of the elongated *kaf* (*ك*). It was said that there was not the slightest difference whatever in shape or size between the same letters, wherever it be that they occurred even if one would measure them with a compass. One has to acknowledge that for a European eye the specimens of the handwriting of Muhammad Husayn's pupils found in the same collection, for instance that of Muhammad Rizâ Tabrizî and of 'Alî Rizâ Tabrizî, differ very little from the writing of their teacher ; but a European would hardly be expected to pose as an arbiter in these matters. To the pen of the great artist belongs certainly only the quatrain attributed to Hâfiz in white ink on a blue ground and the signature ; the specimens of writing in prose and in verse which cover the frame of the central picture and are written in black on white are obviously the work of an ordinary scribe ; they are of little interest and break off on both sides in the middle of a word. Below we give the text and the translation of all these specimens of writing.

The miniature on the obverse side of the leaf (see Plate I) represents a young woman sitting on cushions and putting on a slipper ; the right foot is resting on a stand somewhat reminding one of the overturned lotus of the Buddhist images. The contours, the lines of the face, the lineaments of the arms and legs are traced in vermillion, apparently with a reed pen ; the folds of the dress and the cushions are merely marked. The shirt, the lower part of the skirt, the cushions and the stand for the foot, which is primed for gilding, are not quite finished. The expression

of the face is somewhat stencilled without any individualisation, the hands look rather lifeless, the legs look wooden and are extremely fat, but the general impression of the picture is that of a harmonious whole and of a great fineness of detail. The type of the face, the joined eye-brows, the roundness of the chin and the neck, the treatment of the hair and of the folds, the contours, traced with vermilion, the brocade, obtained by pricking the gilding with a pin, all this exactly corresponds to what we see on the coloured pictures of collection No. 488 in the Public Library, and were it not for a slight difference in the dimensions and in the type of drawing of the margins, it would have been possible to think that our leaf might have entered some time before the said collection which is at present being described by V. A. Eberman. A further similarity in detail is that, in the collection mentioned, the specimens of calligraphy bear also the signatures of their authors, whilst such are absent on the pictures; unfortunately not a single date is to be found in the whole collection.

The general type reminds one of the manner of the school of Sultân Muhammad, the chief painter of Shâh Tahmasp, but the same type is also encountered on miniatures signed "Rizâ."¹ Several well-known artists bear the same name Rizâ, but with the addition of different surnames, sobriquets and *nisbas*; this circumstance makes it extremely difficult to establish the identity of the author of certain given pictures, as is shown in the above-quoted articles by Sarre and Karabacek. In our case we have to deal with at least three artists bearing the same name Rizâ, who belong more or less to the same epoch; two of them were together pupils of Mullâ Muhammad Husayn. The first and the eldest of them Aghâ Rizâ, *alias* 'Alî Rizâ, the pupil of Mîr 'Alî of Herât, died in Bukhâra in 1573-4. The two others are the above-mentioned Muhammad Rizâ at-Tabrizî, whose name sometimes also appears with the addition of the *nisba* 'Abbâsi (died in 1627) and 'Alî Rizâ-yi 'Abbâsi, the most renowned favourite of Shâh 'Abbâs (died after 1643). He was also a native of Tabriz. Folio 21b of the said collection of the Public Library bears the signature of one 'Alî Riza at-Tabrizî. That signature belongs certainly to our 'Alî Rizâ-yi 'Abbâsî, but refers, probably, to an earlier period of his life, when he had as yet no right to embellish

(1) cf. Martin, II, plates 106, 109, 110, also 162,—

his name with the title 'Abbâsî, which was granted him at a later epoch.

It is unnecessary to emphasise the fact that one of the chief characteristics of a painter is his palette ; there is no need to have a particularly experienced eye in order to recognize for instance a Fra Angelico or a Titian at sight from the tone of the picture amongst dozens of other painters. With reference to Persian art, taking into consideration the particularities of the psychology of Eastern painters, that rule can be applied only with a certain reservation. No need to say that the delicate colouring of Bihzâd is of course altogether different from the rich green hues of Aghâ Mirak or from the brilliant tones of Sultan Muhammad. Our picture represents precisely that palette which is considered by Martin as characteristic of 'Alî Riza-yi 'Abbâsî¹ and by Karabacek as showing certain of the peculiarities of the art of Aghâ Rizâ.² That combination of colours is also found in the miniatures of the collection of the Public Library. The same reddish-violet upper garment with a blue lining can be also seen on the so-called " portrait of the poet Sa'dî ",³ whereas the treatment of the ends of folds is amazingly similar ; the underwear in both cases is executed in vermilion, the slippers on the " portrait of Sa'dî " are also vermilion-coloured, on our miniature they are, however, crimson ; he wears a green shawl, on our miniature the shirt is green ; the grounding is in both instances of the same pale-yellow hue, there with a finished, in our case with a merely primed, gold floral ornamentation. In the collection of the Public Library there is a replica of the " portrait of Sa'dî " which, as far as we can judge, represents the first rough draught of the picture later on developed and carefully finished in the course of time. In our opinion, there is no doubt whatever that, on the one hand, our picture, on the other " the portrait of Sa'dî " attributed to the painter Aghâ Rizâ and the miniatures of one of two widely differing from each other groups of pictures in the Public Library album belong to the brush of one and the same painter. To him also, in our opinion, must be attributed the portrait of a young man reproduced in Karabacek's work⁴ and provided with three signatures : on the right side (ا) ر ض Aghâ Rizâ on the top

(1) op. cit., I, 71.—

(2) op. cit. 18, 14.

(3) Karabacek, plate II.—

(4) Plate VII,—

merely رضا Rizâ and to the left on the grounding of the picture اقا رضا عباسی Aghâ Rizâ-yi 'Abbâsî. As regards Mullâ Muhammad Husayn, not a single miniature with his signature has been found up to the present time, and the sources do not so much as hint of his ever having applied himself to painting. It is therefore inadmissible to connect his signature on the reverse side of the leaflet with the picture on the obverse side as well. On the other hand, it is only natural that the teacher and the pupil should have joined their talents for the composition of leaflets (lauh) which were at that epoch very much in demand and in which both these arts were represented on an equal footing. Owing, however, to the triple signature on the picture just mentioned the question arises : which of the three painters bearing the name Rizâ is the author of the isolated group of pictures and the collaborator of Muhammad Husayn. Aghâ Rizâ, called also 'Alî Rizâ, was the disciple of Mîr 'Alî of Herât, he came to the court of Tahmasp from Isfahân and, as he was of the same age as Muhammad Husayn, probably even his senior in age (he died in 1573-4), he would hardly, in such mature years, have started taking lessons from him. Furthermore (though it does not constitute a conclusive proof) his signature in the album of the Public Library is absent, but the signatures of Muhammad Rizâ at-Tabrîzî and 'Alî Rizâ at-Tabrîzî are figuring in it : both of them are, authentically, pupils of the calligrapher of Tabrîz and both of them bear the *nisba* 'Abbâsî, the second rightfully, the first, in all probability, owing to a mistake of his biographers. It is known of Muhammad Rizâ that after having attended the lessons of Muhammad Husayn and having worked for some time in Tabrîz he left for Constantinople in 1585. Having got into favour with Sultân Murâd III, he was appointed to work in the Imperial arsenal and enjoyed the friendship of the court historiographer Sa'du'd-dîn. On his return to Tabrîz, he died there in 1627. The sources do not mention whether he was honoured by any special favours on the part of Shâh 'Abbâs and whether the *nisba* 'Abbâsî ever was conferred upon him. The incomparable beauty and fineness of his brush¹ is highly praised, but it must be acknowledged that his manner and his technique, as they are shown, for instance, in a drawing attributed to him, with dubious signatures, reproduced by Karabacek², are far from being

(1) Karabacek, 87-89.—

(2) Plate IX.—

of the same type as the one represented on our miniature and on the pictures of the album in the Public Library. It is therefore hardly necessary to take into account any possible authorship of Aghâ Rizâ and Muhammad Rizâ. There, thus, remains, in accordance with what has been said, only one 'Alî Rizâ who in his youth, before the period of his friendship with Shâh 'Abbâs, was called simply at-Tabrîzî. We do not entertain any doubts as to his authorship in the miniature discussed by us here, which must have been executed by him in his younger days, *i.e.*, in Tabrîz, probably, during the time, when he was still attending the lessons of Muhammad Husayn. The latter would hardly have consented to adorn with his famous signature and handwriting the work of an utter stranger and a painter of a still undeveloped talent, or a worthless copy.

The creative genius of 'Alî Rizâ 'Abbâsî is extensive and variegated. We do not find, it is true, on our miniature any of the daubs which became so characteristic with him in course of time, nor the characteristic strokes in the outlines which terminate in peculiar indented lines. Still the general trend, the somewhat fastidious *finesse* of the lines, the soft beauty of the almost expressionless faces in his innumerable masculine, feminine or sexless figures and, last but not least, the palette of his colours, to which he, obviously, remained faithful to the very end—his last dated work belongs to 1643—are fully convincing proofs of his authorship as regards our miniature. As we know, 'Alî Rizâ 'Abbâsî was very much concerned with his own renown, so that the greater part of his works bears his signature, in some cases repeated several times on the same picture. His miniatures bear moreover very often the exact date of their composition. The absence of such data on our leaflet, as well as on the *laushs* of the album in the Public Library, might be explained by the fact that they belong to the beginning of his artistic career. The mere presence of such signatures and dates cannot, besides, be considered as a proof positive of their authenticity. Every signature on a Persian miniature, and, more especially so, one of a prominent artist, always needs careful verification. Very edifying in that respect are the examples given in Karabacek's monograph, and, among others, two pictures reproduced in Martin's book,¹ one signed by Rizâ-yi 'Abbâsî and the other bearing the signature of Bihzâd himself. The latter represents a portrait

(1) On plate 110,—

of Shâh Tahmasp, although in his youth, but already as a grown-up man, who ascended the throne at the age of ten, in 1524. We have no information as regards the date of Bihzâd's death, but the testimony of Khwândamîr, who speaks of him as being his contemporary, refers to the year just mentioned. He must therefore have been still alive at that time. As, since that time, he is no more mentioned, it must be supposed that he died soon after and could hardly have drawn the above-mentioned portrait; the work on the same has, besides, nothing characteristic of the art of Bihzâd.

The Eastern dealers in antiquities and second-hand book-sellers, as one knows, do not cede it in any way to their European colleagues as far as unscrupulousness is concerned. No wonder then that every kind of rubbish bearing the signatures of most famous artists, appears year after year on the market. Thus, for instance, the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences has recently purchased a rather ancient, fairly well written manuscript dated A.H. 894 of the "third" *divan* of Jâmî,¹ into which, in order to attract snobs and to inflate its price, are pasted some vulgar miniatures of recent fabrication, which have nothing in common with the text of the book.

We are perfectly aware that it is a risky enterprise to build up any hypotheses regarding an authorship on the strength of the style and coloration of a given picture, the more so as the pitfalls of a general character are, as already mentioned, very much increased in the case of Eastern artists by certain psychological peculiarities in their attitude with regard to the work of their predecessors. It is a well-known fact that imitating, even slavishly, the great in the domains of arts and literature was, and still is, considered in the East by no means reprehensible. Quite the contrary, an art-student, and only a beginner at that, used to choose a patron whose ways and manners he tried to follow, applying all his energies to do it most thoroughly. Such a patron is called in Persian *pishva* "the one who walks in front", in Arabic "*muqtada*", "he who is imitated". The imitator is called *muqallid*. These are generally adopted technical terms. In the biographies of painters one very often comes across mention of so-and-so having followed first such-and-such a master and, after having attained perfection in his

(1) MS. 1920 No. 1. has been described in detail by E. E. Bertels in an article which has appeared in the "Iran".

manner of painting, having betrayed his earlier ideals and having begun imitating some other artist, sometimes his own rival. We have, for instance, such information with regard to 'Alî Rizâ-yi 'Abbâsî and his murdered rival, Mîr 'Imâd.¹ Although it is certainly easier to attain such minute precision of imitation in the domain of calligraphy than in painting, still one has only to turn over the pages of original albums and of manuscripts containing miniatures, or merely of publications like those of Martin or Marteau et Vever, in order to recognise that in the way of imitation the same amazing perfection is very often attained in painting, as in calligraphy.

The period when Persian painting was at its height was very brief : it lasted only a little more than fifty years beginning from the end of the 15th century. As early as in the second half of the 16th century an apparent decline in that domain is observed and the politically brilliant period of Shâh Abbâs I (1587-1629) was, as far as art is concerned, a period of an absolute decay. No new ideas, no new creative power ; it is a powerful reign of stencil and routine, and painter-artisans try to substitute quantity for quality. Not only a total absence of anything new in style is observed, but all the illuminations are done for the same works of the same poets, for preference of Firdausî, Khosrau Dahlavî, Jâmî ; and almost always such illuminations represent the same scenes. These unavoidable Rustams, Iskandars, Leylas and Majnûns set the teeth on edge *a la longue*. The decline in the domain of art was preceded by the decadence of poetry. The last true poet of Persia, although already with some signs of the decay, was Jâmî (1414-1492).

Under Shâh 'Abbâs I, the court-academy showed a boisterous activity. A great number of painters worked in all branches of art and numerous foreign embassies, especially European, which made at that time their first acquaintance with the development of Persian art, did much to spread its renown in the whole world. China-ware was made from Chinese models, often by Chinese masters, and the first Persian imitations of the same bear sometimes disfigured Chinese hieroglyphics and trademarks, the meaning of which was unknown to the imitators. Engraving on different metals was started, palaces and public buildings were decorated with painting. As regards the latter application of painting, a few patterns, preserved chiefly in Isfahân, prove that fresco-painting of

(1) Huart, 245 and elsewhere,

that kind is mainly of the same kind—miniature, but on a larger scale.¹

After all we have to acknowledge that in Persia, in spite of its former high culture and the existence of an indisputable artistic taste among large classes of the population, fine arts always remained in the state of *Klein-kunst* and that the artistic idea could not throw off the bonds of being merely an ancillary craft and did not possess the necessary forces to develop into a true, independent Art for Art's sake.

Text and Translation of the Inscriptions.

PLATE I.

و چون از شایده سمعت و غائله شهوت مصون و معروض بود ندودست
تصرف بیکانه بدامن عصمتشان نرسید و کوشه طرز عقلمشان بسر
انگشت خیانت کسی فرو نکشید و رخساره احوالشان از خجالت غار
و حجر طعن در صورت عفت و حرزا مانع محفوظ ماند چنانکه
گفته اند کرمین آلؤده دامنم چه عجب همه عالم گواه عصمت و ست
لا جرم غزلهای جها نکیرش -

“ And as they were guarded and defended from the suspicion of malignity and the misfortune of passion, and the hand of alien encroachment had not attained the skirt of their virtue and nobody had pulled off with the tips of his fingers the corner of the vestment of their intellect, and the cheeks of their circumstances had remained protected in the state of virtue and in the preservation of security from the shame of dishonour and the disgrace of insult, as has been said (verse): If my skirt is bespattered—what wonder! The whole world bears testimony to his chastity. Certainly his world-conquering ghazals.”

The Inscription by Muhammad Husayn.

PLATE II.

دی آمدنی بهیتر از منزل خویش امروز نرازی نه بکام دل خویش
فردا شدنی خبر نه از حاصل خویش پس من چه نشان دهم ز آب و گل خویش

(1) Martin holds the exactly opposite opinion and sees in the Persian miniatures of the epoch when that art was at its height (that is, according to him, from 1300 to 1540) traces of the influence of the fresco-style, which he is inclined, “at least from the decorative point of view”, to place above the productions of the best Italian masters of the Renaissance. On what such a point of view can be based, is not clear. See also the introduction to the monograph *Les miniatures de Behzad dans un MS. persan, date 1485*. Munich, 1912, 22 pl. in-fol.—



PLATE I : the obverse side.

[To face p. 332.

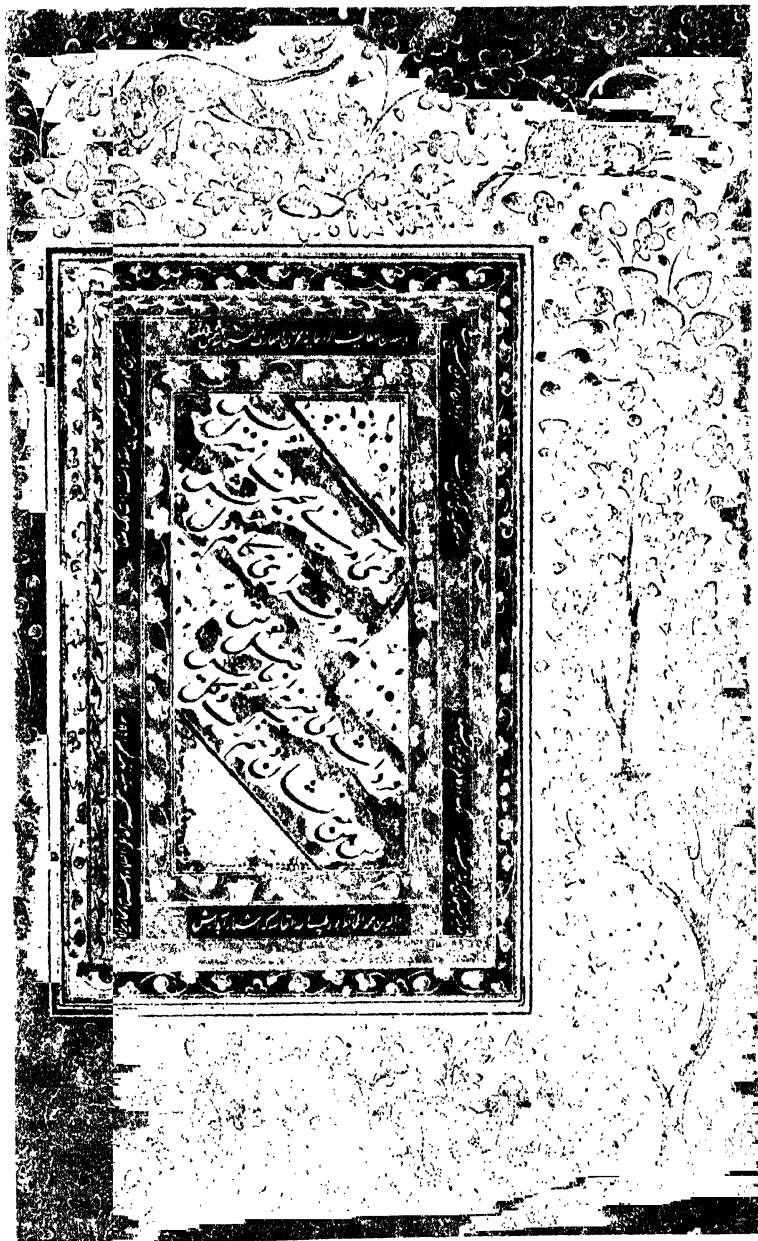


PLATE II : the reverse side.

{To face p. 332.

“Yesterday—arrival in trouble from my dwelling,
 “Today—elevation not by the will of my heart,
 “Tomorrow—departure with no knowledge of my
 destination,
 “Then—what sign of my being shall I give!”

Signed :

(written ذنبه) ز بره محمد حسين غفر ذنبه “ This
 has been written by Muhammad Husayn at-Tabrizî, may
 (God) forgive his sin.”

Around :

قا فیم سنجان که سخن بر بستند ملک دوعالم به سخن در بستند

On the right :

(۱) خاصه کلیدی که در کفم راست زیر زبان مر د سخن سنم راست

On the left :

مخلص این کلمات و متخصص این مقدمات ذات ملک صفات مولانا
 اعظم سعید شهید صفخر اعظم العلماء استاد تها ریر الاد (باء)

Above :

(با) معدن انلطایف الروح حانیه مخزن العلماء رف السبها نیه
 شمس الملة

Below :

والدین محمد الها فظ بود طیب الله انفا سه کم اشعار آبدار ش

“The versifiers, who have fettered the word,
 “Have locked the door of the possession of the two worlds
 with the word.
 “The real key which fits the door of the treasury
 “Is under the tongue of the man who weighs his words.”
 “The writer of these words and the author of these senten-
 ces is the essence of angelic qualities, our greatest blessed
 late Lord, the pride of the greatest doctors, the master
 of writings amongst the learned, who is both a mine
 of spiritual joys and a treasury of divine wisdom, the sun
 of the nation and the religion Muhammad-al Hâfiz, may
 “God bless his soul whose brilliant verses.”².

(1) The text, however, bears مخلص. Tr.

(2) As regards the style, and in the verses even the metre, the contents of these labels are far from brilliant, nay even somewhat illiterate. The poet Hafiz was called شمس الدین محمد the word الملة has been added to it by the author of these labels, may be only in order to avoid leaving a blank space. The copies of the divan of Hafiz accessible to us do not contain this quatrain.—

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE FIGURE OF THE PROPHET IN ISLAMIC LORE.*

A PRODUCTION of Upsala university, this book was first published in Swedish in 1917. In the following year appeared the German version which is now before us. It is thus no recent publication but, as it is known to few people in India, a description of its contents may be interesting to a number of our readers, for the work has some peculiar merits from the Muslim point of view.

Not so very long ago it was quite customary for Western writers to postulate some measure of insincerity or fraudulence when seeking to explain our Prophet's character and lifework. Today, for all the standard Orientalists the hypothesis of insincerity and imposture is ruled out ; the Prophet of Islâm is as genuine a Prophet as any of the Prophets of antiquity, and entitled to as much respect. So sympathetic, often, is the treatment that it is difficult to bear in mind that the writers are not Muslims, but men who disbelieve in the reality of divine revelation, who regard prophethood as an interesting psychic and historic phenomenon recurrent in some Eastern lands. One of the greatest German Arabists recently assured the present writer that he could think of only one great Arabic scholar of the present day who would for a moment doubt the sincerity of Muhammad (may God bless and keep him !) in his rôle of Prophet. The one exception was a Christian missionary by profession. On the other hand, these modern, more tolerant and enlightened critics are intent to find a natural—or, shall we say, a mundane—explanation of the phenomena of Prophethood and revelation. The so-called "sources of the Qur'ân", which they claim to have discovered appear destructive of their postulate of sincerity in the Prophet

* *Die person Muhammads in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde* Von Tor Andrœ. In the series *Archives et Etudes Orientales* published by J. A. Lundell, Stockholm.

till we realise that they are quite prepared to admit that he drew from those sources subconsciously—in other words, that hymns, prayers, stories he had heard were latent in his mind and were uttered in the oracular trances which are a symptom of the peculiar condition known as prophethood. That, in the course of the life we know him to have led, our Prophet could have become acquainted with so vast a field of learning as that covered by the alleged “sources” seems to us harder to accept than the claim of divine revelation; though it does not, in point of fact, preclude that claim. Muslims learned in the subject ought to scrutinise these Western findings which are not unanswerable. The scrutiny will tend to clarify their own ideas.

The book before us is even more ingratiating in its manner of approaching the subject than the works above-mentioned, the author's tone being often indistinguishable from a Muslim's. It traces the development of what the author calls “the cultus of the Prophet”, and finds that the conception of the Prophet's personality which has prevailed from the third Islamic century onward, in all its variant forms, has little in common with that of the first Muslims. He quotes the words of the Qur'ân: “Say (O Muhammad): I am only a mortal like you”, as against the conception of the Prophet as the Perfect Man (*Al-insanu'l-Kamil*) and universal exemplar. He also points to the attitude of the Prophet's companions as opposed to the later development. For the Prophet's comrades, the messenger of God was a man whom they had known and found most trustworthy, a man whom they had loved above all other men, whose Qur'ân had been their guidance for twenty-three eventful years, whose prophecies they had seen fulfilled, whose triumph they had shared and witnessed, and regarded as miraculous.

No-one can deny that the development which the author describes has taken place, and has occasionally been carried to quite un-Islamic lengths; and it is probably true, as Mr. Androe suggests, that only the object-lesson of Christianity and certain plain commands of the Qur'ân and of the Prophet himself have prevented some Muslims from deifying the Prophet. But that is not a situation of later development. It was the position in the Prophet's lifetime, as many a tradition proves. And we think that much which the author sets down as of later development and ascribes to the influence of new environment, the intercourse with another religion and

intensive contemplation of the Prophet's memory, was in like manner a tendency inherent in the Muslim body from the first, which has always needed a firm hand to restrain it. We refer to such extreme expressions of devotion as seem almost to have passed the bounds imposed on Muslim reverence, among which we do not include the Sûfist theory of *Al-Insânu'l-Kâmil* which appears to us to have a perfectly legitimate origin in certain texts of the *Qur'ân* and certain well-known sayings of the Prophet. Only it was formulated later, and in Islâm the primitive belief is always the more orthodox.

The Swedish author shows a sense of Arabic keener than we have found in any other Orientalist. Though he does not mean it quite in the believer's sense, he insists that the *Qur'ân* was a miracle; for, if it had not been indeed inimitable, the Arabs of *Hijâz*, skilled as they were above all peoples in poetry and every art of rhetoric, would assuredly, in reply to the repeated challenge, have produced its counterpart and thus discredited the Prophet at the outset. In the works of other Orientalists we have come upon passages in which the writer seems to imply that he considers certain later imitations—the so-called “revelations” of *Museylimah* and even of *Al-Mutanabbi* in his youthful aberration—comparable for language, let alone content, with the *Qur'ân*; whereas, to us, those lucubrations seem such bad attempts at parody that no man of taste could possibly have been deceived by them. Mr. Androe has sufficient sense of Arabic to appreciate the uniqueness of the *Qur'ân*, and he calls it a miracle. All other miracles ascribed to the Prophet he dismisses as fabrications of a later day, and points, as many other Orientalists have pointed, to the *Qur'ân* itself as stating that the Prophet was not given the power to work miracles. In Islâm the Prophet's miracles are not an article of faith, and doubt concerning some of them has been expressed by Muslim writers, even the most orthodox; but anyhow, the author's inference is wrong. What the *Qur'ân* really bids the Prophet tell mankind is that he has not command of miracles—cannot do them to command; as people wanted him to do, just like a conjuror—but that miracles are in the hand of God and come to the Prophet when God wills.

Our author views the “Cultus” of the Prophet, even in its extremest forms, with vast indulgence. He considers that it is a part of human nature to wish to set some human figure deified or almost deified up as intermediary between

mankind and Almighty God. Every Muslim, even those who pay the Prophet greatest reverence, will indignantly deny the truth of such a theory as touching himself. It is not deification nor semi-deification which has taken place. Allâh, in the Muslim's heart and mind, is far above the possibility of such confusion. There is no analogy with Christian doctrines or Greek demigods. The cultus (as our author calls it) of the Arab Prophet has sprung from eager study of every available scrap of information concerning an extraordinarily attractive—one might even say, adorable—an extraordinarily vital personality, whom the Arabs would not have admired so intensely if he had not been every inch a man; till the student comes to love the Prophet as his comrades loved him, and even with a greater love. The call to follow his example has facilitated it, attempts made by followers of other religions to belittle the character of the Prophet have made it impassioned. It has occasionally passed the bounds of reason. That is all.

If only as a treasury of Sûfist learning the book deserves close study; and it is much more than that. We have seldom come across a book on a historical religious subject so stimulating to thought.

M. P.

FOUR HYDERABAD WRITERS OF GOOD ENGLISH VERSE.*

It is a common human failing to imagine the home of culture to be other than the place one lives in, for most of us are fools and "the eyes of the fool are in the ends of the earth". Mr. A. R. Chida, in the introduction to his charming collection of what he, rather amusingly, calls "Indo-Anglian verse" by Hyderabad poets, observes that people in Hyderabad are generally ignorant even of the published works of Sarojini Naidu and her still more gifted brother, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, the two poets of his anthology whose names are best known in the outside world. It is true that Hyderabad as a whole is not yet awake to the fact that the city has already become a great cultural centre, and, if the present rate of progress is maintained, may soon become the chief cultural centre in India. Few will dispute this statement, as regards Urdu literature and scholarship, but many still fail to realise how high the standard of English scholarship is in Hyderabad. Bengal might claim a share in Sarojini and Harindranath, but Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung is altogether

* An Anthology of Indo-Anglian Verse. By A. R. Chida. Station Road, Hyderabad, Deccan.

of the Deccan. In the quotations here given from his poetry and that of the late Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk one feels that behind the verses is a knowledge of English literature which few born Englishmen possess. The Englishry (if we may call it so) of the following four lines is perfect :

“ For beauty such as this my heart did pine,
 “ And now it comes to haunt my waking dreams
 “ Hers is a soul illumined by the beams
 “ Of love that comes to man by grace divine.”

They are from Nizam Jung's "*Rudel of Blaye*" and seem to us essentially English in spirit, as does the same author's poem "*Golconda at Sunset*" which Mr. Chida quotes at length.

We know better poems by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya than any included in this anthology, and we can say the same in the case of Sarojini Naidu, whose "*Night-fall in the City of Hyderabad*", here given, we quote, however, for its quaint and telling local colour

“ See how the speckled sky burns like a pigeon's throat,
 “ Jewelled with embers of opal and peridote.

“ See the white river that flashes and scintillates,
 “ Curved like a tusk from the mouth of the city gates.

“ Hark, from the minaret, how the muezzin's call
 “ Floats like a battle-flag over the city wall.

“ From trellised balconies, languid and luminous,
 “ Faces gleam, veiled in a splendour voluminous.

* * * *

“ Round the high Char Minar sounds of gay cavalcades
 “ Blend with the music of cymbals and serenades.

“ Over the city bridge Night comes majestic,
 “ Borne like a queen to a sumptuous festival.”

Of the work of the fourth Hyderabad poet, the late Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk whose fame as statesman and scholar has become a part of the fame of Hyderabad, Mr. Chida gives us all too few examples, and those fragmentary. The fragment entitled "*The Child's first Knowledge of Death*" shows a rare gift of imagination or, it may be, memory.

Mr. Chida has written a short critical introduction to each poet, which we think excellent. We cannot conclude our notice of his patriotic little work more fittingly than by quoting from its pages Sir Nizam Jung's "free rendering in English verse" of a Persian ghazal by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the King of Hyderabad poets.

" I'm in life a living legend
" (Of some sad heart's secret pain ;)
" I'm of yearning hearts the minstrel—
" Of such hearts as yearn in vain.

" Final stage in life's long journey,
" Whence the distant goal appears ;
" I'm the sole remaining relic
" Of the Caravan of years !

" All our being's deepest secrets
" In my silence stand confest :
" Though I'm tongueless, yet my meaning
" Is by magic power exprest.

" I'm a symbol to the living
" Of that which shall be no more ;
" Frail memorial, if Heav'n spare me,
" Of those that have gone before.

" In my life I am the measure
" Of the truth affection lends :
" I'm on earth a test and trial
" Of the vaunted faith of friends.

" I'm the melody of sorrow
" In the heart of silence born :
" I'm the dirge's mournful wailing
" O'er some wretch's grave forlorn.

.. When from life I've vanished nameless,
.. Thus the simple tale relate :
.. *Osman* proved the spite of fortune
.. And the tyranny of fate."

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Moral Education.—By A. Yusuf Ali, c.B.E. London, Luzac & Co. 46 Great Russell Street, W. C. 1. An address delivered by Mr. Yusuf Ali at the fifth International Moral Education Conference held in Paris in September 1930, with the addition of some pages on Religious Education. A very able survey of the subject.

Litteræ Orientales Vol. 44 October 1930. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz. Contains an informative article on modern Russian publications in the field of Orientalism (*Die modernen russischen Publikationen auf dem Gebiete der Orientalistik*) by Milius Dostojewski.

Turkluk ve Turkculuk izleri.—By Resit Saffet, İnci Kitap. Ankara (Angora). Türk Ocakları İlim ve San'at Heyeti Nesriyatı 1930. A book about the exploits of Turks in history printed in the new Turkish alphabet which will take us some time perfectly to decipher. For review later.

Les Entretiens de Lahore (entre le prince imperial Dara Shikuh et L'ascete hindou La'l Das). par Cl. Huart et L. Massignon, Paris. Imprimerie Nationale. The Persian text richly annotated, with a short introduction by Professor Massignon. Reprinted from *Le Journal Asiatique* (Oct.-Dec. 1926). For review later.

Saifuddin and His Times.—By Muhammad Sadrudin, Lecturer in Arabic at the Government College, Lahore. Lahore, Victoria & Co. Booksellers. A strongly documented monograph on the patron of Al-Mutanabbi, which we hope to review later.

Confidential Talks to Young Men.—By Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantalankar. With a Foreword by Swami Shradhdhanand. New Edition. Lahore, Atma Ram & Sons. For review later.

Illumination.—An international journal devoted to the enlightenment of Man. Vol. I Nos. 1, 2 and 3. School of Life Foundation, New York.

Oriente Moderno.—Rivista Mensile. Anno X nr 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 Anno XI nr 1. Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente, Via Lucrezio Caro, 67.

La Fondazione Caetani per gli studi Musulmani.—Notizia della sua istituzione e catalogo dei suoi MSS.

Orientali. Per cura di Giuseppe Gabrieli Bibliotecario. Roma. R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. An account of the famous Institute for Islamic studies founded by the great Italian Orientalist, Don Leone Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, and a catalogue of the Duke's oriental manuscripts compiled by the librarian of the Institute.

Revue des Etudes Islamiques 1930, numbers 1 and 2. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 13 rue Jacob.

M. P.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Some Opinions.

"Leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India." *JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON.*

"It is a Review that helps a Western reader to get into the heart of this religion, and well deserves its position as the New Hyderabad Quarterly. It is well printed and full of good work."

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, LONDON.

"The Review has attained and maintained a high standard of scholarship and research. The earlier numbers show that Oriental scholars all over the world have contributed to the Review."

THE ENGLISH REVIEW, LONDON.

"Many interesting and informative contributions which combine to make a journal of high literary standard and advanced knowledge relating to all forms of Islamic culture."

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOL WORLD, LONDON.

"The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents. It deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature."

THE ASIATIC REVIEW, LONDON.

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims."

ISLAMIC REVIEW, ENGLAND.

"It is a unique production of its kind."

TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA.

"It is, beyond all doubt, one of the most scholarly periodicals in English devoted to the cultural aspects of Islam, in the various spheres of its activities—alike in the past and the present. It is one of the exceedingly well-conducted periodicals which have brought credit and renown to periodical literature issued in India."

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW.

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."

THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.

"The journal is of a really high standard.....the get-up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production."

THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD.

"There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

"This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up."

THE HINDU.

"The Magazine is well edited and leaves nothing to be desired in get-up and printing and we highly commend it to all those interested in the subject of Muslim contribution to the culture & civilisation of the world."

THE STAR.

"In general get-up and style the magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodical published in India."

THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK.

"Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."

THE MUSLIM CHRONICLE.

"There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The Magazine is very well printed on good paper."

THE RANGOON MAIL.

AL-BIRUNI

(His life, and his works)

I

THE full name of Al-Bîrûnî is 'Abû Rihân Muhammad bin Ahmed Al-Bîrûnî', and in Islamic countries he is known by the name of Abû Rihân. Professor Sachau, the greatest authority on the works of Al-Bîrûnî told me in 1928 that Al-Bîrûnî in his opinion was the greatest intellect that ever lived on this earth. He strongly advocated the formation of an Al-Bîrûnî Society with branches in every country with the object of collecting and publishing all his works. Professor Sachau has himself published two of the works of Al-Bîrûnî with their English translations ; (1) The History of India, and (2) The Chronology of Oriental people آثار الباقية. He expressed his regret to me that the complete manuscript of the History of India was not available in his younger days and his published edition was only a fragment of the book. The complete manuscript has since been found, and it is now in the library at Constantinople. He said that he had only one desire in life : that he may see the publication of the full text of Al-Bîrûnî's History of India. Professor Sachau is now dead, but I am confident that an Arabic Scholar interested in the History of India will one day complete the work and publish the full text of this valuable book. India has scholars who are competent to edit this book, but unfortunately resources are wanting in this country.

There is another work of Al-Bîrûnî which is waiting publication. It is the Geography of India. Sir Charles Elliott has collected ample materials for this work which are now in the British Museum. The book can be edited by a Geographer who knows Arabic and Mathematics.

But the greatest of all the writings of Al-Bîrûnî is *Qanun Mas'udi*, which was always recognised as a

standard book of reference in the East. The book was only used by the advanced scholars, as is evident from the absence of glossaries and commentaries. I doubt whether Nasiruddin Al-Tûsî could have written his book on Trigonometry,¹ had he not had the advantage of reading *Qanun Mas'udi*.

The attention of the European scholars was first drawn to this book by an accomplished writer, Nicolas de Khanekoff, in an article in the *Quarterly Review* (No. 240 p. 490) in the year 1866. He said: "It is with the Eastern Iranians, however, that we are principally concerned as the founders of Central Asian civilisation A more important evidence of the very high state of power and civilisation which they attained is to be found in the confirmation regarding them presented by the celebrated Abû Rîhân, himself a native of the country, and the only Arab writer who investigated the antiquities of the East in a true spirit of historical criticism". The writer mentioned that both the Indian and the Chinese systems of astronomy were derived from a common centre in Eastern Irân, where astronomy was first cultivated. This is also supported by the fact that Sine Quadrant was used in Khwarizm for measuring the altitude of the sun long before the discovery of trigonometrical functions.² Nicolas then remarked; 'It raises higher than ever the reputation of Abû Rîhân, and must intensify the desire so long felt for a complete translation of his extant works.'

The Arabic Scholars and Astronomers have constantly been demanding the translation of *Qanun Mas'udi*, and the Paris Academy of Science has twice passed resolutions urging the need for the publication of this book. Professor Sachau himself in the preface to his English translation of Al-Bîrûnî's *History of India* (p. XVI) says "The Canon Masudicus, extant in four good copies in European libraries, waits for the patronage of some Academy of Sciences or some Government, and for the combination of two scholars, an astronomer and an Arabic philologist, for the purpose of an edition and translation." A good MS. of *Qanun Mas'udi* was obtained by the late Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk for the Aligarh College Library. The book was

(1) The book is called كتاب شمس لقطاع and is published with French translation by Cratherodory.

(2) I read a paper on the Sine Quadrant before the Gottingen Mathematical Society on 28th Oct. 1928.

stolen about 1925, but fortunately a copy had been obtained with the object of sending it to press. Following the advice of Professor Sachau, I made two attempts to translate the book into English, first with the help of Professor Horovitz and then with the help of Professor Storey, but each attempt unfortunately failed as we could not understand each other. The Arabic scholar, unfamiliar with ancient astronomy, is not of much use.

I had published the summary of the third book of *Qanun Mas'udi* in 1906, and the fourth book has been translated by an old pupil of mine, Mohammad Fârûq, whose genius was discovered by Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung while he was Inspector of schools at Gorakhpur. He is well qualified to translate the entire book, but unfortunately he lacks in resources.

I will describe in popular language some of the achievements of Al-Bîrûnî as described in the 3rd and 4th books of *Qanun Mas'udi* which will establish the need for publication of a complete translation of this book.

Life of Al-Biruni.

Al-Bîrûnî was born, as his name implies, in the suburb of Khwarizm, modern Khiva, on 3rd Zilhej 362 A.H. (4th September 973). Al-Ghazanfar prepared the horoscope of Al-Bîrûnî, and gave the hour and minute of his birth and the positions of the heavenly bodies at the moment. The astrologers attempt to predict the details of a life by means of such a record and, in my opinion, Al-Ghazanfar followed the reverse process and tried to record the hour of birth from the knowledge of Al-Bîrûnî's life. Al-Bîrûnî lived at a period when the power of the Khalifs of Baghdad had declined and was almost limited to their palace.

The great universities, which played so important a part in the history and literature of the Arabs a hundred years later, had not yet come into existence. The courts of Princes were the academies around which learned men assembled both for emoluments and to display their knowledge; and consequently, on the decline of a dynasty, the seat of learning was also transferred. On the decline of the power of the Khalifs, various dynasties were formed in Persia, Trans-Oxiana, Syria, Egypt, etc. When Al-Bîrûnî was born, the astronomers, Ibn Alam and Al-Sûfi were making their observations and Abû'l Wafa, the last astronomer of the Baghdad school, died just about the

time when Al-Bîrûnî left his mother country and removed to Jurjân. The most important centre of astronomical research about this time was Egypt, which was now under the rule of the Fatemids. They conquered Egypt in 969 and founded the fortified palace of Qâhirah which developed into modern Cairo and their empire reached its zenith in the reign of Hâkim Abû 'Ali Ma'nsûr who reigned from 996 till 1020. He vied with Ma'mûn of Baghdad in giving an impulse to astronomical observations. A number of astronomers under Ibn Yûnus (died 1008) prepared by their united labour the famous Hakimite tables. By the comparison of these tables with the modern position of heavenly bodies the astronomers were able to discover the minute motion in the orbit of the moon called *secular inequality*, and its value is less than 10 seconds in a century. Such minute motions can only be discovered by comparing the positions of heavenly bodies recorded at intervals of several centuries. This is an additional argument for the necessity for the publication of *Qanun Mas'udi*.

Al-Bîrûnî was a subject of the Samanid dynasty, who, in their most prosperous days, made Bokhara and Samarkand the centre of civilization and learning. Their power under Nûh II, bin Mansûr (976-997) was on the eve of decline. His provincial governors revolted and became independent.

In 977 Subuktagin became independent and laid the foundation of the Ghazna dynasty which played so important a part in the history of India and Eastern Persia. Ma'mûn, the ruler of Al-Bîrûnî's native country, originally a vassal of the Samanid dynasty, also became independent in the year 994-995. Al-Bîrûnî was 22 years old when he witnessed this political change. This change was not favourable to him, for we soon find him among foreigners in Jurjân. Al-Bîrûnî must have written his "*Tafhim*" before he left his native country, for there is no mention in the book of the attempt to measure the arc of the earth which he made, in Jurjân, as is given in his *Qanun Mas'udi*. *Tafhim* shows that he was not yet familiar with the great works of his contemporaries. He does not yet appear to be at home with the Indian metric system, the knowledge of which he so remarkably displayed in the *Qanun* in his transformation of the value of Π from sexagesimal (scale of 60) to vulgar fraction. The reader of the *Qanun* will not agree with

Professor Sachau in saying that he only possessed a smattering of the metric system.*

The exact time of Al-Bîrûnî's removal to Jurjân is uncertain. On the death of Fakhar in 998, Kabus (?) took possession of his former kingdom, which he ruled till 1012. The dynasty was ultimately destroyed by the Ghaznavids. Al-Bîrûnî dedicated his book *التأريخ الباقى* to Kabus about 1000 A.D. *i.e.* about two years after he again became ruler of Jurjân. It appears from the quotation in the *التأريخ الباقى* (p. 338) that narrow circumstances compelled Al-Bîrûnî to seek his fortune in Jurjân. Al-Bîrûnî does not appear to have travelled much further westward, nor had he opportunities to meet the leading astronomers of his time; but he must by this time have become familiar with their work. The contradictory writings on the measurement of the earth trouble his mind and he attempts now to measure the arc in the plain Adahistan (Jurjân) but has to give up the idea on account of the withdrawal of the support of Kabus.

In the year 1009, the year of Ibn Yûnus's death, Al-Bîrûnî returned again to his native country and remained there till 1017. During that time the political circumstances in the east were quite changed. Mahmûd, who succeeded to the throne of Ghazna in the year 998, captured Khorasan and destroyed the Samanid dynasty, the last of their kings, Abû Ibrâhîm Isma'îl, was murdered near Bokhara in 1005. Mahmûd then proceeded to subdue the vassals who had become independent during the declining days of the Samanid dynasty. In 1007 he defeated Ibak Khân and in 1016 the Chief of Khwarizm, and took with him the learned men who had flocked to his court. Al-Bîrûnî went to Ghazni in 1017 accompanied by the princes of his native country. He had some previous knowledge of the court of Mahmûd, for he had been sent once as an envoy there by the Khwarizmian Prince. Mahmûd at the same time had opened a series of attacks on India, commencing from the year 1001.

Now opens a new chapter in the life of Al-Bîrûnî. The Introduction to his book on India shows that he had previously read the literature on India in the Arabic language and had a strong desire to learn from original sources. In this respect he stands alone in his age. The

*See Introduction to the English Translation of Al-Bîrûnî's History of India, pp. XX.

only other Muslim who acquired scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit literature was Faizi in the reign of Akbar. Both complain of the unwillingness of the Pandits to teach the language of the Vedas to Mlich. Al-Bîrûnî had additional difficulty on account of his movements being controlled by Sultân Mahmûd who did not want him to describe the Hindu culture and sciences in eulogistic terms. He complains of it in his book "India" Chapter I, "What the grace of God did not accord to me is a perfectly free disposal of my own doings and goings". He was not well supported by Mahmûd, for he says in Chap. XIV, "Princes and Kings alone could free the minds of scholars from the daily anxieties for the necessities of life and stimulate their energies to earn more fame..... The present times, however, are not of this kind. They are the very opposite, and therefore it is quite impossible that a new science or a new kind of research should arise in our days. What we have of sciences is nothing but the scanty remains of bygone and better days". The treatment which Al-Bîrûnî received at the court of Mahmûd was not much better than that accorded to Firdausî. His other compatriots, Unsuri, Asjudi, Farrukhi, and 'Uthbi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, had better luck. While Al-Bîrûnî was collecting materials for his books, "India" and the *Qanun*, he also translated the important works from Sanskrit into Arabic and from Arabic into Sanskrit. The books which he translated into Sanskrit are Euclid's elements, Ptolemy's Almagest and a treatise of his own on the construction of the Astrolab. He translated Patanjali into Arabic.

It is a general book, dealing with mathematics, astronomy and the philosophy of Hindus, which he incorporated in *Qanun* and in "India". When Mahmûd died in 1030, Mas'ûd was in 'Irâq and his brother Muhammad was installed on the throne of Ghazna. Mas'ûd asked his brother to give him the western provinces and to allow his name to be read in the Khutbah along with that of Muhammad. The demand was rejected with contempt. They marched against one another, but, before the battle, the officers of the army of Muhammad revolted against him, blinded him and handed him over to Mas'ûd who marched to Ghazni and ascended the throne in 1031. He is the patron of Al-Bîrûnî, who dedicated to him his greatest work and called it after his name *Qanun Mas'ûdi*. Al-Bîrûnî does not appear to have taken part in the political changes of the time, but he enjoyed great reputation as a scholar and

astronomer. Mas'ûd was assassinated by his slaves in 1040 and his blind brother was once more raised to the throne, but he was defeated and slain by Maudûd the son of Mas'ûd after four months. No particulars about Al-Bîrûnî's life during the reign of Maudûd are available. He died at the age of 75 in Ghazna on 2nd Rajab 440 A.H. (11th December 1048), the year of Maudûd's death.

His biographer Shâhizûrî tells us, he never had a pen out of his hand nor his eye off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies, except on two days in the year, Naorôz and Mihrjân, when he was occupied in preparing the necessaries of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing.

Sir Henry Elliott in the "History of India" (Vol. 2 p. 3) describes him as having executed several translations from the Greek. He never mentions any in his book and I am inclined to agree with Professor Sachau that he possessed no knowledge of Greek, and studied Greek, mathematics and astronomy through Arabic translations. He knew the Hebrew and Syriac languages, and had great command of Sanskrit.

A list of Al-Bîrûnî's works is given by Professor Sachau in the Introduction to the Arabic text of *التاريخ الباقى*. The domain of his work includes History, Chronology, Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Physics, Chemistry and Mineralogy. His book on the History of Khwarizm, and his treatise whether the earth is stationary or moving, about which Al-Bîrûnî himself speaks in "India" (Chap. 26) are unfortunately lost. The loss of these two books is as deplorable as that of the key of Trigonometry. The language Al-Bîrûnî uses is very terse and, though he does not write long sentences like El-Battani, he is at times very difficult to follow. His great command of the Arabic language and his reading of Indian mathematical works, where, for purposes of rhyme, the same notion is expressed by different words, led him to use difficult styles. The Geometrical method used in his History of India betrays him to be a mathematician, and in the narration in *Qanun Mas'udi* the tendency of a historian is observed. Readers of his 'Chronology' and 'India' will notice the pains Al-Bîrûnî takes to find out the truth of every single incidence, so in *Qanun Mas'udi* the author does not put a single figure which he has not verified. When Al-Bîrûnî disagrees with Ptolemy's method of taking the means of the internal and external polygons for the circumference of the circle, he expresses his dissatisfaction with the method. But

he bursts into sarcasm when he sees any man distorting mathematical principles. When Ya'qûb, after calculating the arc of $15/16$ degree, added one-fifteenth of the value to get the arc of a degree which he required to calculate the value of Π , Al-Bîrûnî says the methods of Ptolemy and Ya'qûb both give correct results up to the third order, but Ptolemy understood what he did and Ya'qûb did not know what he was doing. Al-Bîrûnî himself calculated the value of Π correct to 14 places.

Al-Bîrûnî takes special pains in examining and sifting a story he has verbally heard. We find him complaining of the exaggerations of narrators and attempting to formulate a mathematical rule to reduce their stories to probable truth. Al-Bîrûnî charges Brahmagupta in very strong terms with committing the sin against conscience for teaching two theories of eclipses, the scientific one and the one of the dragon Rahu's devouring the luminous body. Al-Bîrûnî's ideal of a translator may be judged from what he himself says of those who correct the text in translating. 'Abdullah ibn Al Muqaffa' added a chapter in the Arabic translation of *Kalila wa Dimna*.^{*} Al-Bîrûnî says: "He has added something to the text which he had simply to translate. He is hardly free from suspicion in his capacity as a translator".

In his astronomical book, *Qanun Mas'udi*, Al-Bîrûnî always deals with a subject by mentioning the contradiction, if any, between Hipparchus, Ptolemy and other Greek writers, and he quotes simultaneously the opinions of the Indian astronomers on the subject without mentioning the names and books. He sometimes expounds Ptolemy's method with his own criticism. He then brings

^{*}It is an Arabic translation of a Sanskrit work called 'Pancatantra'. Al-Bîrûnî in Chapter XIV of 'India' expresses a wish to translate this book, which unfortunately he could not accomplish. The translation has a history of its own. Naosherwan sent a philosopher called Buzruya to India in order to copy out the book in the original Sanskrit. It was translated into Pahlavi by his Minister Buzur Chemchir: during the reign of Al-Mansûr Al Muqaffa' translated it into Arabic from Pahlavi. In 781 it was again translated into Arabic by 'Abdullah bin Hilali for Yahya bin Khâlid. Ahmad of the Samanid dynasty got it translated for him into Persian from Arabic, and, during the reign of Sultân Mahmûd, Rudki transferred it into Persian verse. The conception of this third-hand poem-translation must have filled Al-Bîrûnî with the desire of translating from the original source. He never succeeded in accomplishing his desire and Al Muqaffa's translation, in spite of Al-Bîrûnî's criticisms, continued to be the most trustworthy, and was translated once more into Persian during the reign of Bahram Shâh (1118-1152) by Nasrullah Al-Musta'fi.

out the observations of one or two Arab astronomers and then gives in the end his own opinions and observations. For example, in the chapter on the inclination of the moon's orbit, he mentions that Hipparchus obtained it 5 degrees, Ptolemy has also given the same number. The Indians say that it is equal to $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees and Habash in his *Tables* mentions it $4^{\circ}46'$ i.e. the mean of the Indian and Greek values. He then gives his own observations and calculates it equal to $5^{\circ}8'-22''-5''$. He then says in the end that "Ptolemy's value is something intermediate between various values and since Albattani also found it equal to $5^{\circ}1'$ and hence we take the inclination of the moon's orbit equal to 5° for our purpose." It is a characteristic fact that the Arab and Greek astronomers failed to notice the periodic motion of this inclination. Ibn Yûnus observed it several times but, as it happened, he saw it under the same circumstances and always found it $5^{\circ}3'$. Abû'l Hasan measured it several times and he said that it was much greater than that mentioned by Hipparchus. This periodic motion varies from 5° to $5^{\circ}18'$ but the Arabs failed to discover this variation and attributed the difference to the errors of their observations and instruments. In fact we can calculate the time of observation of any astronomer by the value of this inclination he may have obtained at his time.

In a future article I hope to give the principal researches of Al-Bîrûnî, and shall attempt to describe them in language popularly intelligible.

ZIAUDDIN AHMED.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

PART II.

(Continued from our last issue.)

38. I was told the following by Abu Muhammad.¹ who had it from al-Suraji, a respected shaikh who was a neighbour of ours. He said : I had a pious wife, who, whenever I bought meat for her to cook for us, would cook it, stewing it all ; she would then bring it to me, and I, having a good appetite, would eat the whole, leaving her and the children to go hungry. --I told her when she cooked any food to divide it into two shares, bring me one, and leave the other for herself and the children.—She said : No, I will not do that. I will bring the whole to you, so that you may eat the best of it ; for you will have to answer about it.

39. Abu'l-Hasan b. Abi'l-Laith recited to me the following verses by himself :

I stifled my passion, my censor obeying,
And did what my rival about me was saying ;

And when I possessed thee, my fervent desire,
I sold thee devoutly to him who bid higher.

I crave for no illness : a chance there is still
To see thee as caller, if I should fall ill.

40. I was told the following by Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Uthman al-Zayyat, which he had heard from Abu Bakr b. Huri, a shaikh who having originally belonged to Khamiyah,² a district belonging to Nahrawan, had resided in Baghdad for many years, and was celebrated for his association with Abu 'Abdallah b. Abi 'Auf.³ I used, he said, to frequent the company of Ibn Abi 'Auf for a number

(1) *i.e.* 'Abdallah b. Dasah.

(2) This name seems unknown to the geographers.

(3) A favourite of the vizier 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman. A series of stories about him is to be found in Vol. i of the *Table-talk*, pp. 180-183.

of years, owing to our being neighbours and attached to each other. I never addressed any request to him, as no occasion for one arose. I used, however, to display activity in carrying out commissions with which he entrusted me. It was my practice to come to him every night after the second evening prayer, when he had come home after performing it. When he saw me he would place his foot on my lap, and while massaging it I would converse with him. He would ask me for the news, and occurrences in Baghdad. Hence I was in the habit of making inquiries about them from all sources, in order to convey them to him. So I could report to him arrivals and departures, deaths and births, lawsuits, inheritances, rumours of appointments, news of our neighbours, trifling affairs and weighty affairs, till he grew tired; when this occurred, he would withdraw his foot, and I would rise and go home; and by this time a third, more or less, of the night would have passed. Things went on in this way for some years. At last one day I received a visit from a haberdasher with whom I dealt, who said to me: I have got into a trouble which, if it materializes, will impoverish me.—I asked him what it was.—He said: A man with whom I had dealings incurred debts to me which amounted to a thousand dinars. When I demanded payment, he gave me as a pledge a necklace of gems valued at a thousand dinars, which he was to redeem within some months after which I might sell it, for which he gave permission. Yesterday Mu'nis the Virile, chief of police,* sent a man to raid my shop. He opened my strong-box and took away the necklace, and has gone into hiding.—I said to him: Do not trouble about this, as I will speak to Abu 'Abdallah b. Abi 'Auf on the subject, and he will compel the man to restore the necklace humbly.—I, said he, relied on Ibn Abi 'Auf owing to my intimacy with him and his influence with Mu'tadid. When night came I went to him; he placed his foot on my lap according to his custom, I reported to him the news, and related to him among other things the affair of the haberdasher and Mu'nis. Then I said: This tradesman is my neighbour and a man with whom I deal, so that he has the best of claims upon me. So I must ask you to be so good as to attend to his interests and make Mu'nis restore his necklace.—He said: What business is this of mine? Am I to make an enemy of the

* See *Eclipse* iv. 8. He was so called to distinguish him from the famous commander-in-chief who was a eunuch. He was appointed chief of police in 296, at the beginning of Muqtadir's reign: the context implies that he had held the office in the reign of Mu'tadid.

Caliph's chief of police ! And how dare you expose me to such a risk and solicit such a favour ? I fancy I can hear you saying : Ibn Abi 'Auf is my friend, so I will make him restore this article. You do not consider my dignity ; the welfare of the haberdasher is dearer to you than the security of my position ! No, God bless you, this is no concern of mine.—This reply wounded me deeply, and I said to myself : Here have I been serving this man so many years, discharging more menial duties than a slave, never asking for anything, never requiring any service from him, receiving no wage and no bonus, and when I once ask him a favour I meet with this sort of reception ! God be my witness that never again shall I enter his house.—However, I restrained myself, remained seated without speaking, and rose before my usual time, returning home in a great state of depression. Next morning I started out early for fear the man should come to me on account of his affair, and I should be disgraced in his eyes. So I did not enter my house till sunset ; then I came home, performed prayer, threw myself on a couch and made up my mind that I would not go to Ibn Abi 'Auf. When I had performed the second evening prayer one of his servants came to me and said : The shaikh sends greeting and wishes to know why you have delayed your visit to-night. If you are in good health, come ; but if you are suffering, we will come to you.—Feeling shame, I said : I will go to-night, and afterwards leave off.—When I entered and he saw me, he stretched out his foot to my lap, and I took it and massaged it as usual.—He asked what news I had.—So I began to tell him some stories clumsily made up. He put up with this for a time, then withdrew his foot, and I rose. He said : Abu Bakr, see what is under the praying-mat. I found there was a letter wrapped in common paper. Taking this I approached the candle and found that it contained the following : Mu'nis, you have dared to raid the shop of a tradesman named So-and-so, and opened his strong-box and removed a necklace of gems worth a thousand dinars, and this while I am still alive. By Allah, were this not a first offence committed by you, there would have been no discussion of the subject. Proceed yourself to the man's shop and replace the necklace in his strong-box publicly with your own hand. I said to Ibn Abi 'Auf : Sir, what is this ?—He said : Mu'tadid's autograph to Mu'nis containing the order which you wanted. I have been comparing your displeasure and reproaches, and the maintenance of my

present relations with Mu'nis, with your satisfaction and the discharge of my obligation to you and the irritation of Mu'nis ; and I have preferred you to him. So I obtained the autograph order of the Prince of Believers for what you wish ; go and convey it to him, and he will do what he is ordered to do.—I kissed his head, thanked him, and went off, beside myself for joy, came to the man, took him by the hand, and went with him to Mu'nis, to whom I delivered the order. When he read it, his face turned black, and he trembled so that the paper fell from his hand. Then he said : My friend, Allah is my witness that this is a matter of which I knew not, and which has falsely been ascribed to me. Why did you not complain to me, and then, if I refused to do you justice, to the vizier ? How comes it that you have brought it to the Prince of Believers in the first instance ?—Taking courage, I said : This happened with your cognizance, and the necklace is in your possession.—He produced the necklace, and said : Take the thousand dinars which the man owes at once, and write out a statement to the effect that the man's charge is false.¹—I said : We refuse. —He said : Take fifteen hundred dinars.—I said : By Allah, were you to offer us a million dinars, nothing less would satisfy us than your proceeding in person to the shop with the necklace and restoring it to the strong-box. We shall not make liars of ourselves. Else return the autograph order.—Mu'nis then bade his mount be saddled, and rode—this is a fact—with his train and stopped at the man's shop, where he replaced the necklace in the strong-box with his own hands. The same day the owner of the necklace came and paid the thousand dinars and got back his necklace.²

41. I was told the following by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Dasah, who had heard it from Abu Ahmad b. Abi Hasak the Witness, who had heard it in Egypt from Abu Tahir Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abdallah b. Nasr³ who at the time was qadi there. I was told, he said, by a shaikh who was our neighbour in Baghdad in the Street of the

(1) It is not clear how the narrator knew that the Chief of Police was in possession of the necklace or how he induced him to confess.

(2) He means apparently a statement to the effect that the police officer had not robbed the man's shop.

(3) He was appointed to the office in 348 A.H., held it till 366, and died in 367. See Guest's *Kindi*, Index.

Sheepshead dealers¹ in the Damascus Gate quarter² that Abu 'Abdallah b. Abi Du'ad,³ when he was still in humble circumstances, lived at the Damascus Gate, and we were acquainted with his condition. One day he sold a kerchief for seven dirhems, as he had no other means of obtaining food. Feeling thirsty, as he was walking he saw a man drinking; so he turned in that direction and asked the man to give him a drink. The man proceeded to break off the lip of the mug which he had, then filled it and handed it to Ibn Abi Du'ad, who asked him why he had done this. The man replied: A man before you drank from that part of the vessel, and I did not like you to put your lips where his had been; so I broke off the part in order that you might drink from a place which no other person's lips had touched. Ibn Abi Du'ad proceeded to drink, and then handed the man the seven dirhems which were his sole possession.

42. I was told the following by Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna. My mother, he said, had seen the Night of Qadr,⁴ and offered many prayers to God. Next morning my father said to her: Did you pray God for me?—She replied: Prayer for your children distracted me from praying for you.—He added: After that we supposed that the favours which God bestowed upon us were due to her prayers.

43. I was told the following by the Shirazi clerk Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallah b. al-Marzuban. *This story illustrates the physical strength of Abu'l-Haija b. Hamdan, who played a heroic part in the defence of al-Qahir; see Index to the Eclipse, p. 51. It is quite unsuitable for translation.*

44. I was told the following by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Dasah, who had heard it from Abu Sahl b. Ziyad al-Attar (perfume-merchant). There was in Iskaf⁵ a witty

(1) Not mentioned by Le Strange, but occurring in the *Irshad* i. 312, 5. There was a street in Meccah occupied by similar tradesmen, Azraqi 456, 3 and 8.

(2) According to Le Strange at a later time there was a village of this name.

(3) See No. 24.

(4) The meaning seems to be that she had learned, by revelation which was the Night of Qadr, which was one of the nights of Ramadan, but it was uncertain which. In a poem quoted by Maqqari i. 572 it is determined by the day of the week with which the fast of Ramadan commences: hence it may be any odd night from the 17th to the 29th. But this view is not ordinarily accepted.

(5) In Lower Nahrawan: between Baghdad and Wasit on the Eastern side of the Tigris. (Yaqt).

poet, who satirized the governor. The latter, hearing of this, did nothing, only when harvest-time came, he rode to the granary, apportioned the contents,¹ and carried off the whole of the poet's crops. The poet went to him to complain and mollify him. The governor said: My friend, there is no further transaction between us. You satirized us with odes, we satirize you with oats. Hence we are quits.

45. I was told the following by Muhammad b. 'Adi b. Hurr and several of the people of Basrah. When Abu'l-Husain Muhammad b. 'Ubaid b. Nasrawaihi,² who was so eminent and so courageous, and so well known for his sagacity, craft, learning, and intelligence, learned of the backwardness of his son, who is still surviving, he was deeply distressed. One day, when he was seated, this son came running towards him as though about some important business; but all he did was to pull out a tuft of hair that overhung his father's ear and run away. The father not only felt pain but was grieved to find that his son's stupidity had reached such a level. When we expressed our sympathy he said: Fire is succeeded by ashes.³

46. I was told the following by Abul-Husain b. Muhammad al-Jubba'i. When Abu Tahir al-Husain b. al-Hasan, governor of Basrah,⁴ by intriguing against the above-mentioned Abu'l-Husain b. Nasrawaihi succeeded in bringing about his second downfall, wherein the vizier al-'Abbas b. al-Husain compelled him to pay his heavy fine, he sent to Abu Tahir the following message: You should know that the skilful fowler does not slaughter his decoy-bird. I have acted the part of decoy for you in this land with the traders and the people in general. They have been regarding you as a just man while you have been taking what you chose from the middle and lower classes, your procedure being concealed. By your treatment of me you have become like a fowler who has slaughtered his decoy-bird, and has no further intention of fowling. You will find out that you will get no good from yourself nor from the land after me.—Ibn

(1) The procedure indicated would seem to be that the crops of the different owners were all collected together for deduction of the government's share, the remainder being returned to the owners.

(2) He was qadi; see Index to the *Eclipse*. Several stories in which he figures are told in Vol. i. of the *Table-talk*.

(3) *i.e.* so brilliant a parent as myself would naturally have an abnormally stupid son.

(4) See *Eclipse* v. 314 for his career and death in 360. The historian records his ruin with evident satisfaction.

Nasrawaihi then proceeded to intrigue against Abu Tahir with the vizier Abu'l-Fadl al-'Abbas b. al-Husain,¹ who before he left Basrah arrested and ruined him, giving the governorship to Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. al-Husain b. Ibrahim, sister's son to Abu'l-Faraj Muhammad b. al-'Abbas b. Fasanjas. Abu Tahir was fined a vast sum which he was unable to pay, and perished under the torture which was inflicted on him. He died in prison and he with his family were extirpated. This was all devised by Abu'l-Husain, who arranged that they should suffer.

47. The following was told me by Muhammad b. Hulail b. 'Abdallah. We were told, he said, by the qadi Ahmad b. Sayyar,² that he had heard it from a certain Sufi. I, he said, with a number of other people accompanied a Sufi shaikh on a journey. He dilated on the topics of Reliance and Sustenance, and the weakness and the strength of the mind in these matters. Then he said : I solemnly vow that I shall taste no food unless some hot almond and honey jelly be brought me in a bowl, nor shall I eat this except after I have been adjured to do so.—Now we were walking in the open country, and the rest of the company said : That man is a fool !—We walked on and he did the like, and presently we came to a village. Two days and two nights passed, and he took no food. All except me left him, as he had flung himself down in a mosque in the village, surrendering himself to death of inanition. I remained watching him. At midnight on the fourth night, when the shaikh was nearly dead, suddenly the door of the mosque was opened, and there entered a black slave-girl holding a covered dish. When she saw us she asked whether we were strangers or of the village. We replied : Strangers.—She uncovered the dish, and therein was a bowl of almond and honey jelly, boiling hot. She bade us eat, and I bade the shaikh do so.—He refused. I said to him : By Allah you shall eat—in order to make him keep his oath.³—He said : I will not.—Thereupon the girl lifted her hand and cuffed him violently, and said : By Allah, if you do not eat I will keep on cuffing you till you do.—Then he said : Eat with me.—So we ate till we had cleaned out the bowl. The girl then started to

(1) Vizier of 'Izz al-daulah Bakhtiyar. His visit to Basrah is mentioned in *Eclipse* v. 315.

(2) He was qadi in 348 A.H., apparently in Baghdad, and was employed in important negotiations. See *Eclipse*, v. 190. There are some references to him in Vol. i. of the *Table-talk*.

(3) That he would not eat unless adjured.

depart ; but we said to her : Stay where you are and tell us about yourself and this bowl.—She said : Very well. I am the handmaid of a man who is chief of this village, a foolish man with a sharp temper. A little while ago he asked us for almond and honey jelly, so we went to prepare it. It is winter and cold, so before we had got the ingredients from the store, kindled the fire, and got the jelly to set, he called for it, thinking we were slow. We said Yes, then he asked for it a second time, before it was ready, then a third time ; he then became angry, and swore with the sanction of divorce that neither he nor any member of his household, nor any dweller in the village should eat it ; only a stranger should do so. So we put it into the bowl, and went out to look for some stranger in the mosques. We found no-one till we came to this mosque, where we found you two. Had this shaikh not eaten it, I should have beaten him without mercy till he did eat, in order that my mistress should not be divorced from her husband.—The shaikh said : How think you when he desires to receive sustenance?¹

48. The same person told me the following also after Ahmad b. Sayyar. I was told, he said, by a shaikh who traded in Oman that once, when he was in Ubullah meaning to start on a voyage, he saw a beggar at the door of a mosque who had an elegant tongue and begged in a refined fashion.—I, he said, was moved to pity, and gave the man some good dirhems. I hurried off at once to Oman where I stayed some months ; then I was fated to travel to China, which I reached safely. One day when I was looking round I saw this same man standing in the street asking alms. Looking carefully I recognized him, and said to him : Good gracious, begging at Ubullah and begging in China !—He said : I have come into this place three times before and this is my fourth visit. I have been seeking a means of subsistence, but cannot find any except *kudyah*.² So I alternate between Ubullah and here.—I was astonished at the man's hopeless ill-luck.

49. He also told me the following, which he had heard

(1) *i.e.* when the person who relies on God desires miraculous sustenance, you must now see that he is sure to obtain it.

(2) It seems impossible to find any suitable rendering of this word, which designates the mode of life followed by the hero of Hariri's *Maqamahs*, who employs his command of the Arabic language in order to raid people's pockets.

from the qadi of qadis¹ Abu Muhammad b. Ma'ruf. I was told, he said by a citizen of Baghdad that Abu 'Abdallah b. Abi 'Auf² related the following narrative. On a certain occasion, he said, I felt severely depressed, without knowing the reason. I ordered a quantity of food and fruit and a number of slave-girls to be conveyed to a garden of mine on the Isa canal.³ I gave orders to my slaves and friends that none of them should bring me any message calculated to occupy my mind, not even if all my fortune were to be lost ; they were not to write to me. I designed to stay in the garden the remainder of the week, amusing myself with those slave-girls. So I mounted my ass, having been preceded by all that I had ordered to be conveyed. As I approached the garden I was met by a messenger with letters. I asked him whence he came, and he replied : From Raqqah. I was curious to know the contents of his letters, the news of Raqqah and prices there. I asked the man whether he knew who I was. He said he did. I said to him : You are close to a garden which belongs to me, so come along with me, and I will give you some dinars, a change of clothing, and food. You will rest for the night in the garden, and enter Baghdad to-morrow.—He agreed, and walked back with me into the garden. I ordered the people there to take him to a bath that was there, give him some of my servants' clothes in lieu of those he was wearing, and food. They hurried him off for these purposes, and I ordered a sharp servant of mine to steal his letters. He brought them to me, I opened them, read all their contents, and learned many of the secrets of the traders with whom I dealt. This pleased me very much, and I found all the letters crammed with orders to the dealers to hold on to any oil which they had, and sell none. For oil was getting dear and scarce, and so they were advised to hold fast what they had.—I immediately sent and summoned my agents. When they arrived I bade them obtain at once from various cashiers⁴ all the gold and silver coins in their

(1) Title of the chief qadi in Baghdad, higher than that of *Aqda al-qudat* (*Irshad al-arib* v. 409.) Ibn Ma'ruf ('Abdallah b. Ahmad) died A.H. 381, three years before our author ; the formula which follows his name here indicates that he was already dead. Unless therefore this formula was added by a copyist, the author must have introduced anecdotes into the early parts of his work at different periods.

(2) See above, anecdote 41.

(3) From the Euphrates to the Tigris ; see Le Strange's *Baghdad*.

(4) These would seem to be clerks in the employ of the narrator. Had he referred to bankers the expression would have been different.

possession, and before the day was over purchase as much oil as they could. At the close of the day they were to write to me the result. They departed, and when evening came I received information that they had purchased oil for 3,000 dinars. I wrote and told them to obtain some more thousands of dinars and go on buying as much oil as they could. Next morning I gave the messenger three dinars, and told him that if he would stop with me he should have three more. He agreed to do so, and presently I received notice that my agents had purchased oil for 4,000 dinars, and that owing to their demand the price had begun to move. Again I wrote to them to go on buying all they could, even if the price had advanced. I put off the messenger's departure for a third day, giving him on the two days six dinars; he remaining three days in all. My agents proceeded to buy for another 3,000 dinars, and reported to me in the evening that they had been paying five per cent. higher than for their previous purchases, and that no oil to speak of was left in the market. I now dismissed the messenger and remained some days in my garden, after which I returned home. Meanwhile the dealers had read their correspondence and ascertained the state of the oil supply at Raqqah. They came knocking at my door and offered me an advance of twenty per cent. on what I had paid. I refused to sell. They then offered thirty per cent., and I again refused. A month passed and they came offering fifty and sixty per cent., and still I declined. After some days they came and offered cent. per cent. and I thought to myself that it would be a mistake to refuse that profit, so I sold for 20,000 dinars. So when I reflected I found that the sole cause of my depression and my retirement to my garden on that day was the pleasure of Almighty God that a profit of ten thousand dinars should come into my hands.

50. The same person told me the following, which he had heard from a goldsmith named Tahir, who was employed in the treasury of Mu'izz al-daulah. One day, he said, I was drinking in my house with a number of my friends. Our supply of wine failed, and I went out to devise some plan of getting them some. I was met by a courier who told me that I was wanted by the prince. I said: Tell him you could not find me.—He declined. I offered him a dinar to say that he had been unable to find me, but he again declined. While I was talking to him, up comes another courier; I offered them two dinars, but they refused. A third courier now arrived, so I went,

taking with me a slave of mine. When I came into the presence of the prince, he said to me : Go and see what 'Ali the Singer says to you in the Treasury and do it.—I went to the Treasury and asked 'Ali what he wanted. He produced a number of gold belts such as are fastened without swords,¹ which had been inherited by Mu'izz al-daulah from his sister. She used to gird her slave-girls with them over the shirts and jackets with which she clothed them, this constituting their livery. When they came into Mu'izz al-daulah's possession, he disapproved of them, and ordered them to be broken up, and fabricated into saddles, swords, and Persian belts.² So he told me to sit down and pick out the gold, so that we might see how much could be collected for fabrication.—I told him that I had not my tools with me.—He bade me send someone to fetch them. I sent my slave, and he brought some of the tools. I proceeded to remove the metal, and pilfer when the Singer was not looking, putting it into my pocket or under my turban, or throwing it to my slave. When he had secured some, I would say to him : Bring the other file, this one has got blunt, you must go and bring me another, or fetch some particular tool.—He, having secured the plunder, would go and fetch the tool, when I would resume the pilfering, give him the plunder, and demand some other tool. I continued in this style till evening, when 'Ali the Singer collected the belts, and made me promise to return the next day with workmen and the partner who had been appointed to work with me in the treasury. I then left the place, and when I weighed the metal which I had secured, I found it to be 480 *mithqal*.³ I said to myself : I have been forcibly driven into this fortune, which I have obtained after offering a bribe of two dinars to be excused going. I told my friends the story,⁴ and the next day the workmen and my partner appeared, and we began to take the rest of the belts to pieces. We secured something more, but did not succeed in pilfering more than 160 *mithqal*, which I had to share with my partner. I marvelled at my luck.

51. I was told the following by Abu'l-Hasan Thabit

(1) The word in the text is used for a belt to which a sword was ordinarily attached (Dozy).

(2) Probably this means sword-belts.

(3) Said to be a drachm and three sevenths.

(4) One fancies a negative must have been omitted, since Mu'izz al-daulah would have been a dangerous person to deal with in this style.

b. Ibrahim b. Zahrun the Harranian and Sabian physician¹ who had it from his father. One day, he said, I was attending on Muwaffaq, and he said to me : Ibrahim, for two years I have been longing for something, but thought it improper to ask for it. It has just occurred to me to secure your help in securing it.—I said to him : It is for the Prince of Believers² to command.—Well, he said, for a number of years I have had a desire for fowls' livers and gizzards stewed ; I have thought it improper to ask for them, lest my chef should think my craving for them was due to my grudging the kitchen employees what is normally their perquisite, to take and sell. So I want you, when the table has been brought in and you have sat down with me to a meal, to desire this on my account, and recommend it medically, so that I may order them to select some small portion of it to be brought to the table, regularly every day ; the amount will be too small to affect them, and they will be able to sell the remainder, which will still be considerable. Thus I shall have gratified my craving.—I was, said Ibrahim, astonished at his generosity and sense of shame before his servants, which could make him invent an excuse whereby he could gratify his appetite without alarming them or exposing himself to their censure.—The table was brought in and he sat at it eating by himself, whilst I sat with his companions eating at a table in front of his. When he had started his meal, I said : Why does not the Prince of Believers al-Nasir³ order some small dishes of fattened fowls' liver and gizzards with eggs and brine to be taken and pounded, and enjoy a little of it ? It has certain properties—which I enumerated according to what at the moment came into my head. We too, I added, should like a little of it.—He said : To-morrow let there be prepared for us so many dishes of beaten-up eggs and so many of fattened fowls' liver and gizzards.—The food was prepared and was regularly produced ; no-one of the servants guessed the truth about it.

52 I was told the following by 'Ubaidallah b. Ahmad b. Bakir who had it from the Hanafi jurist Abu Ja'far al-Dabbi. (I was personally acquainted with this latter, who was a leading trader of good character, and a jurist

(1) According to Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah he was an old man when 'Adud al-daulah took Baghdad, A.H. 367. The Sabi'ans of Harran practised the medical art, and furnished several distinguished names.

(2) Muwaffaq had no right to this title, which was Mu'tamid's.

(3) Also a title of Muwaffaq.

who used to attend my father's debating room and argue; ¹ I did not hear this narrative from him.)—He said: A leading trader of Siraf told me that two persons were walking in the street, when they saw a purse containing dirhems lying in the road. One of the pedestrians said to the other: Take it and guard it for the owner.—The other said: I will not.—The first said: Then I will take it and guard it. If I find the owner, I will return it to him.—So he took it and walked on. Presently they heard a man shouting and they asked him what was the matter. He said: I have just dropped a purse of such and such a sort containing dirhems.—The man who had taken it said: Here it is, take it;—and handed it over to him. Then he said to his companion: If every one followed your system of not guarding people's property for them, their goods would be lost.—The other said: Surely if every one followed my system, the purse would not have been lost, but would have remained in the road where it was, till the owner returned and picked it up.²

53. I was told the following by Abu'l-Husain 'Ali b. al-Nazif a philosopher who followed the system of Abu Hashim.³ I was passing, he said, by the district of Wardan,⁴ in the neighbourhood of Sijistan and Makran, which was the residence of the khariji Caliph,⁵ this being their country and abode. Arriving at one of their villages, and feeling ill, seeing a field of melons, I bought one and ate it. I felt an attack of fever immediately and slept for the rest of the day and the following night in the melon-field. No-one interfered with me. Before that when I had entered the village I had seen an old tailor in a mosque. I handed him my parcel of clothes, asking him to take care of them for me. He bade me leave them in the niche,⁶ and it was after doing so that I had gone into the field. Next morning when I felt better, I returned to the mosque which I found open; but I did not see the tailor. I found my parcel laid out in the niche. I said to myself: What a fool this tailor must be, to leave my clothes to take care of themselves and go away!—I had no doubt

(1) Apparently[†] the elder Tanukhi held meetings at which points of law were discussed.

(2) The speaker seems to have overlooked the possibility that the owner might fail to see where the purse lay.

(3) For this person's views see *Moslem Schisms and Sects* translated by K. C. Seelye, New York, 1920, p. 190.

(4) The geographers do not mention this place.

(5) These sectarians gave the title to their chief.

(6) Which marks the direction of prayer.

that he had taken them home with him at night, and brought them back to the mosque in the morning expecting me. So I sat down, opened the parcel and began to take out the various articles, and while I was doing this the tailor appeared. I said to him : How came you to leave this parcel exposed ?—He asked me whether I missed anything, and I admitted that I missed nothing. Then said he, about what are you asking ?—I said : I should like to know the truth of this matter.—He said : Last night I left your clothes where they were and went home.—I began to objurgate him, but he only laughed, and said : You have got used to bad ways, having been brought up in infidel lands where people steal and defraud. We here know of no such thing. Had your clothes been left in their place till they decayed, no-one would have taken them but yourself. You might have travelled to the East or to the West, and on your return you would have found them where they had been left. We have no experience of theft or mischief or any of the practices current among you. Possibly in a long series of years something of this sort might befall you, but you would find that it was the work of some stranger who passed by the place, whom we should immediately pursue and without fail overtake ; we should then put him to death on the ground of his infidelity and doing destruction in the land, or amputate his arm from the elbow as is done with thieves here.¹ So you will see nothing of this sort here.—I afterwards, said the narrator, made inquiry about the conduct of the people of this land, and I found that it was as the tailor had stated. They do not lock their doors at night, indeed most of them have no doors, but only curtains to keep away dogs and wild beasts.

54. I was told the following by Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Ahmad the Doorkeeper, known as Ibn al-Khurasani ; he was door-keeper to Mu'izz al-daulah. One day, he said, I was with Mu'izz al-daulah in the Caliph's palace in the presence of the Caliph al-Muti'.² When the parade was over, Mu'izz al-daulah said to me : Tell him³ that I should like to go round the palace and be shown the gardens and the courts ; would he order someone to show me round ?—I translated this into Arabic to the Caliph, who ordered his eunuch Shahak and his door-keeper Ibn Abi 'Umar to show him round.—The two proceeded to go in front of him

(1) The usual practice is to amputate from the wrist.

(2) 334-363 A.H.

(3) Mu'izz al-daulah spoke Persian, but not Arabic.

while I walked behind, and when we had got away from the Caliph's presence, they stopped and said : Prince, it is improper for you to go round the palace accompanied by more than some two or three attendants ; so choose those whom you wish to accompany you and send away the rest. —So Mu'izz al-daulah took with him his secretary Al-Saimari,¹ and some ten of his door-keepers and retainers, all soldiers.² The rest of his retainers and troops he left in the Court of Salutation. I stopped to tighten my belt, while Mu'izz al-daulah went on with Shahak and Ibn Abi 'Umar, not waiting for me. The Prince was walking quickly, and when I had tightened my belt I overtook him, and pulled his coat from behind. When he turned, I said to him in Persian : Do you know where you are ? Why are you proceeding headlong without cognizance of the fact that you are in a palace in which a thousand princesses and a thousand viziers have been put to death ?³ What is your object in going about this palace by yourself ? What guarantee have you that a decade or a score of servants may not be waiting for us in this narrow passage, to kill you ?—As I was speaking to him in Persian, the Caliph's people could not understand. Al-Saimari said to him in Persian : What he says is perfectly true.—The Prince said to us ; If I were to turn back now, they would know that I was afraid, and I should lose their respect ; they would look upon me as a coward. So do you crowd close round me, since a hundred of these people would be no match for us, nor indeed would their master venture on foul play with me.—He then walked on at such a pace that we could not properly take in the objects which we saw. Presently we came to a room in which there was a copper statue of a woman, with some smaller statues of female attendants in front of her. Never had we seen anything more beautiful than these statues, especially that of the woman. Mu'izz al-daulah was entranced and asked about them. He was told that it was a statue called *Occupation*,⁴ and had been brought to Muqtadir from some Indian country where it had been worshipped. The Prince of Oman having conquered and become master of

(1) His name was Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Ahmad. He appears to have been Mu'izz al-daulah's minister in 334, and died in 339. See Index to *Eclipse*.

(2) This was a liberal interpretation of "two or three".

(3) It would have been more correct to say a score of each.

(4) Arabic *shughal*, but this may stand for some foreign word.

that country had brought the statue away.¹—Mu'izz al-daulah said: By Allah, I have fallen in love with this statue for its beauty, and in spite of my disapproval of slave-girls, were this statue one, I should give a hundred thousand dinars for it. I have a mind to ask the Caliph to let me have it so that it can be near me and I can constantly see it.—Al-Saimari said to him: You must not do that, as you will be charged with puerility.—So we hurried on with our sight-seeing and getting away, and had no thought for anything, neither felt we our souls our own, till he had rejoined his troops and retainers. When he had got into his barge he turned to al-Saimari, and said to him: Abu Ja'far, my liking for the Caliph has increased, since, had he harboured evil designs against me, and meant any mischief, he could have put me to death to-day as easily as possible.—Al-Saimari said: That is so, and you may well praise God.—When Mu'izz al-daulah had got back to his palace he ordered ten thousand dirhems to be distributed among the descendants of Abu Talib as a thankoffering for his safety. They were distributed but the recipients never learned the reason.²

55. I was told the following by Abu Muhammad 'Abdallah b. Dasah who had heard it from Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna, who had heard it from his father. There was, he said, in Basrah among the Banu Minqar³ a physician who used to attend the qadi 'Isa b. Abân⁴ when he stayed in Basrah, in order to administer draughts of castor oil for successive days in each year. When the treatment was finished the qadi would give him an order on his steward for two hundred dirhems. One year he wrote by mistake two hundred dinars,⁵ and when the physician brought the order to the steward the latter felt doubts about it, and said he must wait till he had got permission to honour it.—The steward accordingly went to the qadi and showed him the order.

(1) There is no mention in Miskawaihi's chronicle of any invasion of India by princes of Oman in Muqtadir's time, though a story in vol. i of the *Table-talk* suggests that there was intercourse between Oman and Ceylon. Possibly the Cicerones told Mu'izz al-daulah the first story which it occurred to them to invent.

(2) Mu'izz al-daulah was a Shi'i, and would regard charity towards the family of 'Ali as pleasing to Allah. The anecdote illustrates the hollowness of the attachment of the Caliphs to their masters at this time.

(3) This tribe is mentioned by Tabari as quartered in Basrah in the year 101.

(4) From the mention of him in Guest's Kindi, p. 505, II, he would appear to have been a recognized jurist in 200 A.H.

(5) About fifteen times the value.

He said : No, I did not mean this, I meant two hundred dirhems. However, this is a thing which God has caused to pass through my hand, so I will not go back from it. Give him the money.—This was done.

56. The same Abu Muhammad told me the following which he had heard from the perfume-merchant Abu Sahl b. Ziyad.

Unfit for translation.

57. He also told me the following, which he had heard from the clerk Abu'l-Faraj Mansur b. al-Qasim al-Qunna'i. When Abu 'Ali b. Muqlah was vizier,¹ the qadi Abu 'Umar paid him a visit. 'Ali b. 'Isa was sitting with the vizier, and the latter bade the qadi take a higher place than 'Ali b. 'Isa. He refused. The vizier bade him take it a second time, but he again refused and took a seat below that of 'Ali b. 'Isa. When the qadi departed, the vizier sent a messenger to the qadi's barge, summoning the qadi's son Abu'l-Husain. When he arrived, the vizier said to him : Say to Abu 'Umar : I did not place you above 'Ali b. 'Isa expecting you to disobey my order, to decline, and take a seat below him.—Abu'l-Husain went back and reported what had occurred. Abu 'Umar bade his son return to the vizier and say : This is a man who was once my chief, and through a turn of fortune is so no more. I disliked the idea of taking a place above him, lest the vizier should regard me as a man who exalted himself above his chiefs. I acted as I did for your sake, and to show respect for chieftainship.—When Abu'l-Husain repeated this to the vizier, the latter said : Say to him : May God reward you well ; from you good sense is to be learned.

58. He also told me the following. We were told, he said, by Abu'l-Husain Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallah b. Nasrawaihi after his authorities, that when Mu'tadid arrested the qadi Isma'il b. Ishaq,² and said to him : I am informed that you know Isma'il b. Bulbul to be an atheist ; what say you concerning his execution ?—The qadi answered : What can I say about a man whose *kunyah* and whose father's name are taken from birds ?—Mu'tadid perceived that he was shuffling and said to the qadi Yusuf :³ Have you anything to say about him ?—He replied : Yes. I was ordered by Muwaffaq to spend money on the Feast, and he bade Isma'il furnish me with the means. I remained in his chamber demanding the money,

(1) He was vizier three times 318-324.

(2) Qadi of both sides of Baghdad in 262.

(3) Father of the qadi Abu 'Umar.

one day from morning till evening. I never saw him perform a prayer, neither did he leave his place. I kept close to him for a whole series of days, and his practice was the same. I thought that perhaps he discharged his obligations at night. At the close of one day he said to me : Stay with me to-night, that I may give you the money.—He sat talking in my presence until he dozed, and, wishing to treat me respectfully, told me I might sleep in his presence. I did so, but the whole time I never saw him perform a prayer.—Mu'tadid said to him : You may go now, as you have told me what I wanted. He then ordered the execution of Isma'il.

59. I was told the following by the same Abu Muhammad after Abu'l-Hasan b. Abi Nasr after Ibn Abi'l-Walid b. Abi Abdallah b. Abi Dawud. I was told, said the last, by my father that 'Amr b. al-Laith¹ had retainers to guard him all night in the chamber wherein he slept. Waking one night, he found one of these retainers leaning against the wall and sleeping as he stood. 'Amr proceeded to dig his elbow into the man's ear till the man was dead. None of the guards was caught napping in his palace after that.

60. Abu Muhammad also told us the following, which he had heard from Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. al-Muthanna, who had heard it from his father, who had heard it from his uncle, who told it of Ibn 'Ayyash.² I was dining, he said, with Humaid al-Tusi,³ and put my hand on a roast fowl, but felt disinclined for it, as I had eaten enough ; so I broke none of it off. When the meal was over and I had washed my hands, and was leaving, I noticed a light shining in the vestibule, and a man sobbing. He came up to me and said : Fellow, give life to a fellow creature of whose death you are the cause !—I asked him what he meant.—He said : I am Humaid's chef : you touched a fowl, and broke none of it off. Humaid supposed that it had been insufficiently roasted, and has ordered my execution.—I went back to Humaid, and when he saw me he said : It is useless for you to intercede for the chef.—I said : Let the Prince⁴ hear what I have to say, and then do as he thinks right.—He bade me speak.—I swore by the most solemn oaths that the fowl was well roasted, and that I had only rejected it because I had no more appetite.

* (1) Saffarid ruler of Fars, etc. 265-287 A. H.

(2) It is uncertain which of the persons who bore this name is meant.

(3) General of Ma'mun.

(4) Probably a higher title than the man deserved.*

I then proceeded to plead the cause of the chef.—He said : I will condone his offence on your account, but on condition that you never again enter my house. We have no hope of another life, and have only this. We cannot possibly allow any one to render it uncomfortable.

61. He also told me the following, which he had heard from Abu Yahya b. Mukram qadi in Baghdad, who had heard it from his father. There was, he said, in my neighbourhood a shaikh named Abu 'Ubaidah, a cultured man, who related many narratives. He was an intimate associate of Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Mus'abi.¹ He told me that one night at midnight he was summoned by Ishaq who had sent a number of messengers. I was greatly alarmed, he said, by this, knowing as I did the ferocity of his character and the readiness with which he shed blood. I was afraid he might be resenting something that had happened in our intercourse, or had been told some falsehood about me which had angered him, and made him resolve on putting me to death. So I came out in a state of panic and went to his palace, where I was led from one apartment to another until I was taken into the women's apartment, which increased my despair. I was then brought into a small chamber, on the vestibule of which I heard the suppressed sobbing of a woman. Ishaq was seated on a chair with a drawn sword in front of him. I was at a loss, but saluted and stood still. He said : Sit down, Abu 'Ubaidah;² this allayed my fear, and I seated myself. He tossed to me several reports which proved to be letters from the district heads of police, each of them narrating the day's happenings. Most of them reported the arrests of women who were daughters of viziers, chief clerks, generals, and governors, surprised in compromising situations with men. These were all lodged in prison and instructions concerning them solicited.—I said : I have mastered the contents of these documents, and what orders does the governor give me ?—He said : All these women have fathers nobler than myself, and superior in rank and wealth. Nevertheless destiny has brought them to what you see. It has occurred to me that my daughters will come to the same. So I have collected them all, five in number, near this place, with the intention of slaughtering the lot at once, and so escaping the anxiety. What say you to this proposal ?—I said : Governor, the fathers of these girls who are in prison did not look after them properly.

(1) Prefect of Baghdad for Ma'mun.

(2) The respectful address would indicate that no harm was intended.

They left them fortunes¹ and did not protect them by husbands ; so, being left to themselves, they have gone wrong. Had they joined them in wedlock to men of their own rank, they would never have come to this. My proposal is that you should summon a certain officer (whom I named), who has five sons, all of them handsome and well brought up. Marry each of your daughters to one of these and so you will be safe from disgrace and hell-fire.²—He said : Abu 'Ubaidah, that is a good idea. Send someone to the officer at once, and get it over.—So I sent to the man, and before it was dawn he presented himself with his sons, and I married the latter to Ishaq's daughters with a single homily.³ Ishaq had borne in front of each of his daughters five thousand gold dinars, with a quantity of perfume, clothing, horses, mules, and slaves ; while each of the bridegrooms gave me a commission on what he had received, and Ishaq's concubines sent me presents at once with thanks for saving their daughters' lives. So the affair had a happy ending and when I left I had got three thousand gold dinars with a quantity of perfume and clothing.

(1) If the text is right, this implies that their fathers were deceased.

(2) Since infanticide was forbidden by the Prophet, one would fancy that the murder of grown up daughters would also earn this.

(3) As appears from Hariri the homily was a matter of importance on these occasions.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued.)

BOMBAY IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB*

THE DOCUMENTS

I

*Information concerning India.**Instruction.*

[Undated ? 1662].

Portuguese
Records
(Trans.)
*Noticias da
India*, Vol.
I. Part 2. pp.
355-365.

IN the first place your Reverence will relate to Pedro Vicyra da Silva, and to the Conde de Soure, and afterwards to all those with whom you shall converse, the ill treatment which we have received from the English, and the pride with which they have behaved towards us, and how they suffered the Dutch whom we met with beyond the line to visit them ; and the danger we were in, having been twice informed that they wished to kill us all, which obliged us to pass many mountains with our arms in our hands. At the same time you will make known what occurred at São. Lourenco¹ [Madagascar] where they debarred us from all commerce, and obliged us to send them a protest, concerning the assistance which they were bound to give us ; to which they replied in writing, that they had no orders whatever upon the subject. And how when the *Arijoane* arrived, and I had arranged with the captain to pay the passages of forty-seven of our people, and had bought provisions for them, and having placed them on board, they ordered them to be put ashore again, saying that they would not break with the Moors for our sake. And how they prevented me from taking an Arab vessel which I had bought, in order to load it with provisions and send them with the said people to *Mosambique*,² which was in need of them.

Your Reverence will then relate what occurred to me with Marbur,³ whose letters are in my possession, in

* Continued from our last issue.

which he says that the King of England, has no need of the King of Portugal, and is under no obligation to assist him, and if he does so it will be because he is married to his sister. And how he brought me to Bombay asking me to deliver to him the port and island, which upon the maps he brought with him was so extended as to include that of Elephant,⁴ Severn, Caranja,⁵ and that of Baragam and Salsette;⁶ saying that it was not stated whether there were many or one, but only that they were promised all until opposite Bacaim. Your Reverence will explain what this involves, and that if such be the case we have no further need to come to India, for it will be impossible to maintain what is left to us, for from these islands provisions are sent to all parts; and the sum lost by the crown will exceed a million and two hundred thousands cruzados, and its jurisdiction would be transferred to England. And therefore I was obliged to plead a lack of sufficient authority to justify me to his Majesty.

And you will further relate the other circumstances of this case, and all the authentic proofs shall go in the caravel.

Your Reverence will also relate the efforts made by the captains of the ships, the English lord, and other persons, to learn the fortification of Bacaim,⁷ asking whether it could easily be taken, and where forces might be landed; by which they showed their disposition to make war against us.

The same thing was apparent at the islands of Caranja, where they took soundings, as well as in the other parts of our rivers. And on their sending some manchuas, and being asked if they had my permission to take such a measure, they replied that they would soon come and take all this by force.

Your Reverence will further make known how badly they have kept faith in these parts; how they treated the factor of Mosambique, whom they put ashore here, and carried away his wife, and property which was very considerable, and to this day it is not known what was done with it. Also what they did with the tender which came from Mosambique, sewing the crew into a sail and throwing them into the sea, and carrying off the tender with all its cargo. Also their treatment of the Franciscan Father, whom they threw into the sea near the Cape of Good Hope; and how Father Martim de Almuda, Canon Soares, and Captain Aranjo who embarked in an English ship for this

country have never been heard of since, and it is held as certain that they met with the same fate. And how, after I was here, the merchant fleet from Goa, bound for Cambaia,⁸ was overtaken off the Queimado Islands,⁹ by an English ship, which bore down upon them and with her guns forced them to stop and pay so many rupees per ship, taxing our merchandise in these seas, concerning which I have written to the President of Surrate complaining of this piece of insolence.

Your Reverence will relate all this to Pedro Vieira da Silva, and the second person to whom you relate it shall be Antonio de Conte Ventimilha ; the third, the Conde de Soure Antam(?), the Marquez de Marialva, Pedro Fernandes Monteiro, and lastly to all the ministers of all the tribunals, and in secret to all the religious and noblemen, and other persons to whom you may speak, reminding them that the mere fact of the English being in Bombay, even though they were truly our friends, will put an end to our commerce in India ; for in these northern parts the whole commerce depends upon the provisions which the Moors and heathens take from thence, which is the surplus of our maintenance ; and as for fear of the Dutch and the Malabars, these vessels only navigate at the beginning of the winter, and during that time can only reach this port of Bacaim from Bombay, in case the English prohibit this, they must infallibly be lost ; and the Portuguese would then be obliged to sell provisions to the English at a very low price, to avoid this risk ; so that they would command all the provisions, and we should be obliged to work for them as their labourers.

Another point worth great consideration is that the entrance to Goa being blocked, the ships from the Kingdom would have no other port than Bombay to put into, and would make no profit whatever upon their merchandise, the English selling better wines, which they bring from the Canaries, oils from Seville, and all other kinds of merchandise, and sending from Bombay cocoa-nuts to Cambaia, which is the object of the fleet which we send there, and by means of which we buy the stuffs which we wear. And the banians,¹⁰ who are the merchants, would be obliged to go to Bombay to trade, so that these lands will be ruined and the people reduced to such despair that excesses will be to be feared.

It would be better to redeem this promise to the king of England with money, representing to him what small profit he will derive from it, and the great prejudice it

would be to us, and how easy the diminution of our forces would make it for the Dutch to conquer what possessions are left to us to-day.

Above all, let your Reverence represent the evident risk that the true faith will become extinguished in these parts, and that heresy will take its place ; for it is certain that those who in the very ship in which I came hither, and under my very eyes, tried to induce my people to change their belief, will certainly do the same among the ignorant people over whom they have supreme dominion.

And lastly, let your Reverence assure all the ministers that if his Majesty resolves that this cession must be made, it will be necessary to send some other person to make it, for neither my honour nor my conscience will allow me to act in a matter by which my faith is destroyed, my king utterly humiliates himself, and my country is disgraced.

The private persons with whom your Reverence is to converse are —Dr. Ruy de Lemos, informing him that you have my orders to give him a detailed account of all my concerns, which is what I chiefly recommend to you ; Feliciano Dourado, of the Ultramarine Council ; Fernao de Mattos de Carvalho ; and Paulo de Carvalho of the Privy Council ; Bernado de Sousa de Macedo, and Francisco Monteiro Montearroio, of the Council of the Treasury ; and Dom Gabriel d'Almeida at Sao. Christovam.

[Endorsed] Instructions from the Viceroy Antonio de Mello e Castro,¹¹ to Father Manuel Godinho, concerning his conduct in this court upon the mission with which he was charged.

(*Note.*—In the same vol. (pp. 547-612) is a document entitled “Memorial of the Viceroys and Governors who have ruled the State of India”, beginning A.D. 1505. Under 1662, pp. 587-8, is the following entry :—

“The Governor and Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro came from the Kingdom with four English ships, with orders to deliver Bombay to them, in the year 1662. He went north first for the said purpose, and afterwards reached Goa and took possession of the government on the 14th of December of the said year. He governed for three years, ten months, and two days ; that is until the 17th of October 1666.”

Att the Court att Whitehall the 13th of December 1667.

PRESENT

THE KINGES MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE

[&ca., &ca.]

Upon reading the Report of the right honorable Sir William Coventry Knight touching the proposalls of the Governour and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in order to the Surrender of Bombay¹² as followeth.

1. That his Majestie will bee pleased to assigne over to the East India Company, and to their Successors and Assignes all his right, title and Interest in the Island of Bombay, with the Royalties, revenues, rents, Customs, Castles, Forts, Artillery and what else shall bee remayning on the said Island, belonging to his Majestie att the time of the Companies demand, and taking possession thereof by arrivall of their shippes, or September next.
2. Secondly That the said Company may have full power to governe order and direct in the said Island, as is usuall in any other [of] his Majesties Plantations.
3. Thirdly that the said Island with the Royalties Rents, &c., belonging thereunto bee delivered to the said Governour and Companie their Successors and Assignes free of all charge untill the day of surrender below mentioned.
4. Fourthly That the said Company may have libertie to continue on the said Island what number of souldiers and others they shall thinke fitting, that shall bee willing to remaine in the Companies service, all which souldiers and others are to bee entertained on the Companies charge from that time forwards.
5. Fifthly that for such Souldiers and others, whom the Company shall not thinke fitt to entertain or not willing to remaine in the service of the Companie shall returne for England, in the Companies shipping, on the Companies Charge.

And the said Companie doe further humblie desire that such addition may bee granted to the Companie in their Charter as may bee thought convenient for the better carrying on of their trade in that Country.

It was thereupon ORDERED by his Majestie in Councill That his Majesties Attorney Generale doe forthwith prepare a draught of a Charter, or Letters Patents for his Majesties Signature to passe under the greate scale of England, all and everie the aforementioned Grants, or Concessions touching or relating to the said Island of Bombay with such further additionall powers as are desired unto the Governor and Company of East India Merchants their Successors and Assignes, and to present the same to his Majestie in Councill.

RICHARD BROWNE.

III

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE

The humble petition of the Governour and Companye of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies

Humbly sheweth to your Sacred Majesty That your petitioners have been very unwilling in time past to trouble your Majestie with Complaints of the wronges and injuries they have sustained from the Dutch in India¹³ further than their dutie to your Majestie and the trust in them reposed did require And endeavoured to avoid all occasions that might bee a just grounde for any complaints against your petitioners And your Majestie having of late concluded a peace and neare alliance with that Nation, and your petitioners being now engaging fullie in that trade and well knowing how much the Dutch doe endeavour to graspe all the trade of India into their owne handes by many indirect meanes, and particularlie by making pretences of warre with those Nations whom they would have none others to trade with, And your petitioners being desirous to avoid all occasions of misunderstanding betweene the two Nations there for the future.

Doe most humble beseech your Majestie That untill the Treatie marine¹⁴ (mentioned in the late Articles of peace) shall bee agreed upon, That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recomend it by your Letters to the States Generall and also to the Dutch Ambassaadors for preservation of the peace That effectuall Comands bee given by the States Generall and the Dutch East India Company to their Generall and Councill at Batavia, that they suffer no act to bee

done that may lead to breache of the peace and particularly that your petitioners bee not interrupted in their trade, to or from any of their Factories, upon the Dutch having pretence of warre with those Nations where any such Factories are, And that according to the 36th Article of the late peace, the said Generall of Batavia, and all other Generalls and persons having comand in Chiefe by them employed in India, may take their oathes religiously to observe the said peace

And your petitioners as in duty
bound shall ever pray &c.

ANDREW RICCARD

Presented to his Majestie in Councill
the 24th of January 1667

IV.

[*Letter from Charles II. to Sir Gervase Lucas and others
regarding the surrender of Bombay*].

CHARLES R.

Trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas for divers good causes and considerations Us thereunto moving, We have thought fitt (with the advise of our Privy council) by our letters patents bearing date the 27 Day of March in the 20th year of our reigne, to give grant transferr and confirm unto the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, and to their Successors and assignes for ever, Our Port and Island of Bombay in the said East Indies, with all the rights profits territories and appurtenances thereof whatsoever, And all and singular Royalties Revenues Rents Customs Castles Forts buildings and fortifications privileges franchises preheminences and hereditaments whatsoever thereunto belonging And all the Artillery, and all and singular Armes Armour weapons Ordnance Munition powder Shot victuals magazines stores ammunition and provision of war and other provisions whatsoever ; And all and singular Ships Junks vessels and boats, and all manner of merchandize and wares clothing implements beasts cattle horses and Mares, which shall be and remain upon or within the premisses or any part there of and

doe belong unto Us : Our will and pleasure therefore is and we doe hereby require and authorize you, forthwith upon receipt of these presents, to yield and deliver our said Port and Island of Bombay together with all and singular the premisses abovementioned and specified unto such person or persons as they the said Governour and Company shall appoint and impower to receive the same in their name and for their onely use of them their Successors and assignes. Which said person or persons you are accordingly forthwith to put into the full quiet and peaceable possession of all and singular the foresaid premisses. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 31th Day of March 1668 and in the 20th year of our Reigne

By his Majesties Commands

WILLIAM MORRICE.

To our trusty and welbeloved Sir Gervase Lucas knight Governor of our Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies, and to the Deputy Governor and Commander in chief in the said Island ; Or any other person or persons whom it may concerne.

V.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

*The humble petition of the Governour and Company
Merchant's of London trading to the East Indies*

Sheweth

That whereas the Port and Island of Bombaym in the East Indies (which by the II Article of the Treaty between your Majesty and the King of Portugal was agreed to be delivered to your Majesty) is (as your petitioners are informed) described to be an Island divided from the Continent by a large and deep River, commanding, in a manner, the entrance into Bassein and Chaul : The Portugals have delivered unto your Majesty onely a small part of the Island, divided from the other parts by a little Creeke, Reserving the rest of it to themselves, which they call by

the names of Salset and Trombay : And your Majesty having bin graciously pleased to grant the said Port and Island to your petitioners, They are desirous (as much as in them lyes) to improve it for the honour of your Majesty and of your kingdoms, although at a very great charge. And your petitioners further shew, That the said Island was granted to your Majesty with all the Rights thereunto belonging ; One whereof was, That the Inhabitants usually passed to and from the Moores Countrey with their Goods without paying of Customs to Tannah or Karnjah : [*Sic*] And by the Treaty aforesaid amongst other Articles for continuing a good correspondency between the Subjects of both Crowns, It is provided That a moderate Custom be taken of the English for all goods and merchandises : yet nevertheless your petitioners doe finde, that the Governours and Commanders of Tannah and Kerrinjah (placed near Bombaym) are so farr from permitting the petitioners to enjoy their right of passing between the said Island and the Moores Countrey without payment of Custom, as that they demand and exact every exorbitant Customs beyond what are reserved and lymitted by the said Treaty in case the same were landed in their ports.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty to be graciously pleased so farr to interpose with the king of Portugal, that the agreement for delivering up the said port and Island, according to the description thereof first given in may be made good and ordered to be delivered to your petitioners.

And that effectual Orders may be sent from the said King of Portugal to the Governours and Commanders at Tanna and Kerinjah or to their Superiours, to permit the petitioners goods to pass freely by their respective ports, as of right they ought.

And that for what goods shall be laden or unladen in any of the Portugals Ports, noe greater Customs may be taken than are due according to the said Treaty. And forasmuch as the Island of Karinjah is very inconsiderable to the Portugal ; that for preventing any misunderstanding between the Subjects of both Crowns ; your Majesty will also be graciously pleased to mediate with the said King of Portugal, that the same may for some reasonable consideration, be delivered to your petitioners.

Presented to Sir John Trevour.

13 July 1669

VI.

A Clause humbly desired to be inserted in his Majesties letter to his Ambassadour in Portugal, touching Tannah and Karinjah,¹⁶ Delivered to Mr. Bridgman my Lord Arlingtons Secretary, 14 August 1669.

It being represented unto Us by the humble petition of our East India Company, That notwithstanding the Port and Island of Bombaym, was conveyed unto Us, with the Rights and priviledges thereto belonging One whereof was, That the Inhabitants usually passed to and from the Moores Countrey upon the Mayn, with their goods and merchandises, without paying Custom at Tannah or Karinjah : And that by the Treaty betwixt Us and the Crown of Portugal, moderate Customs ought to be taken for all Goods landed in each others dominions : Yet nevertheless, Our said Company finde, That those who have the Command of Tannah and Karinjah are so farr from permitting them the enjoying their right of passing those places to the Moores Countrey Custom free, as that they demand and exact very exorbitant Customs, beyond what are reserved and lymitted by the said Treaty. And although our said Company could pass the said places by force without paying Customs ; yet to preserve peace and a good correspondency between the Subjects of both Nations, They have humbly besought Us to interpose with the Crown of Portugal for effectual Orders to be sent to Tannah and Karinjah or their Superiours, to permit their Goods freely to pass by their Forts, as of right they ought to doe : And that noe greater Customs may be taken for what goods shall be laden or unladen in any of the Portugal Ports, than are due according to the said Treaty.

All which being but just and reasonable, Wee should have you Represent unto the Princee, and be instant in procuring letters from that Crown, to the respective places aforesaid (which letters We would have transmitted to Us) requiring them to permit Our said Company freely to pass with their Vessels goods and merchandizes by the said places of Tannah and Karinjah to and from the Moores Countrey : Or in case they shall land or relade at any ports or places in India, any goods or merchandizes, that a moderate Custom may be taken for the same, according to the said Articles. Unto which We cannot but expect their more ready Compliance, in regard both Tannah and

Karinjah are upon or within the Districts of that which is called The Port and Island of Bombaym ; which was at first represented to be wholly delivered to Us, although for the present we have onely a small part of it.

Our said Company have also represented to Us, That Karinjah is a place very inconsiderable to the Portugals ; the Customs thereof being farmed for 2200 Zeraphins¹⁷ per Annum (which is under £ 200 Sterling) And that to prevent misunderstandings between the Subjects of either Nation they would (if that Crown shall think fitt) give the Proprietors a reasonable consideration for it ; Or otherwise, to take a farm both of the Customs of that place and of Tannah, which yields 4200 Zeraphins, being about £ 370 a year.

Concerning which, we would have you treat with that Crown, and endeavour your utmost to effect the same : But if it be not to be transacted there, but in India upon the place ; That then, it may be recommended in the said letters to those who have the propriety or disposing of those Customs, That for the prevention of misunderstandings aforesaid, that they agree with our Company upon reasonable terms for them, and maintain a fair and good correspondency with all our Subjects in those parts.

VII.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat dated 28 October 1685.

That you may be always in a posture hereafter to
 Let the General be always vindicate our just Rights against the
 at Bombay, and make Moores and all other people, we would
 that the Magazine of all goods. have our General keep his constant
 residence upon our Island of Bombay, and that all our
 Suratt Ships for the future shalbe loaden from thence for
 Europe, that being the place which we resolve to make our
 great Magazine of all Europe and India Goods. Your
 Banians and the trade we know must follow our mony
 and our Shipping, And we heartily wish we had resolved
 this many years past, which if we had done, Bombay had
 been in a stronger and more flourishing condition than
 now it is. But the truth is, whiles our warehouses at
 home were empty, we had cause to fear every rubb in our
 trade, lest our Ships should return empty to us, while we
 had nothing left here to feed the markets.

We know very well, this making Bombay the principal seat of our trade as well as of our power
 Which will at first make the Moors sullen, which we value not, will cause a little sullenness at first in the Moores of Suratt. But that we value not, having Carwar¹⁸ and Rajapore¹⁹ to friend ; at the first whereof we have a Fort, and at the latter you may have a Factory and a Fort as soon as you think fit, It being our desire that you should enter into a close confederacy and friendship with Sombajee Rajah,²⁰ and maintain always a strict friendship with him ; and then you need not fear either the anger of the Mogul or the Portuguez, having Sombajees Country and his arms always to friend.

VIII.

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCILL OF SURRAT AND DEPTY. GOVR. AND COUNCILL OF BOMBAY

SENT ON SHIPS *Modena* AND *Charles*. 2d.

London 31th March 1686.

The Governour and Committees having left it to us or any three of us to give you such secret Instructions with our Sovereign Lord the Kings Approbation, as we think may tend most to his Majesty's and his Kingdomes and the Companies honour and interest, in this time of trouble and probable war in Bengall, we have thought it necessary to enclose with this all our secrett Instructions to Bengall and Fort St. George, and to the Flag Officers and other Captains of our ships already gone upon that Voyage, to the intent you should know the necessity and true Grounds of that great undertaking, And what orders we have given for the Commencement and carrying on of that design.

And in regard we know Bengall is under the same great Kings Dominions as Surat is, and that our Old Friends the Dutch wilbe ready to interpose in this, or any other Quarrell of ours (tho' we never did in any of theirs), to do you what prejudice they can as well at Bombay as Suratt, We have at our excessive Charge set out a Considerable Fleet of warlike ships for your Assistance and Defence.

Our whole Fleet design'd for your Northern Parts of India this year will consist of the following Ships Vizt.

[Here follows a list of the ships sent out, with the names of the Commanders, tonnage, men and guns.]

And in regard we do not know but our Generall and Council, or some of our principal Servants may be detained by the Mogols Governors at Surat, by reason of our differences in Bengall,²¹ as also because on such occasions as these it is good to ride the Fore horse if we can, we have order's all our Captains to bring to Bombay any of the Mogolls or his Subjects Ships or Junks that they can meet within their passage, but not to take the value of a penny from any of them, as they will answer the contrary at the Perill of his Majestys displeasure, untill they are condemn'd at Bombay, if it proves Warr, But that they shall be releas'd without loosing the value of a Penny, if our Differences with the Mogull may be compounded in an amicable way.

Wee would have you if it prove a Warr reserve one Sixth part of the Proceed of all Prize ships and goods at Sea, for the reward of Commanders, Officers Seamen and Souldiers, and for relief of wonded and maimed, and the Widdows and Orphans of such as shall be kill'd in this service, according to the Order and discretion of any Council of Warr for that Purpose, to which Council of Warr Wee would have all Captains summon'd and so many of the Members of our respective Councils at Suratt and Bombay as can be present and to have suffrage, and that in all Councils of Warr, Our Generall for the time being shall preside, If he be present, and in his Absence his Second of Suratt, Mr. Zingan, and next to Mr. Zingan our Deputy Governor of Bombay Sir John Wyborn, and after them our Captains according to their seniorities and degrees.

You see by the Bengall Papers before mentioned what Orders Wee have given for making Peace and compounding those differences in the Bay. But as to the Breaches that shall happen in your parts of India Wee are so well satisfy'd of the fidelity and great Abilities of Our Generall, by his 30 years experience of, and residence in India that Wee shall give you no particular directions, but leave all to his and your prudence, to doe what ever you think is most for the honour of our King and Country, and for the Companys Interest, remembering that Wee are Merchants and must live by trade and not by a long Warr.

Reserve one sixth part
of all Prizes for reward
of Commanders etc.

Wee leave it wholly to
your great prudence to
compound all difference
with you.

Wee have often wrote You according to the Order of his late Majesty and Council, after many years conference concerning that, to pay no more Custom at Tannah and Carinjah, both which Places do of right belong to his Majesty, But that if the Portugalls do attempt to exact it of you by force, You should resist force with force, and if that business bring You into a Warr with them, it can never happen at a better time than this, now You are arm'd for other Purposes. And therefore if You are put to it,

Pay no Custom at Tannah etc. But if the Portugalls will force You to it recover if You can those adjacent Islands to Bombay, especially Salsett.

and the Portugalls be the Aggressors, we would have You do Your best to recover from them those adjacent Islands to Bombay, which belong to Bombay and were formerly dependances upon Bombay (especially Salsett) and ought to have been deliver'd to his Majesty when Bombay was surrendered, for want whereof that Island, instead of being a Benefitt, hath been a dead charge to this Company first and last of at least 300,000 pound sterling, and can't possibly subsist for want of Provisions, if You should be at any time blockt up by sea, without supply from the adjoining Salsett.

It will be necessary for You to make and always to keep a strict Confederacy with Sombajee Rajah, who is a warlike Prince, and tho' hee be not the most carefull of his honour, or of keeping his Leagues, All those Indian Princes will keep their Confederacys so long as they agree with their Interests, and its possible for You to make such terms with him as shall be now and for many Years his Interest ; to sweeten him wherein, You may among other things agree to furnish him constantly with so much Powder, great guns and shott and small Arms on reasonable terms as he shall desire annually, for which purpose Wee have now sent You a double proportion of Powder, and if You should want more, you may write for what You will to Fort St. George, where wee have 2600 Barrells in store, which 'tis full time were dispos'd of.

Yoy may likewise send to President Gyfford for 100 Topasse souldiers²² if You want them which may do You good service under English Officers and be some Ballance to your Canorcens and Rashpoots, it being never good to have too many of one Cast in armes under us.

Send to the Fort for 100 topass souldiers.

Our Letter to the Mogull You may send him by the
 Conveyance of his Govr. of Suratt,
 How You may dispose of or otherwise as You shall think
 the Muggulls letters. best, without the Ceremony of
 Presents, and if You think it necessary for our service
 by any alteration of Affairs, which Wee cannot foresee,
 You may alter this Letter or form any other Letter or
 Letters to him in our name, and sett our Governour
 Sir Joseph Ashe his hand thereunto, which You are hereby
 authoriz'd to doe.

Wee have superscribed this Letter only to our Generall
 Sir John Child,²³ Our 2d of Suratt
 The reason of superscrib- Mr. Zingan, Our Deputy Govr. of
 ing this Letter only to Bombay Sir John Wybourne, and
 the Generall, etc. Captain Vaux second of Bombay, to the intent that if
 You think it for our service, You may keep the Contents of
 it for some time secrett from the rest or our respective
 Councils.

We are

Your very loving Friends

JOSEPH ASHE Govr.

JOSIA CHILD Deputy

BEN. BATHURST

JOSEPH HERNE

East India House

the 31th March 1686.

IX.

Companys Letter to the
 Great Mogull.

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE THE
 EMPEROR OF ALL INDIA

*The Governour and Company of Merchants of London
 trading into the East Indies, send greeting.*

GREAT SIR,

It is with great reluctancy that Wee are forced to
 address our selves to Your Majesty in such a stile as Wee
 are compell'd to, by the intollerable Injuries and Oppres-
 sions that wee have sustained from the Nabob of Decca,
 Your Majestys Governour of Your Provinces of Bengall
 and Orixá.

The Particulars of our Sufferings will be more largely signify'd to your Majesty by the Generall of all our land and sea forces in India, Sir John Child, Barronet, and are summarily contain'd in a Letter which We have wrote unto Your Majestys said Nabob.

Wee have not such great Complaints to make to your Majesty of the carriage of Your Majestys Governours towards our servants in the Northern Parts of India, But upon this occasion Wee must inform Your Majesty, that there is a just and considerable debt due from Your Majesty to Us. The Particulars whereof will be made out to Your Majestys Officers by our said Generall, which Wee must intreat Your Majesty to command the payment of, And that Your Officers may for the future be required to forbear searching the Persons of Our servants journeying from Swally to Suratt which hath of late been practis'd with such rigour and indecency as to search some of our servants of quality, to their very shirts, while the Dutch and Danes passed free, without any such Affront or Molestation from your Majesties Officers.

This Practice of Your Majestys Officers upon the Persons of our Servants is such an indignity to our Nation (which ought to be esteem'd superiour to any Europeans trading in those Parts) that Wee cannot bear, and therefore Wee must intreat Your Majesty that it may be forborn, and that Your Majesty would please to order those differences and hostilities in the Bay to be so compos'd with our Agent of Bengall, that Wee may have a future security that the like shall not be again attempted upon us, which will restore peace, and oblige us to remain, as Wee have been for some ages

Your Imperiall Majestys most friendly
Allies and most humble servants
JOSA. CHILD Deputy Govr.

East India House London
the 31th day of March 1686.

X.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat, dated 26 March 1686

Because we think and desire this letter may be opened
at Bombay, We shall in it answer our
Council of Bombay's letter of the
9th of May by the *Caesar*, which with
their Dyary and Consultations We do very well approve of ;

Shall answer the Bombay
letter which is approved
of

and tho' they say the works We have formerly ordered
 would have them begin to to be done and repaired at Bombay,
 drayne the drowned the clearing of our drowned lands, etc.
 lands. will require a great deal of money,
 yet We desire they may be gon in hand with, hoping they
 to double the Revenue and will soon find means to double the
 Revenue of that Island, now We have
 ordered our Ships to ride there and other matters according-
 ly. Especially We would have you do all that is possible
 Strengthen the fortifica- to strengthen our fortifications, that
 tions they need not fear any enemy that
 is like to assault them.

The procuring a passage for Caphiloes, which they
 A passage for Caphiloes, mention may be done through Som-
 and encouraging manu- bajees country, or some other, it
 factories will be advant- wilbe of mighty advantage to us;
 agious so will their promised encouraging of
 all sorts of manufacturers, and storing themselves with
 Rice and Paddy, which you may order to be done from
 Mangalore, within as short a time as in former years
 our ships have lain in Swally hole.

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You do well in desiring that the Souldiers We send you
 They do well in desiring out should be sober men, or plain,
 sober, honest soldiers. honest Country men, which is a thing
 to be wished, but We cannot imagine
 that you should hope that We can send you onely such,
 or pick and choose, or know here a drunken mutinous
 Knave from an honest man. Comonly the worst of
 but their discipline must men when they seek employments
 make the Garrison sober shew the fairest outside. It is not
 our Choice of Souldiers here, but
 your strict Military discipline and Martiall law must make
 Bombay a sober Garrison; if it were not for that, all
 Armies in the world would be as intollerably wicked as
 Thieves and Highwaymen: Murders Rapes, nor any kind
 of abominations could be prevented.

What stock we send you by these ships We have ordered
 The Companys Stock to to remain on board our Ships or to
 remain on board or be landed at Bombay, as our General
 landed at Bombay and Council shall direct, But we would
 in no case have it landed at Suratt or Swally, untill you

in noe case at Suratt or Swally till Bengall is quiet
 hear how our affairs will stand in Bengall, but Our Generall and Council at Suratt by any of our small Frigotts or Sloops may send by degrees for whatever goods or money he hath occasion to make present Sale or payment of.

We have thought it expedient, according to the practice of all wise governments in the world to constitute a Committee of Secrecy consisting of our Governour Sir Joseph Ashe, Our Deputy Governour Sir Josia Child, Sir Ben : Bathurst, Sir Jeremy Sambrooke and Mr. Joseph Herne, whose orders or any 3 of them, you are to observe as if they were subscribed by the Governour and the Major part of the Committee.

The excuses in the Bombay Dyary for pardoning the Traitor Clarke that was condemned, and another person that was convicted of a murther, are very frivolous. Such kind of pitty is the greatest cruelty in the world to mankind, and often causes the death of scores of men, which might have been prevented if timely execution of one or two traiterous persons be inflicted, and rebellion thereby prevented, which long experience hath taught the world (and may you in time) in no other wayes to be done.

What you have done with Walter House that wrote traiterously to one of the Guard at Suratt, doth not appear by your Dyary, but if you have not punished him according to Martiall law, You may thank only your selves if your throats should happen to be cutt at one tyme or other by such ass [ass]inating Villains.

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Our Souldiers here and now going are agreed with to accept our pay at Bombay according to the rate the Zeraphin was at before the Rebellion.

We are sorry to observe your inadvertency in using that soft word Revolution in your own letters, which is not English for traiterous Rebellion,²⁴ tho' Thornburn

The Zeraphim to be rated as before the Rebellion
 They are inadvertent in calling Rebellion a Revolution.

first christned it by that name, whom you ought to scorn to imitate in any thing.

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We do likewise enjoyn you for the future to sell none
To sell no goods at Bom- of our goods at Bombay for tyme,
bay for tyme but ready but all for ready money or in truck
money or truck for goods proper for Europe, except
 where you have a morall Certainty that your payment
 wilbe infallible.

By all means gett Sheroffs to Bombay to settle Our
To settle the Mint at Mint there, which renders us a consi-
Bombay for which pur- derable profitt at Fort St. George.
pose Endeavour a Phir- by coyning money for others at $\frac{1}{2}$ per
mand from the Mogull Mill, aswel as by coyning the Com-
or Sombajee. panys own money, wherefore in-
 deavour, if you can, to obtain a Phirmaund from the
 Mogull, and if you cannot from him, from Sombajee Rajah,
 that our money coyned in Bombay shall pass in his
 Country.

We intend not hereafter to send you any Officer above
No more Officers to be sent the degree of a Sargeant, except
above Sargeants degree, Lievttenant Finch and his Ensign,
except Finch and Mr. John Hilton that now go, which
Hilton Hilton is entertained to be Ensign at the usuall pay, and
 over and above to have 20 s. per mensem, as Adjutant or
 Major of the Regiment, the duty of that place being to
 exercise all the Companies as often as he shalbe required
 thereunto, or untill the Captains themselves can do it
 expertly and to see that all your Companies be brought
 and kept to one and the same manner of exercise, which
 ought to be according to the printed form in present use
 here, and to place the severall Companies in their due
 Posts, when the Regiment is commanded to draw out, as
 you may observe in the printed Books We send you of
 Martiall affairs.

You may do well to lett your inferior Officers know
Inform your inferior Offi- that We resolve to send no more
cers for their Incourage- Lievttenants nor Ensigns to Bombay,
ment. that they may be the more encouraged
 to behave themselves dutifully and well, in hopes to be
 preferred by you.

XI.

BOMBAY GENERAL LETTER

SENT PER *Bawdon* FRIGOT.

OUR DEPUTY GOVERNOUR

AND COUNCILL OF BOMBAY. *London 28th July 1686*

Wee received your short imperfect Letter by the *Williamson* without any Accounts, which we did expect you should have got ready for the arrivall of any homeward bound ship, and not expect that our ships should stay upon demorage there while you perfect your Accompts. Especially you should have sent us the Accompts of the two Smiths that press for mony from us, while we have reason to believe they are in our debt, though we cannot give them a clear answer till you send us their Accompts, which our General writes us he had desired you to do, particularly for one of the Smiths.

They are blamed for their imperfect letter causing the ships stay and neglecting the 2 Smiths accompts.

We understand you have an antient Statute booke at Bombay, but you are under a great mistake if you think our Statute booke be law in Bombay, none of our Statutes or Acts of Parliament extending further then the Kingdome of England, the Dominion of Wales and the town of Barwick upon Tweed. Your law there is what his Ma-

Their law must be such as the King and Company constitute.

jesty is pleased to constitute by himself, or his East India Company²⁵ and such temporary by lawes as our Generall and Councill shall find cause to make for the good Government of the people untill his Majesty or our selves shall disapprove thereof. And by his present' Majesty's Charter and the last Charter of our late Sovereign, you are to govern our people there, being subject to us under his Majesty by the Law martiall and the Civill law which is only proper to India, concerning which we have formerly writ very largely to our Generall and Councill, and have sent him a book which treats the fullest of any we know extent of the civill lawes now in use, and the custom of Merchants, and in divers bookes you have the law martiall.

A Booke of Civil law sent.

We approve of Mr. Vaux his continuance in the exercise of that Judicature he now manages, not doubting but he will continue to do it sincerely and discreetly according to common equity and good conscience, which is the generall rule of the Civill law, as honest and wise Arbitrators would determine between man and man in a Summary way without delay or charge to the Inhabitants.

We know not more to say concerning your overflown ground at this distance. We have left that matter fully to our Generall and Councill to do in it what they shall find expedient at our Generalls being there, and we hope since our charge is, and has been, so great in securing that important Island, you will invent means to raise such a revenue upon it as may in some time recompence at least part of that great charge We have been at to secure it.

We remaine

Your loving Friends

JOHN CHILD Govr.

BENJA. BATHURT Deputy
etc., etc., etc., etc.

XII.

CAPTAIN CLIFTON AND LIEUTT.

NANGLE'S COMMISSION.

THE GOVERNOUR AND COMPANY OF
MERCHANTS OF LONDON TRADING
INTO THE EAST INDIES

TO CAPTAIN RICHARD CLIFTON

BY VERTUE of the Power and Authority granted to Us by severall Charters under the Great Seal of England from the late King Charles the Second of blessed memory, and from the Kings most excellent Majesty that now is, Wee do hereby constitute and appoint You to be Captain of a foot Company of English Souldiers to serve us on our Island of Bombay in the East Indies, which Company take their passage on the ship *Caesar*, and on

Captain Clifton's commission for a foot company at Bombay.

their arrival are to be the Youngest Company of English foot Soldiers on that Island. These are therefore to will and require You to take upon You the charge and Command of the said foot Company, and at your arrivall at Bombay you are to follow all such Orders and Commands from time to time as you shall receive from us, or from our Generall of India, or in his absence from our Deputy Governor of Bombay, or any other Your Superior Officers, And we do hereby require and command all your Inferiour Officers and Soldiers to yield you as their Captain due obedience accordingly.

IN WITNESS whereof We have caused our Common Seal to be hereunto affix'd the Twentieth day of August Anno Domini 1686 and in the Second Year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the 2d by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc.

WE THE GOVERNOUR AND COMPANY of, Merchants of London trading into the East Indies by vertue of Power and Authority granted to Us by the Kings most excellent Majesty that now is, by severall Royall Charters under the Great Seal of England Do hereby constitute and appoint You Arthur Nangle, to be Lieutenant of a Company of English Foot Soldiers, which take their passage on the *Caesar* and are to serve us on our Island of Bombay, and whereof Captain Richard Clifton is Captain, These are therefore to authorize you to take upon you the charge of the said Company as Lieutenant and to follow all such Orders and Commands from time to time as you shall receive from Us, or from our Generall of India for the time being, or from our Deputy Governour of Bombay, or from your Captain, or any other Your Superior Officers, And We do hereby require and command all your Inferior Officers and Souldiers to yield You as their Lieutenant due obedience accordingly.

IN WITNESS whereof We have caus'd our common Seal to be hereunto affix'd the twentieth day of August Anno Dominio 1686, and in the second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord James the 2d by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

The like Commission was granted unto Elisha Bassett to be Ensign of the said Foot Company.

XIII.

Extract of a General Letter to Surat dated London the 15th October 1686.

We long to hear of our Generall's safe removall to
 Bombay, That the chief persons in
 our imployment, The best of our
 Estate, our Strength and our Treas-
 ure may abide upon our own Land,
 under the Protection our own Lawes and our Guns, and
 that our own Subjects under his Majesty may be enriched
 by the ingress and regress of our trafficking. Till we can
 arrive at this, our Station is but phargious, and we build
 but with untempered Morter, in comparison to those wise
 master builders, the Dutch, who are the mirrour of the
 East India Policy and the only pattern to be imitated by
 any that would lay secure foundations for a lasting East
 India Trade. We know what difficulties do occur to your
 effecting this good and nationall worke. But this is the
 time to break thro' them all, while we have such a Stock
 of Goods upon our hands and such a strength of shipping
 and men in India.

Above all things, you ought to consider that if we should
 have any war in India there is no
 place but Bombay wherein we can
 securely repair and refitt our Ships,
 and therefore you will do very well to be mindfull in time
 to make those Conveniences for that purpose which we
 wrote you of formerly.

XIV.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Committees to "our General and Council of India", dated 3 February 1686/7.

Para. 3. We shalbe heartily glad that all your differences with the Mogol may be amicably composed, but we are positively resolved never to be enslaved by the Moors Governors hereafter, nor to be satisfied with less, or meaner priviledges than our Ancestors enjoyed, or that any other European Nation doth now enjoy in India, for the redintegration [*sic*] and Security of which priviledges We have been preparing these 4 or 5 years, by filling our Warehouses with all sorts of East India Goods, to our infinite Cost and charge of Warehouseroome, Watchmen,

and intrest of our Stock, well knowing our inability to stand upon our rights in India with empty Warehouses at home ; and now, if we should tamely submit to dishonourable termes, our great store of goods would be but as a dear bought prize in the hands of fools that know not how to make use of it. Now is our time or never to settle our head Factory upon our own land at Bombay, the best Port and most valuable of any in all the East Indies, if we had the political Science and Martiall prudence which the Dutch to their great honour exercise in all the Indies, which we have often recommended to your imitation in all respects, except their inhumane Crueltys and injustice, which we abhor.

4. This being our case and our resolution with Gods Assistance, We do require you (all excuses set apart), to load all our Europe homeward bound ships at and from Bombay, and none of them from Swally Marine, altho' to sweeten the Natives upon the Main, You may assure them our trade with them shalbe never the less, but that treating as civilly, and as the Dutch and Danes are treated, we will continue a Factory at Surrat and a Factory at Swally, and carry our goods from thence in small Vessells, to be put on board our great ships in Bombay road, where our great ships hereafter shall alwayes ride, whatever inconveniencies we may meet with in this change of our affaires at first.

5. We shall not hereafter build any Sloopes here to send to you, being well informed that you can build better there, if you have occasion for them, and of a wood which the worme will not touch, so that what need you have of such small Vessells may be supplied in the Country, and we shall send you Cordage etc., from hence.

6. We hope this carrying all our trade and keeping all our ships constantly at Bombay will enable you in a little time to make the revenue of that Island 5 times what it is at present, in imitation of the Dutch wisdom in that respect, which has been the support of all their Warrs and the cause of all their Sovereign Dominion in India, of which wisdom of the Dutch we shall give you fresh instances as we meet with them, the greatest whereof is, that now they make, as we are credibly informed, 140,000 *li.* per annum of Batavia upon the foot of the account of the revenue of that place, all the Charges of the Garrison, etc., deducted ; and at the Cape they have so far improved in planting Vineyards and Orchards and setting up of Stills, that good Rhenish wine is sold by the Planters to

the Company at 2 pieces of 8/8 per quarter Cask, and Brandy and Syder at proportionable low rates. But no Planter must sell any Liquor to any, but to the Company only, and the Taverns that are allowed at the Cape must, and doe, each of them pay the Company 2400 Guilders per Annum for their Lycences to keep publique houses; and its death for any to sell Liquors without a Lycence, or to goe aboard any Ship in the road without Lycence of the Governour. Its possible you wil not think it prudence to set our Lycence at such a high rate presently, but you may reasonably double or treble your former rates, and allow the Retailers of Liquors to sell their Liquors at proportionable dearer Rates then they did formerly. We can give you no exact rule in this, but leave it to your discretion to advance our revenue by degrees and to make such By-Laws for the good Government of the place and encrease of the revenue as you shall find necessary, giving us from time to time an account of what By-Lawes and Orders you make, which we hereby declareshal be binding to all the Kings Subjects in that Island until they shall be contradicted by his Majesty or our selves, whom he has intrusted with the exercise of Sovereign Power in all his Majesty's Dominions beyound the Cape of Good Hope, and we do enjoyne you, according to his Majestys last Charter to governe the Soldiers and people of that Island, as well English as others, by Martial Law, and that Jurisdiction lately established of the Admiralty for trying Controversies between Party and Party in a summary way, and according to the usage of the Civill Law, which only is proper for India, The Common Law of England being peculiar to this Kingdome and not adopted in any kind of the Government of India and the nature of those people, as we have formerly writt you, and have found by long and wofull experience.

XV.

Extracts of a General Letter to Bombay dated 13th May 1687.

Letter Book,
Vol. 8. pp.
298-301

Para. 3. Bombay We hope you have now put into a Posture of defence, and do keep the Souldiers to strict duty and under exact military discipline, without which Souldiers in arms are but a rude rabble of disorderly men.

4. And now We have been at such vast charge to put that Island into a Posture of Defence, and sent you ships and sloop of warr to defend it and our

Create a Revenue to support the great charge.

trade on the Coast of Mallabar, it is our Concern and yours for us to create such a Revenue upon that Island as may in some measure support our constant great charge. In order whereunto, We do hereby establish and appoint as a law of that Island that for the future, from and after the arrival of these letters, all the English ships that sail as English, or upon the English Priviledges or protection in India (except such free ships as are permitted by Us to sail from England) shall every voyage take passes from our General and Council, or from some of our Presidents, Agents and Councils, for which Passes each voyage they shall pay into our respective Cashes, at the Ports where they take such Passes, half a Dollar or one Rupee per tonn, according to the burdhen of each ship, for and in consideration of their passes, protection and permission to trade in India upon our Priviledges, excepting such ships and Vessells only as shall be laden with timber or provisions for the use of our Island of Bombay, or some of our Colonyes or Garisons in India, excepting likewise all such free ships as aforesaid that have been or shall be permitted by Us to sail from England as free ships according to their respective Charterpartyes.

All English ships etc.,
under our protection to
have passes

and to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ Dollar per
ton.

5. We do further constitute and appoint that all such English ships as shall sail in India without such passes from Us, or from our General and Council, or some of our Presidents or Agents and their respective Councils, shall be seiz'd upon by any ships in our service, and brought up to Bombay or some other of our Courts of Admiralty, and proceeded against as Interlopers, and as such adjudged and confiscated, one half to the use of his Majesty and the other half to the Company.

6. All Native Ships, Junks, or other Vessells, belonging to the subjects of any Prince, at their request, shall have passes as formerly, but for the future shall pay for them into the Companys Cash (besides the common fee to the Companys Secretary at Bombay) the same rate for their respective passes as they formerly or lately paid to the Portugeez when they were Owners and Proprietors of the Island of Bombay.

What all Native Ships
etc., shall pay for passes

7. And We do again enjoyn you to receive from all Persons whatsoever and for all Goods
All Goods imported to
 Bombay to pay 5 per
 cent. Custom. whatsoever that shall be imported
 into our Island of Bombay the Custom
 lately establish's of 5 per cent., as well upon liquors
 and provisions as upon all other Commodities whatsoever.

8. If you should foresee any breach with the Mogull, make all the possible provision you can beforehand of Indigo of all sorts, not only because it is a Commodity now and like to continue in great request, but also because it is a Commodity which we cannot be supplied with elsewhere in case of a rupture with the Mogull, except you can be supply'd with the aid of your Banians to have it conveyed overland from Agra or Dely to Fort St. George.

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10. We can apprehend no fattal inconvenience that
Noe fatal inconvenience
 is apprehended by this
 law for passes can arise to our Affairs by reason of
 the laws We have now made concern-
 ing Passes, for every wise Act that is
 done, if it be new, seems strange at first, and perhaps may
 cross the Particular Interests of some private persons, but
 the Publick Interest of this Kingdom and the Companies
 is abstractedly to be consider'd and must be asserted by
 Us to whom his Majesty hath committed the Conduct of
 his Sovereign power in India.

11. Notwithstanding which, considering you may be under a necessity of preserving a strict amity with Sombajee Rajah, We leave it to our General to qualify any of these lawes, with respect to his subjects, or the Mogulls, in case you should come to such an Accord with him as to obtain priviledges in his Country of more advantage to Us then We can expect from his Subjects by these lawes.

12. We have writt very much and very often concerning our Mint at Bombay, especially of coyning Rupees, and think it very strange that since our Mint is so profitable to Us at Fort St. George, our Deputy Governor and Council cannot put it in such an Order at Bombay that it may be equally advantagious for Us there, which certainly is not impossible, especially if you can obtain a Phirmaund from the Mogull that our Rupees coyn'd at Bombay being of equall weight and fineness with the rupees coyn'd at Suratt, shall pass current in all parts of his dominions

at least for all Commodities bought in his Country for the Companies Use.

13. And as to this matter of the Mint, We desire that it may not be putt off, for stamps, tooles or Engines to be writt for from hence, But that they do immediately sett about it with the Country Sheroffs, and with the same Instruments as the Coynage is carryed on with in the Mogulls Country. Niether would We have it putt off any longer, upon a pretence that such a Phirmaund cannot be obtain'd from the Mogull, because We have a power in our last Charter from his present Majesty to coyn all sorts of forreign Coynes curreant in India, which power we are resolved to assert and maintain against all contradiction, so far at least as our own Dominion extends, and for the future to make it one Article with any Princes We agree with in India, that our Coynes shall be curreant in their respective dominions.

14. We confirm our former positive Orders that all ships freighted by Us, and all free ships, and other ships and vessells that anchor in Bombay road shall pay Us our constituted Duty of Anchorage and Powder, and that none of our own freighted ships shall at any time hereafter take in their ladings for Europe in Swalley hole, or at any other place than in Bombay road, and that all our ships, while they are out of employment in the sea, shall constantly ride there, as the Dutch ships doe in the road of Batavia and Columbo, from whence we know will raise not only advantage but security to our said Island; and therefore we will not quitt this Resolution for any other respect or consideration whatsoever, hoping you have long since, according to our repeated intimations to this purpose, made a sufficient provision of goods of all sorts in that place.

Former orders confirm'd
for anchorage, powder
etc.

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Your very loving Friends

JOSIA CHILD Govr.

BEN. BATHURST Deputy

Etc., etc., etc., etc.

XVI.

Extracts of a Letter to Bombay dated 6th June 1687.

Sent Overland via Marseilles and Legorne

OUR GENERALL AND COUNCIL OF INDIA

Wee shall be exceeding glad to heare our good Generall
is well arrived at Bombay and shall
have a very mean esteeme of any
person whatsoever that doth not give
him due obedience and respect, sted-
fastly believing such refractory persons to his just and
faithfull proceedings must be ill minded in their hearts,
whatsoever spetious pretences they may make, His fidelity
being evident to the very Enemies of the Company and his
Reputation to such degree that no man ever thought that
it would be possible for him or any other to accomplish
such great things as he hath done for us under abundance
of difficulties and disappoyntments, which wee should be
unjust to our selves and to him if wee did not take notice of.

Wee would have all our former orders pursued as to
the strenthening Bombay and making
accomodations for building and re-
pairing of ships as well as storing
your selves and keeping alwayes a
constant store beforehand of Timbers and plank, especially
all necessary provisions for the Belly, for reasons wee have
formerly hinted to our Generall.

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Your dispatching to us soe many shipps and soe well
loaden is very extraordinary and obliges us to be soe care-
full for your safety as not to wish you
to disarme your selves too much of
shipping by hasting all your strength
and our most trusty commanders to
us, which is a matter wee durst
not write to any but our Excellent Generall, whome wee
dare trust in all affaires and with greater liberty then ever,
wee did to any other.

So many ships dispatcht
and so well loaden very
extraordinary But dis-
arme not your selves
too much.

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Wee would not have our Generall omitt to sett up his Granaderes, but to increase their number to Forty, Alwayes to attend his person in a Guard Chamber within our Fort, when he is there, and to follow him wherever he goes, alwayes to be commanded by Captain Shaxton And wee give our Generall leave to make choice of his own life guard men out of any [of] our English Companyes and to allow them one Rupee per moneth dureing the life of our present Generall, more than ordinary English Centinells in our foot Companys.

Increase our Generalls life guard to 40, alwayes to attend his person.

NOTES.

(1) *Sao Lourenco* is a Portuguese name for Madagascar, an island in the Indian Ocean, separated from the south-east coast of Africa by the Mozambique Channel. It was discovered by Diego Diaz in 1500 A.D.

(2) *Mosambique* is a town on the East African coast, and the whole of the Portuguese possession on the east coast of Africa was called by that name. It was discovered by Vasco da Gama in 1498.

(3) *Marbur*. James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough (1618-1665). Naval Captain. Towards the end of 1661, he was deputed by Charles II to receive Bombay from the Portuguese. On various pretexts the Portuguese refused to deliver up the Island, and so he returned home, leaving Abraham Shipman to discharge the Commission.

(4) *Elephanta* is a small island near Bombay. It took its name from an elephant carved out of a black-stone, about seven feet in height. It is famous for its magnificent excavated temple.

(5) *Caranja*. Same as Karanjah. It is an island adjacent to that of Bombay and was claimed by the English by virtue of the articles of Marriage treaty between Charles II and the King of Portugal. Its strategic position between the island of Bombay and the Indian Coast added heat to the controversy between the two nations for its possession.

(6) *Salsette*. A large island north of Bombay, now connected with it by a bridge. It derived its name from "sixty-six" villages that were situated there. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Marathas in 1739, and passed into the hands of the British in 1774.

(7) *Bacaim*. Same as Bassein. Among the Marathas it is known as Wasai. It was a flourishing port on the Western coast of India near Bombay during the days of the Portuguese supremacy.

(8) *Cambaia*. Same as Cambay. It was a large town at the end of the Gulf which bears its name. Owing to the silting up of the harbour, and the rise of Surat and Bombay, its commerce dwindled away and it lost its former importance.

(9) *Quemado Islands*. Nothing is known about them which might be considered noteworthy. Danvers says that they are islands north of Goa. (Portuguese in India, Vol. 2, App. D.)

(10) *Banians*. "The word adopted from Vaniya, a man of the trading caste, and that comes from Sanskrit Vaniy—a merchant. The terminal nasal may be a Portuguese addition (as in palanquin)"

(12). *Surrender of Bombay to the E. I. Co.,*

The cause of the transfer of Bombay to the East India Company is stated by Fryer to have been the pomp and expenses maintained by the English Governor of the island, Mr. Gary. Another writer has attributed it to the desire of Charles II to pacify the annoyance of the Company at the conclusion of the Treaty of Breda. "The true motive probably was the complete indifference of the King to the value and influence of his lately acquired possessions" (See S. M. Edwardes : *The Rise of Bombay* p. 106). The transfer was effected by the Royal Charter of March 27th, 1668.

(11) *Antonio de Mello de Castro*. He was both a Royal Commissioner for the delivery of the port and island of Bombay to the English, and viceroy of Portuguese India. In his former capacity he was ordered by his king to ask for the credentials from the king of England in order to know to whom he was to deliver the island, and in the latter capacity he had to consult the interests of his own government in India. He played a very important part in the negotiations between the English and the Portuguese regarding the delivery of the island to the former. He tried his best to delay the cession of the island by raising various technical objections, and at last, disgusted with the whole affair, he handed over the government to his successor Nunes da Cunha. He was governor of the Portuguese possessions in India for "three years, ten months, and two days": that is from 14th Dec. 1662 to 17th Oct. 1666. (See Danvers : the Portuguese in India, Vol. 2 : Da Cunha : Origin of Bombay ; Dr. Khan : Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay ; Portuguese Records (Translations) Noticias da India, Vol. 1, Part 2 pp. 355-65).

(13) *Anglo-Dutch rivalry in India*. England and Holland were (Doc. 8) keen commercial rivals. "We are fighting", said a member of the Long Parliament, "for the fairest mistress in the world - trade". While the English were slowly founding colonies in the west, and trading centres in the East, the Dutch were rapidly extending their sway over what had hitherto been Portuguese possessions. The Great Civil war in England had weakened the English Enterprise so that the Dutch forged ahead and became the chief carriers of the European Commerce. Under Cromwell's vigorous rule, however, the English began to recover their position, and hence were again brought into conflict with the Dutch. Matters were brought to a head in 1651, when the Commonwealth Parliament passed a Navigation Act declaring that all goods coming into England must be carried in British Ships, or in the ships of the Country from which the goods came. This was a heavy blow to the Dutch ; and when the English insisted that the Dutch ships should lower their flag to English men-of-war in the Channel, collision between the two nations became inevitable. Indeed the three wars against Holland into which England drifted during the 17th century (1652-1674), were all prompted, more or less, by commercial and colonial animosities. The English in India copied from "the wise Dutch", their policy of the strong arm, and when the Dutch gradually lost their footing in India, they stepped into their shoes.

(14) *Treaty Marine*. The rapid progress of the French arms in the Spanish Netherlands and the activities of Louis XIV alarmed both England and Holland, and they entered into a Convention, known as 'Treatie Marine', at the Hague "Court Minutes of the East India Company" has the following notes upon it.

(1) "Treaty marine, February 7/17, 1668"—A treaty by navigation and Commerce between Great Britain and the States-General, concluded at the Hague. It contains nineteen articles and the Ratification clause dated 21st March, 1668.

(2) "Articles touching Navigation and Commerce between Charles II and the States-General of the united Provinces, concluded at the Hague, February 7/17, 1668. Both the documents are identical but quoted from two different sources."

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|-----|--------------------|---|
| (1) | First War 1652-54 | } |
| | Second War 1665-67 | |
| | Third War 1672-74 | |

(15) *Sir Gervase Lucas*. Being disgusted with the administration of Humphrey Cooke at Bombay, the Home Government sent Sir Gervase Lucas to succeed him. He arrived in Bombay in November 1666, ousted Cooke from the Governorship and cast him into prison on a charge of fraud and embezzlement. He was a severe critic of his predecessor's policy, as is revealed by his dispatch sent immediately after his assumption of his office at Bombay. (See Dr. Khan: *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay: Gazetteer of the Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II) Later in March 1668, he was authorised by Charles II to deliver the Island of Bombay to the East India Company. (I. O. Records Home Series, Vol. 42 p. 162).

(16) *Dispute concerning Tannah and Karinjah*. The dispute arose from the uncertain words of the articles of the Marriage treaty. The English insisted that the cession of "the Port and Island of Bombay, in the East Indies with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging" implied the surrender of Tannah and Karinjah as well. But the Portuguese literally confined it to the island of Bombay only. The attitude of the Portuguese seems to be legally sound since Bombay had been regarded by them as quite distinct from the two places claimed by the English. (See Dr. Khan: *Anglo-Portuguese Nego.*). The dispute really had its origin in the fact that the possession of Bombay was fruitless without a hold on Tanna and Karinjah, since the Portuguese holding the last two places could effectively ruin the first by imposing heavy duties on all supplies passing Tanna and Karinjah on their way to Bombay.

(17) *Zeraphins*. A silver coin struck at Goa, marked on one side with the image of St. Sebastian and on the other with 3 or 4 arrows in a sheaf. In value it was somewhat less than 1s. 6d. (Hobson-Jobson).

(18) *Carwar*, or *Karwar*. a port town on the Malabar Coast south of Goa.

(19) *Rajapore*. It was a flourishing port on the western seaboard of India, belonging to the King of Bijapore. It was taken by Shivaji in 1660.

(20) *Sombajee Rajah*. Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, the King of the Marathas (1680-89). He was cruelly put to death by Aurangzeb.

(22) *Topasse Souldiers*. Various derivations have been suggested for the origin of the word: e.g., from Töp-chi—gunner or Töppe-wallah—Hat-man. (See Hobson-Jobson).

(23) *Sir John Child*. While Sir Josia Child was in authority in Leadenhall street, John Child occupied the chief position among the Company's servants in India: In 1682 he became President of Surat, and in 1687, he was given supreme control, not of western India only, but of all the Company's factories in the East, being thus the first to hold the position of Governor-General. It was the patronage of the former that pushed the latter into such a high place in history. "Yet in spite of the unquestioned and unquestioning assertions of all the historians from Bruce to Hunter", there is no room for regarding them as brothers: there is no reason to suppose that they were even remotely related.* If one patronised the other it was due to their mutual self-interest. Josia needed a tool in India and John a patron at home.

* See Ray and Strachey; Keigwin's rebellion.

Sir John's administration has been subjected to great criticism owing to his mishandling of the situation during Keigwin's Rebellion and his dealings with the Moghul Emperor during the war with Aurangzeb. He died in 1690.

(21) "*Differences in Bengal*". For many years there had been friction with the local officials over the question of way-dues and customs. From the beginning the English had aimed at securing complete exemption from such imposts, in consideration of an annual present of 3,000 rupees : and in 1656 they had obtained from Shah Shuja, who was then governing the province, a grant freeing them from all demands on this score. The fratricidal wars of Shah Jehan's son's, and especially Shah Shuja's flight and his tragic end ushered in a period of struggle for the existence of the Company in Bengal. The Moghul officers did not consider Shah Shuja's grant as binding upon them, and the English were soon involved in a bitter conflict with Mir Jumla who was appeased only when the Agent at Hugli offered an unqualified apology to him and submitted to pay 3000 rupees annually for their trade privileges. Mir Jumla died on 30th March 1663 and was succeeded by Shayasta Khan in the viceroyalty of Bengal. He confirmed in 1672 all the privileges of the Company in return for the annual subsidy exacted from them during his predecessor's administration.

The Court of Directors, however, were not satisfied with this arrangement, which to a large extent depended upon the attitude of the local authorities. They found it very expensive and troublesome to procure a fresh order for trade concessions from every succeeding governor. They desired to make their position more secure by procuring the sanction of the highest authority in the land, and thus to settle the matter for ever.

In this attempt they were keenly disappointed. The Farman which was issued by Aurangzeb in 1680 recognised their right to trade with Bengal as with other places, and defined the duties payable by them to the Imperial Exchequer. It proclaimed a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all their goods to "be taken for the future. And at all other places upon this account let no one molest them for customs, etc." But there arose great 'differences' in interpreting the document. The English read it as given above, with a full-stop after 'future', which meant that the Emperor demanded three and a half per cent. only at Surat, while in all other places he exempted them from the usual duties. But the Government officials read it as if the full-stop was placed after the words "and at all other places" and did not allow any exemptions. (See Stewart : Hist. of Bengal, App. No. V).

(24) *Keigwin's Rebellion*. See Strachey, Keigwin's Rebellion (Clarendon Press, 1916).

The military revolt of Capt. Keigwin at Bombay in 1683 was a curious incident. In March 1681 he had been appointed by the Court of Directors Commandant of all forces on the island, and third member of council on a salary of 6 shillings a day, without any allowance for diet and lodging. This exiguous salary was the result of a general desire on the part of the company to retrench their military expenditure, and in 1683 Sir John Child, in pursuance of the Company's object,

† See Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol. II. James Mill : History of British India, Vol. I.

‡ See Sir William Foster : English Factories, Appendix Bruce : Annals, I pp. 463 464, 560-61. Streynsham Master : Diary, pp. 348-349.

ordered a further reduction by 30 per cent. of all military salaries. Capt. Keigwin, although really a loyal subject, was driven into rebellion by this and other tyrannical acts of Sir John. The rebels declared that 'we are therefore resolved not to suffer these abuses any longer, but revolt to His Majesty taking all into our possession for his use'. Keigwin held Bombay for a year, governing it well and honestly. He then surrendered it honourably to a King's officer. He died in 1690 bravely leading his men to an attack on one of the West India Islands.

(25) "*Your law, there is what His Majesty is pleased to constitute by Himself or His East India Company.*"

[Doc. 11)

Queen Elizabeth's Charter of 1600 A.D. empowered the Company to assemble and hold court for the purpose making laws for its government, and vested the direction of its affairs in a Governor and twenty-four persons who were elected annually. The power of legislation thus granted was intended primarily to frame rules for the maintenance of discipline among the servants of the Company. In 1609 James I renewed these powers and the same were granted again by the Charter of 1661. The Charter of 1669, that ceded Bombay to the Company, empowered it to make laws for the island of Bombay, *i.e.*, territorial legislative power. The same Charter made provision for the administration of justice in Bombay over all persons resident in that island, unlike in the other settlements, where jurisdiction was only personal, not territorial. Two courts were established in Bombay :

(1) A court of limited jurisdiction to try suits up to a certain pecuniary value, consisting of a European servant of the East India Company and two Indian assistants :

(2) A court of unlimited jurisdiction *i.e.*, a Supreme Court consisting of the Deputy Governor and Council.

Under the Admiralty Charter of 1683 provision was made for administering justice by means of the Admiralty Courts which were invested with the same jurisdiction as the Admiralty Court in England. The chief function of the Admiralty Court was to deal with 'Interloper' cases. Justice was to be done according to the law 'what His Majesty is pleased to constitute by himself or His East India Company', and such bye-laws as 'our General and Council shall find cause to make for the good Government of the people' subject to the confirmation by the King of the Company, (See I. O. Letter Book, Vol. 8, p. 168).

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

To be continued.

THE HOME AND LIFE IN PERSIA

(Three lectures delivered in November 1929 at the Nagpur University).

ONE of the ways to understand the life of a people is to study the external surroundings in which that life is passed : the general outline of a city and of a village and the details of the plan on which they are built ; the outward and the inward appearance of a house ; the clothes the people wear and the food they eat ; the arts and crafts in which the people are proficient ; the recreations to which they are mostly addicted ; the vices with which they are afflicted, and the virtues that are practised in the country.

If we apply that method to Persia, we shall find in the first instance that, whilst both in Europe and in India the words " city " and " village " convey to us a certain clear and definite meaning, no real distinction can be drawn in Persia between these two kinds of human settlements : as regards their outward appearance, a Persian city differs from a village chiefly by its size and the greater number of its inhabitants. Otherwise, most of the buildings of a city are made of the same materials (raw bricks and mud) and differ merely in size from the houses of a village.

On approaching a city in Persia one is astonished to discover that the city remains to all purposes invisible up to the very moment one passes through its gates. Only on an evening one can guess at the presence of a city in the distance by a great cloud of dust floating in the air above an inhabited place. There are, however, also some other signs that show to an accustomed eye the nearness of a city ; beautiful gardens mostly surround a city in Persia on all sides for a distance of several miles. On the whole, however, as we have said, a city cannot be seen from afar (unless from the top of a hill, if lying in a valley, or from the plain, if built on the slope of a mountain), because the

houses in Persia are mostly one-storied, seldom two-storied buildings, constructed of materials of the same colour and composition as the earth of the surrounding desert.

Leaving alone the little investigated question of the plan on which cities may have been built in pre-Islamic times, a few words may be said regarding the general appearance of a Persian city, as preserved in the descriptions of the Arab geographers. They tell us that a city was generally surrounded by a mud wall, inside of and next to which was the part of the city known as *rabad*, i.e. "suburb", which was further divided from the city proper (*shāhristān*) by an inner concentric wall, whilst a third wall enclosed the citadel, known to the Arab geographers under the name of *quhandiz* (probably the arabicized Persian *kuhan-diz*, i.e. "the old fort"), which formed the heart of the city. In our days the citadel, or its remnants, is called in Persia *arg*. As commerce and industry progressed, life became more and more concentrated in the *rabad*, which little by little became merged in the *shahristān*, the latter losing at the same time its exclusiveness. The number of gates leading into the *shahristān* was mostly four, whereas the *rabad* had never less than six, sometimes as many as twelve gates. Up to our days we find in Persian cities, even in those of a comparatively recent origin, some vague traces of the above described plan. Thus, for instance, in Tehran there still exists a "Citadel Place" (*Maydan-i Arg*), the very name of which points to the former presence of a real citadel or fort in that particular spot, and the gates which lead into the *Maydan* in question, remind us of its former isolation from the rest of the city. Thus in Tehran, a comparatively new city; older cities, however, have often ruins of an old citadel in the very middle of the city. As regards the *rabad* and the *shahristān*, they have merged into each other so early and so thoroughly that it would be extremely difficult in our days to establish even approximately the correct place of the boundary line between the two.

The streets in a Persian city are, generally speaking, extremely narrow, which, however, ought to be considered as normal in a country where most of the locomotion is done on horseback, or on donkeys and mules, and where transport is effected by means of beasts of burden. A greater resemblance with streets in our sense of the word can be found in the so-called *khiyaban* or "avenues",

which exist in most of the greater cities of Persia ; thus, at Meshhed the *khiyaban* crosses the whole city in the NW.-SE. direction. In Isfahan a similar avenue passes from the centre of the city to the South. Tehran alone has several *khiyabans*, which is due to a complete reconstruction of the city by Nâsiru'ddîn Shâh. The principal avenues of Tehran are : *Khiyaban-i 'Ala'u-d-Dowla* and *Khiyaban-i Lalazar*, starting from the " Artillery Grounds " (*Maydan-i Tupkhana*) and going due North ; the " Electric Lamp Avenue " (*Khiyaban-i Chiragh-Barq*, formerly called *Khiyaban-i Chiragh-Gaz*— " the Gas-Lamp Avenue ") leads to the East, and the two parallel avenues *Nasiriyya* and *Almasiyya*, running southwards, connect the above-mentioned " Artillery Grounds " with the Imperial palaces.

A characteristic feature of a Persian street is its running water flowing either on both sides of the street in shallow ditches, as in Tehran, or in one such ditch in the middle of the street, as on the *khiyaban* of Meshhed. These ditches of running water are of the greatest importance for the population : clothes are washed therein, horses scrubbed, ritual ablutions are performed on their brink, water-carriers (*sagga*) fill here their large skin-bags (*mashk*), in which they supply drinking water to houses ; from here water is taken for watering the street in the hot season by means of a leather bucket, and so forth. And in general, there is hardly a country in the world, where water is used so economically and at the same time so fully as in Persia ; that rare ability of using the available supply of water to its full is a logical outcome of the scarcity of water in the country, owing to which Persians have reached the most remarkable results, as far as the distribution of water is concerned, without wasting a single drop of the precious liquid. A most striking example of it is cited by E. G. Browne in his *Year amongst the Persians* (p. 185), witnessed by him south of Kashan, where he saw " a number of dams constructed so as to divert the water from its channel and make it flow over portions of the bank, whence it returned charged with mud ", which " was done to *prevent the water evaporating*, as muddy water evaporates less readily than that which is clear ".

Another example of such judicious utilization of water has been often observed by myself on the causeway connecting Tehran with its summer-resort Shimran (or Shamiran), which is watered in summer by means of similarly diverting the water of the two ditches on the

causeway itself for half an hour by which time practically the whole of its length (about 10 miles or so) is watered.

Generally speaking, water is brought into cities in two different manners: either the water of mountain-streams is diverted into shallow and narrow open ditches as those just described, or else more complicated subterranean aqueducts are constructed for this purpose, known under the Arabic name of *qanat* in Persia proper, and the Persian term of *kariz* in Turkestan and in the Eastern parts of the Iranian tableland. The structure of a *qanat*, which consists of a row of vertical wells sunk at regular intervals and further connected by horizontal passages, has been described many times (cf. for instance Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 116, note; Ivanow, *Persian as spoken in Birjand* JASB., XXIV, 1928, 240, note, etc.), so that only a few words are needed in this place on that subject. These subterranean aqueducts, both in their vertical and in their horizontal parts are lined with tiles. The diameter of the vertical shafts is about three yards, and of the horizontal ones somewhat less. The water comes either from some mountain spring, as in the case of the above described open ditches, or else is derived from some underground spring detected by a *muqanni-bashi*, a person who has specialized in discovering underground water. The construction of such aqueducts is very expensive, and it is therefore only natural that the persons who are willing to lay out a great sum for the purpose should be considered owners of the water thus provided, which is sold by them to the consumers. It sometimes happens, however, that the supply of water yielded by the source some fifteen miles or more away from the place of its distribution proves to be inadequate, and the *qanat* does not justify the expectations of its builders. On its arrival at the walls of a city the water encounters the outside moat encircling the city and is taken over the latter by means of a special pipe (nowadays mostly in cast-iron) about a yard in diameter, which is laid across the moat on a light trestle stockade and passes through the bottom of the wall. A special official who bears the title of *mirab* (lit. "master of water") is responsible for the distribution of the water-supply in each quarter of the city. It is his duty to see that every house of the quarter of which he is in charge receives against the payment of a certain annual fee the amount of water required (mostly supplied twice a week). The quantity of the water supplied has a twofold measurement: by time and by the

cross-section. The latter is measured by "stones": *yak sang ab* "one stone of water" means that a sandstone slab with a surface of about one foot square and about 2 ins. thick is taken off by the *mirab* thus admitting into the house or garden to be supplied with water a flow of water of the corresponding cross-section, for an hour or two, according to arrangement. The yearly fee for 3 to 4 "stones" of water two hours a week would be approximately about sixty tumans, *i.e.* two hundred rupees Indian, roughly speaking, which is, as one can see, rather a high price to pay for such an ordinary and indispensable commodity as water. The *mirab* expects, besides, to receive an *in'am*, that is to be tipped by the owner of the house on various occasions, failing which the quantity of water supplied might decrease, or its supply be stopped altogether for repairs on the pipes which bring the water into the house and which happened to get obstructed on such occasions. These pipes, 5 to 6 ins. in diameter, are made of hollow kiln-dried clay cylinders 8 to 10 ins. long connected into a semblance of a pipe by means of ordinary clay.

As regards every description of garbage, slops, and the like, they are generally simply thrown out in the street, the liquid parts being almost immediately absorbed by the extremely dry earth, and the great disinfectant of the East, the scorching sun, soon dries up and purifies the rest. Often, especially in the parts of the city adjoining the outside wall, whole carcasses of donkeys, mules, horses, camels, duly skinned, are left in the streets to be devoured by the street-dogs within a few hours. I have often personally witnessed myself the blood-stained muzzle of a dog looking out from the inside of a horse or camel carcass where it had entered to get hold of the more tender pieces of carrion. The dogs are assisted in their duties by vultures who also swoop down on every bit of carrion that may be thrown out. The next day the bones are completely dried up by the sun, a snow-white skeleton remains alone on the place of yesterday's carrion, which is further reduced to dust and entirely disappears under the combined effort of atmospheric influences.

Speaking about streets, I have not yet mentioned anything about what might be called "street" in our sense of the word, about the place, where all the social life of the city is so to say concentrated, the place which might be called a city in the city, the place which regulates the whole life of the population, in one word—about the *bazar*.

As regards its outside appearance, one may say that *bazars* are built all over the Muhammadan world on one and the same plan which consists in the total absence of any plan whatever : a *bazar* seems always to be a labyrinth of lanes, bylanes, a maze of thoroughfares intermixed with blind-alleys, a place where one suddenly comes quite unexpectedly to the same spot which one left an hour ago in the hope of getting somehow out of the tangled skein of the bazar-network. The reason of this outward irregularity of the plan lies in the fact that a *bazar* as we see it to-day is an agglomeration of every kind of accretions which have overrun the original scheme, the latter thus entirely disappearing under this overgrowth of later constructions. In some cities the *bazar* little by little spreads out in such a way as almost to occupy the whole territory inside of the walls of the city.

A *bazar* consists of covered passages, both sides of which are occupied by shops. Great bazars are generally built of stone and brickwork, and their high vaulted roofs are lined with gaudy-coloured tiles, forming beautiful mosaic patterns very pleasant to look at. At regular intervals circular holes at the top of conical domes in the roof admit a subdued kind of light into the interior of the passage. The shops are mostly assorted according to specialities ; we thus find passages of : shoemakers (*kafshduzan*), hatters (*kulahduzan*), jewellers (*javahiriyan*), booksellers (*kitabfurushan*), glassware merchants (*bulurfurushan*), coppersmiths (*misgaran*), grocers (*baqqalha*), carpet-merchants (*qalifurushan*), other parts of the *bazar* are occupied by merchants according to their confessions : the Guebres (Zoroastrians) trade in silks of Persian make and in haberdashery of Anglo-Indian origin ; the Armenians again have their shops concentrated in one part of the *bazar* which deal in haberdashery of English, Russian and, in later years, also German origin ; finally the Jewish part of the *bazar* which constitutes a kind of "ghetto" (*mahalla-i yahudiha* or simply *mahalla*), where every kind of stores can be found, where the richest jewellers of the city live and trade, but which is generally the dirtiest part of the whole *bazar*.

All through the *bazar* can be found eating-shops, which provide lunches and teas both for the merchants and the general public ; the time of the meals is announced by the ringing of gongs or bells of thin coppersheets having the shape of a hemisphere, half a dozen of which in different sizes, from a few inches to a couple of feet in diameter,

hang on a rope in every such shop. The food served in these shops is naturally prepared under the very eyes of the passers-by, meat is being chopped and minced, rice is being cooked, and sauces are mixed by the shop-assistants with sleeves turned up on the shop-counter, if we may use this term in connection with a Persian shop.

Having once touched upon the subject of meat and food, I may add here a few words about the butchers and the bakers, both of whom are considered by the Persians as the most unscrupulous of all merchants in the *bazar*. That opinion of the population is not altogether unfounded: both the butchers and the bakers in Persia often combine amongst themselves to raise the price of the commodities in which they deal to the prejudice of the poorer classes of the population. By the very nature of their ware, the bakers have also every kind of opportunity of adding to the flour they use for baking foreign substances (or at least inferior kinds of flour, like barley-flour, etc.), which makes them a real scourge of the poorest classes of the city population, the principal food of the latter being bread and cheese in winter, and bread and grapes in summer. The bakers are also the first to close their shops at the slightest disturbance in the city, which is apt to occur in Persia pretty often for various reasons. What feeling of panic can be produced in the population by such a closing of bread-shops, will become clear from what I shall have to say on the subject of food. The rise in the price of bread is, however, very seldom the result of any underhand activities on the part of the bakers themselves and is mostly the result of some rich merchant having "cornered" the whole supply of wheat in the city and the adjoining country, which he then begins to sell at an inflated price, thus affecting the price of baked bread as well.

The attitude of the Persian population with regard to the butcher is best of all expressed in terms of the very current, but unfortunately unprintable proverb, which might be paraphrased as follows: "It is better to eat the flesh of one's own body, than to crave favours from a butcher."

Sometimes the Government intervenes in certain cases which would otherwise result in popular disturbances, dealing rather harshly with the offenders. I remember a case, when during the last journey of Muzaffarū'd-dīn Shāh to Europe, the then heir-apparent Muhammad Ali Mirza arrived in Tehran as Regent in the absence of

his father. One of his first measures was to attend to the question of the price and the quality of the bread supplied to the population of the capital. Two or three days after his arrival, when passing through the *Maydan-i-Tupkhana*, I came upon the body of a man with his throat cut, lying on the ground and surrounded by a group of loafers. It was explained to me that the man was a baker who had sold bread of defective weight. Persons unacquainted with life in Persia and who are not aware of the fact that bread constitutes practically the only food of a great part of the city population of that country, might find capital punishment in the case of an offence, which would have led in other countries to some heavy fine, too rigorous a measure. The loafers who were gazing at the dead body obviously did not think so, and considered the procedure in a very detached way: to my first question, when I inquired, what had happened, one of the group replied "*adam-ra kushtand*" ("a man has been killed"); to my second question as to who did it, he quietly replied, "*davlat kusht*" ("the Government has killed"). These two answers (this by the way) also show clearly in what light capital punishment is viewed by the Persian people. The manner in which the execution was performed in the case mentioned (which, it would seem, is the ordinary procedure) fully justifies such an attitude of the people: there is no real capital punishment in such a case, which is merely the destruction of an undesirable member of society. The manner in which the execution is performed is of the simplest: the victim is brought out into a public square or some such suitable place, and the executioner, who bears the poetical title "*mir-ghazab*" ("the administrator of wrath"), also called *jallad* ("flagellator") puts two fingers of his left hand from behind into the nostrils of the victim, drags his head backwards and upwards and cuts his throat with a dagger. The body remains lying on the spot for a short time, after which the executioner with his assistants takes the corpse by the legs and drags it about in the *bazars* claiming tips from the shopkeepers for having delivered them from "such a dangerous criminal".

To return to the description of the *bazar*. When a foreigner enters for the first time in his life a Persian *bazar*, he is at first overwhelmed by the various smells of food and of leather, of nutmeg, cloves, cinnamon, cardamom, saffron, fruits and tea, floating in the air on every side and blending themselves into a peculiar harmony of odours. But as one gets used to it, one gets so fond of the

smells of a Persian *bazar* that hardly any perfume in the world can produce on you the same effect and give you the same sense of exhilaration as this singular symphony of heterogeneous odours.

The most noisy parts of the *bazar* are the passages of coppersmiths whose uninterrupted hammering prevents one from hearing one's own words, when one is compelled to visit their shops. The shoemakers and hatters, though producing less noise are all of them a hard-working lot, and their shops in the bigger *bazars* are lined from floor to ceiling with thousands upon thousands of slippers, shoes and caps, so that one is at a loss to understand who is expected to buy all that foot and headwear, and when. The glassware passages are less frequented. Silence, almost a kind of solemn hush, is the prevalent feature of the parts of the *bazar* where the shops of jewellers and the carpet-selling stores are concentrated. The shops of the booksellers (*kitabfurushan*) become often a kind of literary clubs where those in search of intellectual food assemble : many *qalyans* (" water-pipes ") are smoked here, great quantities of tea are partaken of, newspapers and books are read, and long conversations on the topics of the day or on abstract questions are held.

The shops do not naturally in any way resemble in their outward appearance and plan the European type of shop. They are mere niches or recesses in the wall of the bazar-passage, the wares being piled up in the background and the merchant himself squatting on his haunches on the counter, whilst the customer has to stand in front of the shop ; when purchasing many articles in the same shop, one is generally offered a small stool to sit on, or else the customer climbs up and squats opposite the owner of the shop.

Shops in the so-called caravanserais are built on the same plan. A caravanserai is a huge building with a cupola-shaped roof, containing shops on the ground-floor and rooms for merchants arriving from other towns on the top-floor. A caravanserai contains also a storehouse where the arriving merchants can store up their goods until disposed of.

As already mentioned, the passages in the *bazar* are very narrow : in its broadest thoroughfares two carriages can hardly pass abreast, and in its narrower lanes two beasts of burden have the greatest trouble in passing each other. The crush in the *bazar* is considerable : there being

no special side-walks in the *bazar* (as also hardly in any street in Persian cities), pedestrians have to thread their way amongst two-horse carriages, horsemen, men riding on donkeys and mules, amongst rows of asses carrying on their backs huge rope-nets filled with lucern (*yunja*) or chopped straw (*kah*); strings of camels pass on with measured steps carrying loads of firewood or big bales of some local or foreign goods, and the sweet melody of their bells intermingles with the warnings shouted by horsemen and coachmen to unwary pedestrians: *khabardar* ("take care") or *bi-pa* ("steady"); water-sellers pass in the crowd shouting in a high-pitched voice: *ay ab-i yakh* ("Ice-water") or *ab-i yakh sabil* ("Charity ice-water"); beggars accost one chanting in a piteous voice: *in shab-i jum'a ba-man pirazan-i zalil yak sannar bidahid* ("On this Friday-eve give a penny to this crippled old woman!") or *yak pul-i zughal ba-banda bidahid* ("Do give a penny for charcoal to your slave!"), should it be in winter; or *khuda zalilat nakunad* ("May God not make you a cripple!"), if the beggar is himself blind or otherwise afflicted with some deformity. The shopkeepers shout, praising their wares, the *charvadars* (muleteers and camelmen) start an altercation, *hammals* (porters, coolies) carrying heavy loads on their hunched backs shout warnings at the passers-by. All these multiform noises are somehow blended in that specific din of an Eastern *bazar* in which an accustomed ear can and does discover a peculiar harmony.

In spite of the apparently disorderly rush of the crowd and the seeming confusion of traffic, in spite of the absence of policemen supervising and regulating the same, in spite of the narrowness of the passages, devoid, as already said, of any trace of special footpaths for pedestrians, the movement of the crowd proves to be automatically regulated by the individuals themselves, as everybody is looking out for himself. Any kind of collision is quickly solved by a few words of invective, wherein the offender always shouts louder and uses stronger language than the other party.

The crowd in the street is of the same composition, the same endless stream of camels, mules and donkeys thread their way between pedestrians and carriages, the same shouts resound on every side, but the sounds are less concentrated and there is no such crush as in the vaulted narrow passages of the *bazar*.

The city is mostly surrounded by gardens; though, of course, very large gardens can also be found in the cities

themselves, but in that case also they mostly happen to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the city-wall. Like a Persian house, a garden is also always surrounded by a high mud-wall. The owner of a garden very seldom lives in it altogether. A gardener (*baghan-bashi*) is generally in-charge of the garden and lives there, with many assistant-gardeners, should the garden be so big as to require such. The regular salary of a gardener is mostly a very paltry one, but his income from indirect sources may be quite appreciable in some cases : on the one hand, he is allowed the use of the fruits of the garden for himself and family, and, sometimes, he is even able to sell a part of the yearly crop ; on the other hand, he has (naturally only in summer) very good earnings in tips from visitors who come to pass an hour in the garden in the fresh air sitting near the flowing water or on the bank of the pond or tank which a garden always has got, smoking interminable water-pipes and drinking tea, these latter two items being also supplied by the gardener for a consideration. It is in fact characteristic of Persia that, whoever the owner of the garden, whether the Shah himself, or a grandee or a nobleman, or merely a rich merchant,—it, so to say, constitutes public property, and any passer-by is entitled to enter it for a rest or for a stroll, without asking anybody for permission, should even the owner of the garden be living there himself at the moment.

The garden generally consists of poplars (*tabrizi*), cypresses (*sarv*), Persian pines (*qach*) and weeping-willows (*bid-i Majnun*). Of fruit-trees the most common are the white and the black mulberry (*shahtut*) : the tree is so common that many of the avenues in the city itself are planted either with acacias or with white mulberry-trees. Most of the gardens in Persia have pomegranate-trees (*anar*), quince-trees (*bih*), apricot-trees (*zardalu*), peach-trees (*hulu*), plum-trees (*alucha*) and cherry-trees (*alubalu*). Almost every big garden can boast of some walnut-trees (*gardu*), chestnut-trees (*shahbalut*), almond-trees (*badam*), fig-trees, white or black, (*injr*) and, of course, grapes, of which there are scores of kinds in Persia. A somewhat strange (from our point of view) feature of a Persian garden is the total absence of any grass or lawn, for which I cannot offer any explanation beyond that the Persians do not consider it necessary for a garden.

Of spring-flowers, violets (*bunafsha*), dark and white, are found in profusion in most of the gardens in Persia ; narcissi (*nargis*), hyacinths (*sumbul*), irises (*zambaq*), lilacs

(*yas*), of which there are supposed to exist thirty kinds in Persia, and jasmine (*yasman*). From the beginning of the summer and up to the early autumn roses go on blossoming in all gardens ; it would be impossible for us here to discuss in detail all the varieties of roses found in Persia, I may, however, mention that the most common is the ordinary red rose (*gul-i surkh*), and that the wild-rose bushes, bearing white, yellow or pink flowers are extremely abundant and sometimes reach an extraordinarily large size. The glory of late autumn are the beautiful chrysanthemums (*gul-i darwudi*) of every colour and description which abound in all the gardens of Persia.

Let us now enter a Persian house. We approach a low and often very heavy door. The door is usually preceded by a porch laid out in multicoloured glazed tiles, in which yellow and blue colours are predominant. Sometimes we find above the door such a blue tile with some verse of the Qur'ân inscribed on it in black lettering, often merely *Bismillahi-'r-Rahmani-r-Rahim* " In the name of God the Merciful the Forgiving", or also the verse most often encountered on old daggers and swords in the shape of a gold-inlaid inscription : *Nasrum min-al-lahi wa fathun qarib* " Help from God—and victory is near." (Ch. LXI ; v. 13). The appropriateness of the motto both for swords and for doors lies in the meaning of the Arabic word *fath* which means both " to open " and " to conquer ". The right-hand fold of the door is supplied with a knocker, made mostly of brass with a brass-plate underneath. The door is closed from inside by an iron (sometimes also a wooden) bar. The courtyard is almost always paved with small flag-stones. The centre of the courtyard is occupied by a small tank (*hawz*), the water of which is used for all the domestic necessities as well as for watering in the morning and at sunset the court during the hot season, and for ablutions. The bigger houses possess, besides such a tank, generally also a small underground reservoir (*abambar*) with a tap, from which cooler and cleaner water is supplied for drinking purposes.

The house is generally built in the shape of a quadrangle, of which one side is occupied by the reception rooms (*birun*, literally " exterior", " outside"), the opposite side by the living rooms (*andarun* or " interior ") ; the other two sides contain the kitchen, the servants' quarters, sheds for fuel, and the like. The stables and carriage-sheds, even when directly adjoining the house, have mostly a second entrance from the street. The rooms of the house

communicate with the courtyard by means of glass doors, which also do duty for the absent windows. The rooms are generally airy and lofty, the ceilings are ordinarily of inlaid wood of artistic patterns. The walls are dis-tempered. Here and there chimneys are built into the walls, without grating, where no fire is made, chiefly for ornamental purposes. Niches are also made in the walls, some five feet from the ground, where books are shelved or glass-ware and porcelain are exhibited. Persians are very fond of glass in any shape : mirrors, lamps, candelabra, vases, etc. The chief decoration of every house consists, therefore, in a disproportionately large number of lamps, glass candlesticks, and similar objects, never put to the use they were primarily intended for : the lamps are never lighted and have no wicks, the candlesticks have no candles in them. Sometimes a big round table occupies a corner of the room with some fifty crystal lamps hung with crystal pendants. The floor is made of clay and covered with mats, which are of two kinds : *hasir*, made from fine straw, and *burya* of rough, split maize-straw or even reeds. The *hasir* is about five feet in breadth and of varying length, ranging up to 14 feet. The *burya* is always made to order to suit the dimensions of the particular room for which it is intended. The matting, of whatever description it be, is further covered by carpets and rugs, which constitute the principal furniture in a Persian house, where neither tables nor chairs are used, as a rule. The proper way of covering the floor of a Persian room which is mostly oblong in Persian houses, is by spreading a set of carpets, which consists of (1) The central carpet called *miyana* ("the middle"), some 15 by 8 to 20 by 9 feet or more ; (2) two narrow side-carpet *kanara*, literally "border", the length of the central one and some 2-3 feet wide, and (3) one or two (as it may be) smaller rugs (*ghalicha*) of the size of a big prayer-carpet (*sajjada*), which are thrown along the short walls of the room and are consequently called *sar-andaz* (literally "thrown at the head"). The pattern of each of these carpets constituting the set must (theoretically, of course), be of one and the same design. The floor might also be covered with a single big piece of carpet of the size of the room or by a whole lot of those rugs (*ghalicha*), which in Europe are generally hung up on the walls, whereas Persians seldom hang up on the walls carpets which do not represent a picture, resembling European tapestries. High quality woollen carpets are preferred by Persians even to the silk ones so much prized by Westerners.

Walls are sometimes partly covered by shawls, chiefly produced in Kerman (*shal-i Kirman*) or imported from Kashmir (*shal-i Kashmir*), by gold and silver-brocade semi-transparent scarves (*chargat-i zari*) by chintzes, plain or gold-printed (*qalamkar* ; *qalamkar-i sadras*), and like material. The older, the softer, the thinner the rug, the more high is its value. In order to render a rug or carpet soft to the touch and of fine appearance it is often thrown out into the street, for "a carpet ought to be trodden upon" (*qali bayad lakad bukhurad*) : the passers-by treading on it for several days reduce it to a silky texture. This is chiefly done in autumn, when the streets are covered with mire. The rugs are then scattered just in the middle of the road, where they are sure to be trampled upon by whole caravans of passing camels, whose broad and strong hoofs do not injure the tissue of the carpets. Having been pressed a day or so under the hoofs of the passing thousands of camels, the carpets are properly washed and hung up to dry in the sun. Thus they develop unexcelled softness.

As has been said, the fire-places in a Persian house serve chiefly as ornament, not for heating the rooms. It might be objected that in some parts of Persia the winter-cold is sufficiently rigorous to compel people to have recourse to artificial means for getting warm. Yet, I repeat it, no fire is ever made in the fire-places ; the door-like windows are moreover made very carelessly and fitted in in a haphazard way, so that very often, when such a window is closed, a chink through which a finger can easily pass remains between its two halves. Sometimes such chinks happen to be even between the window and its frame, which is due to using unseasoned wood and to the primitiveness of the door-hinges used. If we add that one of the long walls of a room mostly consists of such door-like windows, there immediately arises the question what measures then are taken by Persians against the rigours of the winter-cold ? A special contrivance called *kursi* (lit. "seat ; throne") is used to meet these requirements. It consists of three separate parts : a two-feet in diameter chafing-dish with hot coals is placed under a very low (a little more than a foot in height) large (some 7 by 7 feet square) table, covered with a somewhat larger huge square padded quilt specially made for the purpose, under which all the inmates of the house sit huddled up with their feet towards the common source of warmth, the above mentioned chafing-dish. Long cylindrical bolsters

(*mutakka*) stuffed with cotton-wool are put under the head for the night, and thus the long winter-nights are passed. People accustomed to it even go so far as to sleep with their heads under the quilt to enjoy a greater amount of warmth, which often, however, leads to their getting headaches from the fumes of charcoal and even more often results in their easily catching cold afterwards.

As already mentioned the house is divided into *birun* and *andarun*. The *andarun* are the living-rooms and the gynecæum, the entrance of which is allowed only to women and to men of a certain degree of relationship (*mahram*), as well as to doctors of both sexes. These rules are observed more strictly among the higher classes and in the cities. The *birun*-part of the house consists of a series of reception-rooms where male visitors are entertained. Persians have no rooms of special destination, as they do not use any furniture in our sense of the word. There are no special dining-rooms, or bed-rooms, or drawing-rooms in a Persian house. The meals are partaken of in any room, according to the momentary whim of the master of the house, and the night is often passed on the same spot which had just served as an apology for a dining-room: thin mattresses (*dushak*) are spread on the floor and the above mentioned cylindrical bolsters put under the head. Only two meals in a day are taken: about noon and at night (just before going to bed, *i.e.* not before 9 P.M., mostly at a far later hour). The first of these meals is called *nahar* ("the day-meal"), the second—*sham* ("the evening-meal", *i.e.* "supper"). Some very light breakfast (*chasht* or *nashta*), consisting of tea with may be a piece of bread and cheese or some fruit is partaken of early in the morning. Tea is also taken liberally at any time of the day. The lunch and the supper do not differ in any way as regards the kind or the number of dishes. The only difference is that lunch is despatched with greater speed, but even supper hardly takes more than a quarter of an hour, as conversation at table is barred.

L. BOGDANOV.

(*To be continued.*)

*ARABS AND NON-ARABS,
and the Question of Translating the Qur'an.*

IN the second and especially the third Islamic centuries there was tension between the Arabs by descent, who had the pride of conquerors, and the multitude of Muslims who were not Arabs by descent, but who were acquiring more and more importance in the body politic. The Arabs called themselves "the patrons" and called the non-Arabs the "freedmen" or "the clients"; but "the clients" were in a fair way to become the patrons as may be seen in the case of the renowned Barmaki family. The Persians, being the only nation of non-Arabs who had a separate literary language (the Syrians, Iraqians and Egyptians had possessed languages very near to Arabic, which were soon lost in it) were the chief objects of suspicion and jealousy. Their culture, manners and customs had infected the court and the administration, but the Arabs were determined that their language should be kept below the Arabic, a position which was considered pre-ordained for it, since the Glorious Qur'ân had been revealed in Arabic. There were Persian Muslims, however, who knew no Arabic, to whom the meaning of the words of the Qur'ân must be explained; and the question soon arose: Is translation of the Qur'ân lawful or unlawful?

The great Abû Hanîfah and his immediate disciples held very liberal views on this point, even declaring it to be permissible for one who could not speak Arabic to express the meaning of the Arabic words in his own language when reciting the prescribed prayers. They held that any verse or any sûrah of the Qur'ân, and all the verses and all the sûrahs, might be translated into Persian (meaning any foreign tongue) but that it was not lawful to put the whole together in one volume unless the Arabic text was placed opposite the translation throughout.

But other teachers of a later date declared translation of the Qur'ân to be absolutely unlawful ; at the same time (since it was evident that non-Arabs must not be debarred from understanding of the Scripture) pronouncing the writing of a commentary in Persian—*i.e.*, any language other than Arabic—to be lawful, without any reservations ; though a full commentary of the Qur'ân written in a language other than Arabic must of necessity include a full translation. The fear was lest non-Arab Muslims might at some time be tempted to substitute a mere translation of the Qur'ân in their own language for the real Qur'ân, and thus cause a schism ; and the intention of the verdict was to forbid translation in a form that could be used as a substitute for the Qur'ân in Arabic in public worship, while allowing it in a form that could be used only for explanation and instruction. No non-Arab Muslims, so far as I know, ever had the least idea of elevating a translation of the Scripture in their language to the position of the English translation of the Bible among English-speaking Protestant Christians—that is to say, of substituting it for the original—until a proposal of that kind was made of late in Turkey, and rejected. Their learned men acquiesced in the verdict that translation was unlawful, commentation lawful, so whole-heartedly that they kept even the light to be derived from commentation to themselves, and in the course of centuries became averse to teaching men the meaning of the words they used in worship, since such ignorance enhanced their own importance as the purveyors of religious information, till things came to such a pass that the most crying need of all the Muslims who did not know Arabic was knowledge of the real teaching of the Qur'ân. That was before any Muslim nation had come under the European yoke—long before a number of translations in Italian, French, German and English had been written by non-Muslims and published, sometimes with the plain intention of discrediting Islam.

These remarks are enough to suggest the historical background proper to the personal adventures I am going to narrate : On the 15th November 1929 I landed in Egypt, carrying with me in my luggage the typescript of a complete translation of the Qur'ân, upon which I had been at work at intervals for several years, and which His Exalted Highness the Nizam had generously granted me the leisure and the means to finish. It was my object to submit it to the *'ulama* of Egypt and revise the whole work under their direction, that there might be no

avoidable mistakes and no unorthodoxy. I had with me a letter of introduction to the Sheykh Mustafa Al-Marâghi, who had been the Rector of Al-Azhar when the letter was written, but had just resigned that highly remunerated post. I had written months before to an old acquaintance in Egypt who had risen to be Prime Minister, asking him to help me in my errand, but had had no answer; so that my whole dependence was upon the said letter of introduction and the reassuring fact that my good friend Fuad Bey Selim al-Higâzi was in Alexandria and had promised, when we met some months before in Paris, to help me to the utmost of his power. I had heard that a former English translation by a Muslim had been publicly burnt in the courtyard of the Mosque Al-Azhar, and was forbidden entry into Egypt; but had supposed that it was because it was considered to have some flavour of heresy. It was from Fuad Bey, who, as soon as he heard of our arrival, came and bore us out to Ramleh to spend a week in a delightful garden by the sea, that I learnt that all translation of the Qur'ân, however faithful, was held to be unlawful by a powerful section of the 'Ulama. Our friend, however, had been sounding people, in anticipation of my coming, and had found that an equally—possibly more—powerful section of the 'Ulama held an opposite opinion, among these being the Sheykh Mustafa Al-Marâghi to whom he was glad to hear that I carried an introduction from Lord Lloyd.

We all went up together to Cairo, where Fuad Bey had found for us a quiet *pension* in the neighbourhood of Qasr-en-Nîl; and two days after our arrival, I was driven out to Helwân through the long avenue beside the Nile, to visit the Sheykh Al-Marâghi. The clean, white modern town, close to the lion-coloured desert hills, consists entirely of hotels and villas. To one of the latter the Sheykh Al-Marâghi had retired when he resigned, for conscience' sake, the enormously rich post of Rector of Al-Azhar University.

The Sheykh, a tall and very upright man, still in the prime of life, was dressed in the neat turban and long billowing robe of the Egyptian 'Ulama. He wore a scarf round his neck, raised higher on one side than on the other. This, I learnt afterwards, was to hide a sad disfigurement. At the time when he was Judge of the Cairo Muslim court, he upheld the right of some orphans to a certain property which a rich Levantine was striving by all means to acquire. In revenge, vitriol was thrown at him. Happily

it missed his face, but one side of his neck and chest were terribly disfigured. As Fuad Bey said afterwards : " I do not usually kiss the hands of 'ulama, but I kiss that man's hand ".

The Sheykh received us very kindly, gave us tea, and took us out on his verandah looking towards the desert hills. Fuad Bey and Isma'il Bey Shîrîn, Deputy-Governor of Cairo, who had come with me, discussed my future programme with our host, who told us that, while he had been Rector of Al-Azhar, the then Prime Minister had spoken to him about my translation, and he had been willing to appoint a committee of the university to revise it with me, but the step had been forbidden by the King who had somehow been impressed with the idea that translation of the Qur'ân was sinful. It was, therefore, useless to approach Al-Azhar officially as all the patronage in that institution was the King's, but he thought that we could easily find three or four Azharis employed in the secular university—he gave some names to Fuad Bey—willing to do the revision under his guidance. He regretted that he himself knew no English, and so could not appreciate the work. If there were any words or passages which baffled me I was to write them out for him and state the nature of my difficulty, when he would write his explanation or opinion for me. We drove back to Cairo, thinking all was settled. But when we met three of the gentlemen whom the Sheykh had named to us at the house of Lutfî Bey As-Sayyid, head of the secular university, the whole plan suddenly collapsed. Lutfî Bey had invited the head of the Arabic faculty in the university, the blind professor Ta Ha Huseyn, to be present at our conference, and he happened to remark that the three gentlemen ran the risk of losing their posts through helping me, since they belonged to Al-Azhar and His Majesty was opposed to all translation of the Qur'ân. Every one agreed that he was right. I felt bitterly disappointed and, when Ta Ha Huseyn suggested that I should approach the King in person, who, he believed, might be induced to change his standpoint, I said that I had not come to Egypt to seek royal sanction for my work, I had already got the sanction of His Exalted Highness ; nor had I come to seek a *fetwa* from the 'ulama of Egypt, we had perfectly competent 'ulama in India ; I had come to seek the help of Arab learned men on points of Arabic. I talked of leaving Egypt then, and going to Damascus, but Fuad Bey assured me he would find a way out of the *impasse* ; and in fact,

soon afterwards, I was introduced to Muhammad Bey Ahmad Al-Ghamrâwi, Lecturer in Chemistry at the Cairo College of Medicine, a graduate of London University and a close student of the Qur'ân, with whom I worked at the revision happily for some three months, with an occasional visit from Fuad Bey, and an occasional reference to the Sheykh Al-Marâghi at Helwân.

We led a very quiet life ; only once in the month of December did I go out to a dinner-party ; and then, as luck would have it, I sat next to the most enterprising of Egyptian Muslim journalists. Next day, in *Al-Ahram*, appeared a notice of me and my work under the heading "A Translation of the Qur'ân". Two days later in the same newspaper and under the same heading appeared two columns of denunciation of translation and translators of the sacred Book from the pen of Sheykh Muhammad Shâkir, a retired Professor of Al-Azhar, who (as I learnt) had been leader of the hue-and-cry against Muhammad 'Alî's translation. The translator and all who read his translation, or abetted it, or showed approval of it, were condemned to everlasting perdition according to the learned writer ; and I was solemnly advised to give up my nefarious work and translate instead, (of all imaginable substitutes) the commentary of Tabarî ! Now the commentary of Tabarî is of enormous bulk (the commentary of Beydawî is but a digest of it) and would besides require another commentary of equal length to make its methods and mentality intelligible to English people who had never studied a Quranic commentary.

Having read that diatribe, I at once sat down and drafted a reply in Arabic. This I took to an Egyptian friend who put in the customary journalistic compliments which I did not know. I then made a fair copy of the letter and took it to the office of *Al-Ahram*. In that letter, after compliments, I humbly asked : "Is it lawful for an Englishman, who is a Muslim, who has studied the commentaries of the men of old and has some reputation as a man of letters with his countrymen, to try to expound the glorious Qur'ân to his people in a manner intelligible to them in their own language at the present day ?"

It was some time before my letter was published. In the interval appeared other letters on the subject, all on my side. One sheykh of Al-Azhar wrote declaring translation to be not only lawful but meritorious, and offering to prove his case against the Sheykh Muhammad Shâkir in a public disputation. The Sheykh Shâkir had claimed

that there was اجماع (general agreement) on the subject. This correspondent flatly denied it. It was evident that there were two opinions in Al-Azhar itself. I heard also some private discussions which showed me that many Egyptian Muslims were as surprised as I was at the extraordinary ignorance of present world-conditions of men who claimed to be the thinking heads of the Islamic world—men who think that the Arabs are still “the patrons”, and the non-Arabs their “freedmen”; who cannot see that the positions have become reversed, that the Arabs are no longer the fighters and the non-Arabs the stay-at-homes but it is the non-Arabs who at present bear the brunt of the Jihâd; that the problems of the non-Arabs are not identical with those of the Arabs; that translation of the Qur’ân is for the non-Arabs a necessity, which, of course, it is not for the Arabs; men who cannot conceive that there are Muslims in India as learned and devout, as capable of judgment and as careful for the safety of Islâm, as any to be found in Egypt.

I have already mentioned how a former translation of the Qur’ân by a Muslim was publicly burnt and further copies of it were forbidden to be brought into Egypt. Walking in one of the most crowded streets of Cairo, I saw two English translations by non-Muslims very prominently displayed in the window of a European book-shop, one of them having on its paper jacket a picture representing our Prophet and the angel Gabriel! Where, I asked myself, can be the sense in burning and banning a well-intentioned, reverent work while these irreverent translations can, under the Capitulations, enter freely?

At length, the answer to my letter from the Sheykh Muhammad Shâkir appeared in *Al-Ahram*. This time it was no diatribe but a frank and generous admission that such a work as I had mentioned might be not only lawful, but meritorious. He was a little dubious over one expression in my letter, when I spoke of explaining the Qur’ân in a way that my countrymen would understand. He seemed to fear that this might mean some alteration to suit modern views. But I had been thinking only of his suggestion that I should translate Tabarî—whose explanations are not given in a way my countrymen would understand.

Fuad Bey came up from Alexandria, having followed all the correspondence in the press. He said that he had been alarmed when he saw the Sheykh Shâkir’s attack, but had felt quite reassured on reading my reply to it.

He was now glad that the whole question had been raised because there was a chance of settling it once and for all. It had become a scandal and disgrace to Egypt. He gave me a copy of the leading comic paper, in which was an article making gentle fun of the Sheykh Shâkir. Public opinion was undoubtedly against that gentleman.

It was just then that my friend and, for the time, collaborator; Ghamrâwî Bey brought me an invitation from the Young Men's Muslim Association to a tea-party, with the request that I should make a speech afterwards. He himself went to the headquarters of the Association, a large house with tennis-courts adjoining it near Qasr-ul-'Aîni, every day from his flat at Heliopolis, after he had returned home from his day's work at the College of Medicine. He told me that he held a regular reception there of young men who had conceived any doubts about religion owing to their modern education, telling them, as a scientist, what he thought upon the matter; and that he had been able to convince a number of them. He was so good a man, and had been of such great help to me, that I was unwilling to refuse his first request. At the same time, the function, especially the speech, meant disturbance of my peaceable existence given up to work. I at length agreed only on condition that I might be allowed to speak *ex tempore* and in English to the students, as to prepare a speech, especially a speech in Arabic, would take more time than I could spare from the revision work. To this my friend at last consented, undertaking himself to interpret my remarks for the benefit of those present who might not know English.

Accordingly he called for me one evening before sunset, and we walked together to the place in time for *Maghrib* prayer. Then there was a rather long reception of the notables who had been asked to meet me, and then we went to tea. By that time I knew something of the composition of my audience, and could see that the sort of speech which I had meant to make would be unsuitable. From the number of the turbans and long flowing robes I judged that all Al-Azhar was present, where I had expected to see only modern students. With trepidation I realised that I must make some kind of a speech in Arabic if I wished to make a good impression on these people, and must also change the purport of my English speech. But the English was for later on. At the moment I had to concentrate my thoughts intently on the preliminary remarks that I might make in Arabic, and leave the rest

to Providence. The minute tea was over we went into the lecture hall, already crowded. I was put up in a sort of pulpit, Ghamrâwî Bey took stand beside me ; Sheykh Rashîd Ridâ was somewhere near me on the right, and from the middle of the hall I saw the face of Muhammad 'Ali Bey Kâmil and beside him that of Fuad Bey's son, staring at me, as it seemed, with horror. They were the only persons known to me in all that crowd.

Somebody spoke in introduction—I suppose it was Ghamrâwî. Then my turn came. Feeling infinitely small, I said : “ *As-salamu 'aleykum wa rahmatu'llahi wa barakatuh* ”, and the immediate response from the whole audience brought some courage to my heart.

I spoke in Arabic for some five minutes, merely apologising for the fact that I was going afterwards to speak in English, explaining why I had asked leave to do so, and telling one short anecdote. It was nothing much, but it sufficed to win the turbaned section of the audience. Then came the speech in English, Ghamrâwî Bey translating after every paragraph. I had meant to tell the students about Hyderabad and the work of education that is being done there ; and I began with something of that. I told them of the foundation of the Osmania University. I described the Friday congregation at the Mecca Masjid, I told them how His Exalted Highness goes every Friday to the Mosque, (at that there was applause and one old man exclaimed : “ Ah, would that it were so in Egypt ! ”) and then, thinking I had said enough to show them that I came from no benighted land, I talked to them about the future of Islâm. Muslims felt despair because they were defeated. It was only natural. But was there any reason for despair ? Was there not a clear analogy between our present condition and that of the Prophet and his Comrades at Al-Hudeybiyah, when the Muslims asked “ Where is now the victory that we were promised ? ” and even Omar made remarks of which he ever afterwards repented. Yet the Truce of Al-Hudeybiyah, though it seemed so ignominious for the early Muslims, was in fact the greatest victory that Islâm had until then achieved. Until then war had set a rigid barrier between the Muslims and their opponents, but with the truce the barrier fell down, the two parties mingled and conversed together, with the result that in the two years that elapsed between the truce of Al-Hudeybiyah and the conquest of Mecca—years of peace with the idolators—the number of converts to Islâm was far greater than the total number of all

previous converts. For centuries war had set a rigid barrier between the Muslim world and Christendom, and now that barrier is down, no matter though the terms of settlement seem ignominious to the Muslims. That settlement may yet prove to be the greatest victory that Al-Islâm has yet achieved, on one condition—a hard one—that the Muslims show again in their conduct the faith and virtue of the early Muslims. “Or do you think”, I asked them, “that Al-Islâm was propagated by the sword?” (When the question was translated by Ghamrâwî Bey there were anguished cries of “No!” and “God forbid!”). I told them how the Arabic-speaking peoples are respected by non-Arabs, more especially in India; how we look to them for an example; and I asked them to furnish that example. My speech ended, the Sheykh Rashîd Rîda spoke supporting all that I had said. When he visited India, the people had flocked to pay him honour only because he was an Arab and came from the land of Nabî Yûsuf. He quoted words of the late Sheykh Muhammad ‘Abduh: “We (Arabs) by our conduct are the hindrance to the spread of Al-Islâm to the West. They see our religion through us as through a dirty window, and misjudge it consequently”.

Then a sheykh in Azhari dress got up and with deep emotion thanked me in the name of Al-Azhar for all that I had said. The whole incident had nothing to do with translation of the Qur’ân, but after it there was no further public cavilling at my translation.

We moved out to Heliopolis for Ramadân, in order that I might be nearer to Ghamrâwî Bey, whose home was there; and our work of revision was completed in the blessed month.

Fuad Bey came up to Cairo for the A’id. The time for our departure was drawing near. Fuad Bey, Ghamrâwî Bey and I drove to Helwân to see the Sheykh Al-Marâghi and, in the course of the visit, Ghamrâwî made his general report of my work. On the strength of that report the good Sheykh wrote some words of warm approval which I treasure as coming from an altogether upright man, incapable of writing anything that he does not think true.

On a former visit he had read out to me all the passages in the writings of the immediate disciples of the Imâm Abû Hanîfah which made him, a Hanafi teacher, hold translation of the Qur’ân lawful. He had been anxious

that I should know his authority, and should not suppose that he, any more than the opponent party, scorned Tradition. On this last visit I felt it my duty to tell him that my translation would fall short of the conditions laid down by Abû Hanîfah in one respect : it would not show the Arabic text side by side with the translation. He asked 'Why not ?' and I explained that there were several reasons. For one thing, it would cost a great deal more ; for another it would repel non-Muslim readers who, glancing at the book and finding it half-full of Arabic, would lay it down unread as something quite outside their sphere of interest ; for yet another, Islâm had been attacked and prejudiced by means of translations of the Qur'ân, without the Arabic, circulated among non-Muslims. Even if translation had been quite unlawful, as our opponents claimed, it would have been sanctioned, in the circumstances, by the verse of the Qur'ân :

الشَّهْرُ الْحَرَامُ بِالشَّهْرِ الْحَرَامِ وَالْحُرُمَاتُ قِصَاصٌ فَمَنِ اعْتَدَى عَلَيْكُمْ فَاعْتَدُوا عَلَيْهِ بِمِثْلِ مَا اعْتَدَى عَلَيْكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الْمُتَّقِينَ .

[The sacred month for the sacred month, and forbidden things (are lawful) in retaliation. So whosoever hath attacked you, attack him with the like of that wherewith he hath attacked you. And keep your duty to Allâh and know that Allâh is with those who keep their duty].

If things forbidden by Allâh, like warfare in a sacred month, become lawful in retaliation, so evidently must things forbidden only by the 'Ulama. I must have spoken with some heat for when I paused for breath, the Sheykh said : " If you feel so strongly convinced that you are right, go on in God's name in the way that is clear to you, and pay no heed to what any of us say". As he uttered the words he smiled at me, and we both emerged from the cell erected by the schoolmen of the middle ages of Islâm, in which we had been talking until then.

'Quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle'

On the day before that on which my wife and I were to leave Cairo, a Bedawi chief, who was a member of the new parliament, at Fuad Bey's instigation, asked me to a luncheon-party ; and to that luncheon-party came the present Grand Sheykh of Al-Azhar, official leader of those Ulama who hold translation of the Qur'ân unlawful—a very handsome and benignant-looking old man in a beautiful dove-coloured robe and snowy turban. At table, I was placed at his right hand. Except Hilmi Pasha

A'îsa, an ex-minister, the remainder of the party consisted of men who had proved their devotion to Islâm in the opinion of the 'Ulama ; they were all *Mujahidin*, including Fuad Bey, who had been with Mustafa Kemâl in the Suez Canal campaign before he became Turkish Minister at Berne. The Sheykh could hardly fail to be surprised to see an Englishman in such a gathering, and when they told him that I was the man who had translated the Qur'ân into English he seemed rather shocked. After luncheon, when Fuad Bey praised my translation, and all the others called it meritorious, he was evidently much embarrassed, until Fuad Bey remarked : He will not call it *Al-Qur'an* ; he will call it *Ma'aniu'l-Qur'ani'l-Majid* (The meaning of the Glorious Qur'ân). Then the Rector of Al-Azhar smiled. "If he does that", he said, "then there can be no objection ; we shall all be pleased with it". I was back again in the mediæval cell, but we had reached a peaceable conclusion, as I thought, and I was glad of it.

That was in March 1930. My translation was published in December of the same year. In April 1931 I received a letter from Ghamrâwî Bey informing me that the Rector of Al-Azhar had sent for him (Ghamrâwî) and asked him many questions about my translation. It seemed that he was inclining to condemn it, after all. The latest rumour was that Al-Azhar had decided that the work must be translated word for word back into Arabic and submitted to their judgment in that distorted form, as none of the professors could read English. It was certainly a great advance beyond the method of condemning without trial pursued in the case of Maulvi Muhammad 'Alî's English version, showing that, even within Al-Azhar, there is now a party of enlightenment strong enough to force withdrawal from the old position. I replied with every argument that I could reach, of which Ghamrâwî might make use in conversation with the 'Ulama. The approval or the condemnation of Al-Azhar, or indeed of all the 'Ulama of Egypt, could not help or injure my translation much ; but from what I had so lately seen in Egypt I could judge that condemnation, after all that had already happened, was very likely to bring a degree of ridicule upon Al-Azhar, which I should be the first to deplore. Al-Azhar is a great historic institution which one would wish to see reformed and not demolished. I asked Ghamrâwî to implore them not to treat allies as enemies.

Subsequently I have learnt from a newspaper report that, after examining my work in the distorted form already

mentioned, the Rector of Al-Azhar has pronounced it, "though the best of all translations", unfit to be authorised in Egypt. The reason given for the ban is that I have translated idiomatic and metaphorical Arabic phrases literally into English, thus showing that I have not understood their real meaning. Happily, he gave an instance which was quoted in the newspaper, so that I can understand the meaning of the accusation. I have translated Sûrah XVII, v. 29, thus: "And let not thy hand be chained to thy neck nor open it with a complete opening lest thou sit down rebuked, denuded". He considers that, by thus translating the Arabic words literally, I have turned a commandment relating to miserliness and generosity into a commandment concerning the position of a man's hands! How should he know that we speak of "openhandedness" and "tight-fistedness" in English, and that every English reader will understand my literal translation in precisely the same sense in which the Arab reader understands the Arabic text. The ban is therefore based upon an altogether false assumption.

From the opening of the question, as I gather from a report in *Al-Ahram*, there had been strong difference of opinion between the Ministry of the Interior and Al-Azhar as to the merits of the work, the former championing its merits with surprising vigour. But Al-Azhar, with the King behind it, is supreme in all such matters.

There is something hopeful in the actual condemnation, the terms of which are wonderfully mild, one might almost say favourable, to the translator as compared with former pronouncements of the same authority. It marks the close of a long chapter in the history of the relations of Arabs and non-Arabs—a chapter of whose tenour the Prophet would assuredly have disapproved—since the position that all translation of the Qur'ân is sinful has been quite abandoned. A translation of the Qur'ân by a Muslim has been examined and a literary reason has been given for its condemnation. That is a great step forward.

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

A GREAT MUSLIM ASTROLOGER

THAT distinguished scholar, Francis Baily,* whose memory is still cherished in the scientific world of Great Britain, and who was one of the founders of the Astronomical Society—perhaps he was the first to suggest the establishment thereof—expressed the opinion that astrology was the oldest of the sciences, and that in all probability, it owed its origin to the influence of the heavenly bodies, particularly the sun and moon, on the seasons, the weather, and the fertility of the earth, and that, inasmuch as those luminaries had an influence upon the earth, they, probably, also had some connection with the destiny of individuals and of nations.

The ancient Egyptians had a tradition that Belus founded a colony of astrologers with their wives, and their servants, from Egypt, on the banks of the river Euphrates, and that these were called, by the Babylonians, Chaldees. Hence it has been conjectured that astrology was first invented by the ancient Egyptians, among whom the inhabitants of Thebes particularly claimed the honour of the invention. The majority of the ancient writers state that astrology was communicated by the Chaldees to other nations. In the time of Alexander the Great (356-323, B.C.) the Chaldeans had carried on astronomical observations for 1900 years. In the second century of the Christian era, Claudius Ptolemy, a famous mathematician of Pelusium in Egypt, propounded the system that bears his name. As the Western Empire declined, a darkness, so far as science and learning were concerned settled over Rome and the greater part of Europe. So late as about 700 of the Christian era the earth came to be again regarded as an extended plane, and the doctrine of the *antipodes* was solemnly repudiated by the Christian Church. From seventy to a hundred years later, Isidorus Hispalensis attempted to explain the observed direct and

* Francis Baily was born on the 28th April, 1774, and died on the 30th August, 1844. A tasteful and appreciative memo. of him from the pen of Sir John F. W. Herschel can be found in the "Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Astronomical Society".

retrograde motions of the planets, by assuming that "in the deep night in which they then found themselves they had lost their way, wandered about, and returned slowly trying to find it, which sooner or later they succeeded in doing."

The dawn of astronomy, and in those days all astronomers were astrologers, again burst forth amongst the followers of the Holy Prophet, Muhammad. Under many successive Caliphs of Islam, and into the fourteenth century of the Christian era, the science made progress in Arabia and other countries under Muslim rule. From Arabia astronomy penetrated into Persia, Mongolia and Usbek Tartary, whose sages eagerly endeavoured to emulate the Arabs. It is recorded of a Persian astronomer, a Mussulman, named Omar Chejan, that he made a proposition for the rectification of the calendar even more proximately correct than the Gregorian.

The 'Ulema of the famous University of Al-Azhar at Cairo favoured the study of the science, and many famous astronomers were pupils of that learned institution. Not the least brilliant of these was 'Alî ibn-Yûnus, or to give him his full name, Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî ibn-Abî Sa'id 'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn Ahmad-ibn-Yûnus-ibn-'Abd al-A'ala as-Sadafi. He was a native of Egypt and one of the master-spirits of the age in which he lived. He was a man of exceedingly versatile learning and was the inventor of the pendulum and the measurement of time by its oscillations. Ibn Khallikân, the celebrated Muslim biographer,¹ says, "He made astronomy his particular study, but he was well versed in other sciences and displayed an eminent talent for poetry". The most famous work of Ibn Yûnus is his great book, named after his illustrious patron and sovereign, Hâkim bi-amr-illâh (996-1021) *Zij-ul-akhbar-al-Hakimi*.

Ibn Khallikân states that he saw a copy of this work in four volumes, and manuscript copies of the work are still in existence. An analysis of the first volume thereof was published by M. Caussinpère, in the seventh volume of the *Notices et Extraits*.² He inserted therein the lives

(1) Ibn Khâlikân was born at Arbeluh, but resided at Damascus, where he filled the position of chief magistrate. He died in the year 681 of the Hegira (1282 A.D.) His biographical dictionary has been translated into English by Baron de Slane.

(2) The full title of his work is *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Institut National de France ; faisant suite aux Notices et Extraits dus au comite*

of Ibn Yûnus, of his father 'Abdur-Rahmân-ibn-Yûnus, the Egyptian historian, and his great-grandfather Yûnus ibn 'Abdu'l-'Ala ; all extracted from Ibn Khallikân's work and translated by himself, but some of the passages are incorrectly given and others wrongly rendered. In his voluminous work 'Alî ibn Yûnus amply discusses the subject whereon he treats and indicates the application of the rules therein given, whilst its correctness testifies to the great care and labour with which it was compiled. Ibn Khallikân says of it, " I have seen many works containing astronomical tables, but never met with one so full and complete as this".

In the preface to his work, the author states that the person by whose command he commenced it was the Sul-tân Al-'Azîz bi'llâh, son of Mu'izz, the first Fatimite sovereign of Egypt, in whose beneficent reign the university of Al-Azhar was founded.

This work was and is so highly esteemed for its correctness and exactitude that, like the *Zij* of Yahya ibn Abî Mansûr al-Mâ'mûni,¹ it was taken by the people of Egypt as their standard authority in calculating the position of the heavenly bodies.

This masterpiece of Ibn Yûnus soon displaced the work of that ancient astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptole-mæus (Ptolemy) who was also a native of Egypt.² It was reproduced among the Persians by the astronomer-poet Omar Khayyâm (1079) ; among the Greeks, in the *Syntax*

etabli dans l'Academie des inscriptions et belles lettres.--It bears the imprint, *A Paris de l'Imprimerie de la Republique* -An. xii.-This was the last year of the Republic, as after an appeal, through universal suffrage, to the nation, in 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of the French, as Napoleon the First.

(1) Yahya-bin-Abî-Mansûr al-Mâ'mûni was an astronomer of great talent : he acquired by his skill a high rank in the favour of the Khalifah al-Mâ'mûn, and when that sovereign decided that observations should be made on the stars, he charged Yahya and some others with the task, and directed them to ameliorate their instruments. They in consequence made observations at Ash-Shammasiya, near Baghdad and Mount Kasiyoun, near Damascus, in the years 215, 216, 217 of the Hegira (A.D. 830-2), but the death of Al-Mâ'mûn in 218 (Hegira) terminated their proceedings. Yahya was the author of the astronomical tables called *az-Zaif al-Muntahin*, and a work, apparently astrological, entitled *Kitab-al-'Aml*.

(2) Ptolemy was a native of Egypt, believed to have been born at Pelusium (the one-time celebrated eastern seaport and key to Egypt, now a mass of ruins, situate a day's journey distant from El-Kantari) or at Ptolemais Hermii in the Thebaid (Upper Egypt). He flourished in Alexandria in 139, A.D., and there is evidence that he was still living there in 161 A.D.

of Chryso-cocca ; among the Mongols by Nâsir-ud-din Tûsi, the director of the astronomical observatory at Marâgha, in the *Zij-al-Khani* ; and among the Chinese, in the astronomy of Co-Cheon-King, in 1280 ; and thus what is attributed to the ancient civilisation of China is only a borrowed light from an Islamic fire, the first kindling whereof arose from a spark emitted from the intellectual furnace of the great Cairo University.

In speaking of 'Alî ibn Yûnus, Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, M.R.A.S., in his work on "Arabie Authors", says :— "Another celebrated astronomer, 'Alî ibn Yûnus, was a native of Egypt, and appears to have lived at the court of the monarch of Egypt, Al-Hâkim bi'amrillah, and under his patronage to have composed the celebrated astronomical tables called after his name, 'The Hakimite Tables'. Ibn-Khallikân states that he had seen these tables in four volumes, and that more extensive ones had not come under his notice. These tables were considered in Egypt to be of equal value to those of the astrologer Yahya bin 'Alî Mansûr, who had in A.D. 830, by order of the Khalîfah, Mâ'mûn, undertaken astronomical observations both at Baghdad and Damascus. Ibn Yûnus spent his life in the preparation of astronomical tables and in casting horoscopes, for it must be remembered that, with the early Muslims, astronomy and astrology were synonymous and their most learned astronomers were also their most skilful astrologers. His character for honesty was highly esteemed, and he was also well versed in other sciences, and displayed an eminent talent for poetry. In making astronomical observations and calculating nativities, 'Alî ibn Yûnus, displayed unequalled skill ; he would often make long journeys and spend days at a time in order to get an observation of a star."

Many interesting stories are told about this great man. The Amîr al-Musabbihi, the author of a celebrated history of Egypt and other works, says : 'I was told by Abû'l Hasan at-Tabarâni, the astronomer, that he went with Ibn-Yûnus to Mount Mukattam and made a station there, with the intention of taking an observation of the planet *Zuhrah* (Venus) ; and that, on arriving, he took off his cloak and turban, which he replaced by a woman's gown and hood, both of red colour ; he then produced a *âtar* (guitar), on which he commenced playing, whilst he kept perfumes burning before him. It was, said he, an astonishing sight !'

The same writer says, in his "History of Egypt":—"Ibn Yûnus was a careless and absent man; he would wind his turban-cloth around a highpeaked cap and place his cloak over that; he was himself very tall, and when he rode out, the people used to laugh at him for his odd figure, his shabby appearance and tattered dress; but, notwithstanding the strangeness of his aspect, he was singularly fortunate in his astrological predictions, and therein remained without a rival".

The following observations by 'Alî ibn Yûnus, upon the influence of one of the constellations, is frequently quoted in the works of Arabian astrologers:—"Mîzân (*Libra*) is an equalising sign,* and, if this is the *Tali'*, (predominating constellation), in which a person enters the world, then the *Shakhs* (individual) will be possessed of high powers of comparison and of good judgment, and able to take an impartial and dispassionate view of matters, and will love harmony and always strive to adjust quarrels and disputes and to promote peace. Persons under this *Tali'* have an *Anis* (amiable) disposition and are courteous and agreeable and have keen perceptions. Though possessed of all these good qualities they are often impatient and frequently careless in their habits and attire, and somewhat forgetful. They are sensitive to rebuffs, yet just and generous. They make good overseers and judges. They are very amenable to feminine influence and make passionate lovers. When in love, their normal faculty of calmly judging matters is generally either in abeyance or faulty and consequently they are frequently unfortunate in their selection of life companions. They are subject to affections of the *kali* (kidneys), pains in the back, rheumatism and urinary troubles. They are fond of poetry and music. Being fond of approbation, they are somewhat amenable to flattery. Females born in this constellation are generally inordinately fond of *alma's* (diamonds), but, are indifferent to *lulu* (pearls); their favourite colour is *zarka* (blue). When this sign is ruling in the heavens it is unfavourable to health, and more sleep than usual should be taken and *fotra taza* (fresh nuts), especially *jouza* (walnuts), should be eaten, particularly

* The constellation Mîzân (*Libra*) may be said to "rule the heavens" between the 22nd of September and the 21st October of the solar year. In the Babylonian Zodiac, Mîzân is termed *Zibanitu*. The theory has been advanced that the "two feathers" so prominent in Egyptian mythological imagery are a reference to the two scales of the Balance (*Mizan—Libra*).

by females. If either sex suffer from troubles of the *batn* (stomach), while this sign reigns in the heavens, then camomile tea wherein pepper has been boiled or well soaked should be partaken of, and it will give a tone to the stomach.”*

If the month of Rabi‘a-al-awwal should fall within this sign, a person born on the 10th day of that month will be particularly fortunate in life, especially if the planet Venus be then in the ascendant.

A treatise by ‘Ali ibn Yûnus on the *Shirayan* (Sirius and Procyon—The great and little dog-stars), wherein he dwelt at considerable length on the heliacal rising of Sirius and the time of its declension, is frequently alluded to, and quotations therefrom cited by later Arabian astronomers. The full text of this work is not now known to exist. The following extract therefrom is very interesting from an astrological point of view :—

“ If a person be born in the month of Sha‘bân, when that month falls during the period when the *Shirayan* (the Dog-stars) be visible, take particular notice of the position of *Shira al-ghumus al kalb* (Procyon, the little Dog-star), at the exact moment of the birth, and if it be then in the ascendant, and, especially if it appears to be exactly over the place wherein the birth occurs, it is a peculiarly auspicious sign. The child will be healthy, and of a happy and loveable disposition and very fond of *al-heywanat* (animals) and will attain to old age.”

The Islamic calendar is a lunar one, and, consequently, is about eleven days shorter than the solar year ; therefore, the months which are twelve in number pass through all the signs of the Zodiac in about thirty-three years.

‘Ali ibn Yûnus was versed in a great variety of sciences and, as we have already seen, played on the *kîtar* (guitar), but only as an amateur. He composed a great quantity of poetry.

* Camomile, or Chamomile, (*Anthemis nobilis*) is a perennial plant, and has slender, trailing, hairy and branched stems. Both leaves and flowers of this plant have a strong though not unpleasant smell, and a very little nauseous taste : but the flowers are more bitter and aromatic than the leaves. The Ancients commend Camomile against bilious and hypochondriac fevers, and the Egyptians used it against all fevers ; in fact, this herb was so great a favourite, as a remedy with the ancient Egyptians that Galen says their priests dedicated it to the sun.

The following is a literal translation from one of his poems :—

“ When the breeze begins to blow,

“ I charge it with an ardent message

“From a passionate lover to the presence of his beloved.

“My life I would sacrifice to her,

“ For she it is whose aspect gives life to our souls,

“And whose presence perfumes and gives joy to the world.”

“ I swear that since the time she departed,

“ I left untouched my wine-cup ;

“It was absent from me, because she was absent.

“My passion for her never dies.

“Her image appears to me, ever, in my dreams,

“Approaching in the dark hour of midnight,

“Unseen by watchful, jealous spies.”

It is stated that when 'Alî ibn Yûnus had his mind occupied in the consideration of some astronomical or mathematical problem he became so engrossed therewith that he became utterly oblivious of his surroundings, although he went through the ordinary mechanical operations of life in a kind of perfunctory manner ; and it is recorded that at one of the private audiences given by Sultan Al-Hâkim ibn 'Azîz bi'llâh, Al-'Ubeydi, the great astronomer, instead of observing the ordinary rule in a Muslim household of leaving his shoes outside the entrance door of the chamber, marched into the audience-room, before the sovereign, with his heavy shoes in his hand, and after making the customary obeisance to the Sultan, sat down on the floor, placing his shoes by his side. He, remained seated there in silence for a full hour, as if in profound meditation, then suddenly exclaiming, "*Maujud! Maujud !, Al hamdu lillah !*" (Found ! Found !, Praise be to God !), arose from the ground, kissed the floor, made an obeisance to the sovereign, reached his shoes, put them on and walked out of the room. Some of the courtiers expressed their surprise and indignation at this want of etiquette on his part, but the Sultan laughingly, said, "*La shey !* (It is nothing !)" 'Alî ibn Yûnus was up among the stars and had no time to think of the petty affairs of this low world."

The probity and honour of 'Alî ibn Yûnus were so well-established, and stood so high, that in the month of Jumâda al-awwal, in the 380th year of the Hegira (July-August, A.D. 990), the Qâdi Muhammad ibn an No'mân appointed him to fill the office of 'Adl (justice), an officer exercising

with the authorisation of the Qâdi the function of official witness to the bonds, deeds, and contracts entered into by individuals ; they affix their *khitm*, or seal, to these documents, and if litigation arises subsequently between the contracting parties, their testimony (*shahudat*) is required. In all large Islamic cities the 'adls have offices where they receive persons making contracts, and serve as witnesses to the whole proceeding, whether it be a verbal or written agreement. In the latter case the deed or contract is drawn up by the 'adl. To be eligible for these functions a man must not only be well acquainted with the laws relative to conventions and obligations, and capable of writing them out in proper form, but he must also bear a high character for integrity, and be exempt from even the suspicion of corruption. It is one of the Qâdi's duties to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of these functionaries. The office of 'Adl was established by the Prophet Muhammad himself and is in strict conformity with the words of the Holy Quran, wherein we find the following passage (Sûrah 2, v. 232) : —

“ O True Believers ! when you bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down, and let a writer write between you according to justice ('adl) ; and let not the writer refuse writing according to what God hath taught him.”

Al-Musabbihî states that 'Alî ibn Yûnus died suddenly on Monday morning, the 3rd day of Shawâl, in the year of the Hegira, 399 (June, 1009, A.D.). The funeral service over him was recited in the principal mosque of Old Cairo (*Fustat*), by the Qâdi, Malik-ibn-Sa'îd-ibn-Muhammad-ibn Thawwâb, and his mortal remains were interred in the garden of his own dwelling, which was situated in the quarter of the furriers.

We have already mentioned that the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of 'Alî ibn Yûnus were all scholars and distinguished men. He left an only son, upon whom the mantle of learning unfortunately did not fall ; in fact, his stupidity (*baladat*) was so great that he sold to the soap-makers all his father's books and manuscripts as waste-paper at so much per pound ! Who can tell what rich stores of knowledge were thus lost to the world ?

“ The father ever learning did desire,
The son consign'd all to the fire.”

HAROUN M. LEON.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

16. PHILOLOGY.

(Continued from 'Islamic Culture' Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 141).

IN the two main branches of Arab philology—in grammar and in the preparation of dictionaries—the 4th/10th century struck a new path. Like theology, it was then emancipated from the shackles of juristic method—in external form entirely. Suyûti thus describes the old philology : “ Their mode of dictating was absolutely similar to that which obtained in theology. The listener (*Mustamli*) wrote at the beginning of the page : Lecture delivered by our Shaikh So-and-So on such-and-such a day. The lecturer mentioned something, with a chain of traditions, which the old Arabs and the orators had said and which contained something striking and called for an explanation. The lecturer explained, made comments and, in addition, cited passages from the old poets. The quotations had to be well authenticated ; comments and explanations were matters of more or less indifference. Such was the widely-diffused method of lecture in philology in the early times. But when the *Huffaz* died out, dictation in philology ceased. The last, of whom I heard that he dictated lectures in this fashion, was Abû'l-Qâsim az-Zajjâj. The notes dictated by him were so copious that they made up a stout volume. He died in 339/950. No later students' note-books of lexicographical contents are known to me.”*

These old savants were discursive and their lectures were not well-knit together. Their interest centred in an individual fact, in an individual form, in one word or in one proposition ; as is the case with Mubarrad (d. 285/898) or even with Qali (d. 356/967). Their books are a variegated assemblage—philology, anecdotes, history.

Ghulâm Tha'lab (d. 345/956) allowed himself to be led by questions from his pupils ; for instance : O Shaikh !

* *Muzhir* ; See Goldziher, SWA, 69, 20 f.

What is *al-qantarāh* among the Beduins?¹ The leading philologists of the 4th/10th century, on the other hand, felt the need of method, the systematization of their material. In the initiation of this new method the study of Greek grammar played the chief rôle. At the Court of 'Adad-ud-Daulah (d. 371/981) differences between the Arabic and Greek grammar were discussed and Abû Sulaimân ibn Tâhir has pointedly² characterized the new tendency as profane and untheological: "The grammar of the Arabs is religion; our grammar is reason."

And, thus, when, for the first time, an '*Introduction to grammar*' appears (*Muqaddamah fin-nahw*); namely, that of Ibn Fâris (d. 395/1005) it is naught else but the Arab descendant of the *Isagogik* (introduction) of the Greek philology.

The outstanding achievement consists in fixing and elaborating the meaning of words. The model is apparent.

The philology of the old type was nothing more or less than a handbook for orators—an aid to rhetorical flourishes, a mine of synonyms. It ends with Hamzah al-Isfahânî (d. between 350-60/961-70). In his *Kitab al-Muwazanah* he has put together 400 expressions for "the unlucky" and, in his '*Book of Sayings*' he has collected so many parallels of rhetorical phrases 'whiter than snow', 'more voracious than an elephant' that later centuries could add nothing to them.

His predecessor had amassed 300 of such comparative terms, but he 1800. Maidânî (d. 578/1124) has merely copied him and has added only one or two, or at the most four, idioms to every chapter. Even all his explanations he has borrowed from his predecessor.³

Even in the sphere of proverbs proper, the chief work was done in the 4th/10th century by Al-Hasan al-'Askarî (d. 395/1005).

A generation later, in the dictionary of Jauharî (d. 302/1001), the new school shows its impress. A comparison with the great dictionary of Ibn Duraid (d. 321/933) shows what steps forward in method and elucidation had been effected. "To make clear and to bring nearer home"—so says Ibn Fâris (d. 395/1005) himself—"was from the beginning to the end, the aim of his own dictionary."⁴

(1) Jauzî, 85 a.

(2) Kiftî, ed. Lippert, 283.

(3) Mittwoch, MSOS, 1910, 184 f.

(4) Goldziher, *Beitrage zur gesch. der sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Arabern*, SWA, phil. hist. KL. 73, p. 518.

So supreme was Jauharî, in his own realm of knowledge, that an entire literature—pro and con—has grown up round him through the centuries.¹ Even Suyûtî (d. 911/1505) wrote a book in Mekka in his defence against Jauharî and ‘Abdul Barr in which he is said to be particularly hostile toward the former—his contemporary (d. 889/1484).²

All later lexicographies stand in relation to Jauharî’s as supplements and commentaries. Here, too, we note the end of one epoch and the beginning of another which lasts for centuries. Similarly, etymological inquiries too now enter upon a serious course and continue for long. Their chief was Ibn Jinnî of Mûsul (d. 392/1002), son of a Greek slave, who is said to have introduced into this science the so-called great etymological rule of the original bi-radical roots—even important today.³

The etymological work of the Arabs has not achieved anything greater. The language of ordinary parlance subsisted by the side of the written language, but with such enormous difference that in the Baghdad of the 3rd/9th century people were surprised to find a man effortlessly speaking correct grammatical Arabic with ease terminations.⁴ The interest, awakened in literature, brought philology home to the people at large; making them no longer insensible to linguistic errors and irregularities. Spanish Az-Zubdâni (died about 330/941) wrote a book on “*the dialect of the People*.”⁵ Ibn Khalawaihî in Aleppo (d. 370/980) composed ‘*Kitab Laîsa*’ the book of ‘*not so*’. How much he left to the later philologists, notably Harîrî, to do, yet remains to be investigated!

17. LITERATURE.

The transformation of the race, the exhaustion of the ruling class, and the stepping-forward of the old population of mixed blood most strikingly show themselves in literature. About the year 200/800 literature was in a state of ferment. The tried form of *Qasidah* in which the old Arab poets had sung their lofty emotions, had become too tedious, too pathetic, and had lost its hegemonic position.

(1) Goldziher, SWA, Vol. 72, 587. *Zur gauhari-Literatur*.

(2) Suyûtî, *de interp. Corani*, 24 f.

(3) Goldziher, SWA 67, 250 according to Suyûtî’s *Muzhir*, 1, 164. This passage in the *Muzhir*, says Prof. Margoliouth, does not refer to this. In his *Khasais*, Chapter 30 of book II deals with *Ishtiqaq el-Akbar*. (O. Rescher, *Studien über Ibn Jinni*, ZA, 1909, 20).

(4) Mas‘ûdî, VII, 131.

(5) Al-Dabbi, *Bughjat al-Mutalanmmis*, 56, *Bibl. His. Arab.*

The townsfolk, assuming the lead, had relegated the heroic language and the epic material more and more into the background. The gloomy wildness yielded to clear sentences—the shorter metres won the day. The poet is disposed to produce excitement through fresh material, subtle thoughts, and fine words and images, rather than exaltation into a more vigorous world. Realism, fatal to all heroic poetry, is awakened and literature rediscovers real life. Once again literature takes note of the present and rejoices in the manifold aspects of the life around. The people, notably the unlettered townsfolk, now interest themselves in Arabic literature, not only to see Arab poetry with Arab eyes or to sing it in Arab rhythm, but to employ prose for the expression of the manifold, fresh objects encountering and surrounding them.

Thus prose, hitherto confined to learned and ecclesiastical treatises, or at the most to a few popular books, translated from the Persian, enters the domain of literature.

About the year 250/864 prose is said to have supplanted poetry.¹

1. PROSE.

Respect even for non-rhythmic language, which is the beginning of all good prose, was the great virtue of the old Arabs. Therein they excelled all other nations. Along with the poet stood the orator of the tribe, equal in rank with him. The gift of oratory was regarded as something superhuman, and hence the belief that the orator of a tribe must needs die before another can rise with the demoniac spirit within him.² And thus the talent for prose was looked upon as something so absolutely different from poetic talent that people were astonished when a poet shone in oratory or showed epistolary excellence.³

So keen was the love of elegant diction that when in 208/823 a flood devastated Mekka and the Caliph sent money for relief and a letter of consolation, they said that the letter was of greater moment to the Mekkans than the money.⁴

Interest in the contemporary world reveals itself first and foremost in the study of popular manners. About this time one Abû 'Aqqâl wrote the first book on

(1) Mas'ûdi, VIII, 347. (2) *Aghani*, XVIII, 173. (3) *Aghani*, XX, 35: Ibn Kutaibah *Liber Poesis*, ed. de Goeje, 549. (4) Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, 475.

"the manners of the illiterate". The Qâdi of Saimar (d. 275/888) composed the "History of the Lower Orders" (*Akhbar es-Siflah*).¹ While the description of town-life is a favourite theme of Jâhiz.² This man, of whose ugly exterior many interesting stories are told, his name meaning the goggle-eyed,³ and his grandfather having been a negro, is the father of the new Arabic prose. Tha'labi calls him the first great prose-writer. The Wazîr Ibn al-'Amid, master of the diplomatic style, used to question every one whom he examined for state-service regarding his views on Baghdad and Jâhiz.⁴ And for this he was nicknamed the second Jâhiz.⁵ The famous Thâbit ibn Qurrah is said to have envied three men: 'Omar I, the saintly Hasan of Basra, and Jâhiz.⁶ Abû Hayyân et-Tauhîdî, perhaps the greatest master of Arabic prose, wrote a book in praise of Jâhiz. He took the subject so seriously that he dealt individually with the writers who highly esteemed Jâhiz.⁷ His respect for the master was so great that he actually adopted his scholastic lead.⁸ On every subject Jâhiz has written: from the schoolmaster⁹ to the Banû Hâshim; from robbers to lizards;¹⁰ from the attributes of God to ribaldry regarding¹¹ the wiles and snares of womankind.¹² His style is entirely his own. It is chatty and, not infrequently, clumsy. But it is precisely this which appeals to his admirers. They appreciate its comparative freedom from literary pedantry, which until his time was in the ascendant in learned circles. They treat the leisurely *causerie* as conscious art. Even Mas'ûdî, in 323/943, applauds, in these terms, the perfect arrangement and the solid structure of his works: "When he fears that the reader is weary, he instantly passes from the serious to the humorous, from sublime wisdom to elegant oddities". Mas'ûdî places Jâhiz' intricate work, *Kitâb ul-Bayan*, first on the list on account of its many-sidedness and versatility,¹³ and often compares a good writer to one

(1) Mas'ûdî, V, 88 : *Irshad*, VI, 402. (2) e.g. *Tiraz el-majalis*, 67 ff. (3) *Irshad*, VI, 56. His grandfather was an African. (4) *Yatimah* III, 338. Tha'labi himself is spoken of by Bakharzi as the Jâhiz of Nisabur, *Intro.* to Tha'labi's *Kit. al-'Ijaz*. (5) *Lata'if al-ma'arif*, 105 ; *Irshad*, I, 686. (6) *Yatimah* III, 3. (7) *Irshad*, VI, 69. (8) *Irshad*, V, 282. (9) *Irshad*, V, 380. Bakharzi mentions the voluminous Tha'labi. (10) *Mustatraf* II, 199. How far the jokes there came from Greek witticism, in which the school-master is the central figure, yet remains to be investigated, See Reich, *Mimus*, 1, 443. (11) Husri, *Iqd*, 1, 561. (12) *Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah* quotes from his 'Book of Robbers'. (13) VIII, 34. This alternation between seriousness and jesting is pointed out in all literary histories. Khwarezmi, *Ras'ail*, 183.

who gathers wood at night and collects unexamined all that comes to his hand.¹

About 200/800 Mysticism, following the exhaustion of Arabism, powerfully helped the popularization of letters and largely contributed—as it did in other literatures too—to naturalism by despising pedantry and parade of learning, by even actually opposing it and by casting in its lot with common people. It preached to them; it regulated their lives for them; it entered into their needs and aspirations; it allowed itself to be moulded by their very mode of expression itself. And, indeed, only by the decline of the old Arab tradition can the introduction of rhymed prose in Muslim literature be explained. The Muslims were still familiar with the heathen flavour of rhyme, but detested it, as the Christians of the Roman Empire detested the antique metres. Jâhiz (d. 255/868) says: “As the reason for the prohibition of rhymed prose, *viz.* the heathen soothsayers, who employed it, have disappeared, so has the prohibition too.”²

The Christian converts to Islâm, now exercising a decisive influence, were familiar with rhymed prose in their sermons, and thus in the 3rd/9th century rhymed prose appears in official sermons. We find it in a large measure in an address of the Caliph to his loyal supporters, although it is not consistently sustained right through.³ In epistolary style too rhymed prose made its way.

There always were writers who, putting aside religious scruples, wrote in rhymed prose, so admired in old Arab orators. The people of Baghdad knew by heart the letter which Ibrâhîm wrote to the Barmakid Khâlid in the time of Hârûn.⁴

The official Arabic was the standard language. About 200/800 the Chancellor of the Caliph Mâ'mûn wrote simply and without rhyme.⁵ Ibn Thawâbah (d. 277/890), whose rhymed letter to the Wazîr has been preserved, was well-known for his ornate style. Even the famous curse on the Omayyads, which was meant to be solemnly read out from all the pulpits, was composed without the singsong of rhyme; and yet it shows faint indications of

(1) For instance Mas'ûdi, IV, 24. (2) *Kit. ul-Bayan*, I, III ff.

(3) Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie*, I, 65 f.

(4) Jâhiz, *Bayan*, II, 114. I have taken this quotation from Prof. Margoliouth's *Letters of Abû'l 'Ala* XLIII. (5) E. G. al-Kindi, 446, and Ibn Taifûr often. A rhymeless letter of Mu'tasim to Abd. b. Tâhir in *Kit. fî's-Sadaqah* of Tauhidi, Const. 1801, p. 5: *Irshad*, II, 37.

it.¹ About that time, however, a State-Secretary writes in quite unrhymed prose to the Wazîr.²

But about 300/900 rhymed prose becomes the fashion among the aristocracy of Baghdad. The Caliph Muqtadir writes in it to his subjects.³ The Wazîr 'Alî ibn 'Isa ornaments his letters with a great deal of rhyme (Wuz, 277). Abroad in the provinces they did not, however, yet soar so high. The rhymed letters of the Wazîr Ibn Khâqân sounded Chinese to the authorities (for instance the letter of the Sâhib el-Khabar (Secret service agent in Dinawar) *Arib*, 39 f). The officials in the provinces still wrote in the usual unrhymed style (*Irshad*, II, 418).

But now the passion for rhymed prose grows and spreads; while 'Amid and his contemporaries now use and now do without rhyme, at the end of the century, in stylists like Sabi and Babagha,⁴ it is never absent.⁵ The Buwayyid Wazîr, Sâhib ibn 'Abbâd,⁶ is said to have had a mania for it! So possessed was he by it that he would not miss it were he even to ruin everything thereby or to risk the greatest danger. On one of his journeys he shifted from nice to miserable quarters merely to date his diary 'From Naubahâr at noon' (*Nisf en-nahar*).⁷ At least such is the report of an evil-tongued dependent! On one occasion the Sâhib showered so much rhyme upon an 'Alid who had come to see him that the 'Alid nearly fainted away, and had to be brought round by sprinkling rose-water on him.⁸ And to this day has rhymed prose retained its position in the Muslim Orient.⁹

The letters of the 4th/10th century are the finest products of Muslim art, working upon the noblest material—human speech. Were all the things which artists fashioned out of glass and metal to perish, these letters alone would proclaim and establish how light elegance and easy mastery of difficult figures were prized among them. It is no accident that many Wazîrs of that age were masters of style, and as such their letters were deemed worthy of preservation in book-form—Khâsibi, Ibn Muqlah,¹⁰

(1) Tabari, III, 2166 ff. (2) *Irshad*, VI, 463. (3) Wuz., 337 : *Irshad*, VI, 280. (4) On Sabi, see Browne, *Persian Lit.* Vol. 1, 372 : Nicholson, *Hist of the Arabs*, pp. 327-8 Tr. (5) Ibn Khafagah, in the introduction to the *Khutbah* of Ibn Nubâtah, 16. (6) On Sâhib, see Browne, *Persian Lit.*, I, 374-5. Tr. (7) *Irshad*, II, 298. (8) *Irshad*, II, 304. (9) With very few exceptions. Thus a famous Chancellor of the first Almoravid—true to the wisdom of the old Chancellors—avoided it. Marrâkeshi, Transl. by Fagnan, 189. (10) Khwarezmi, 35.

Muhallabi,¹ Ibn el-'Amid, the Sâhib Ibn 'Abbâd, the Samanid Wazîr el-Iskafi. The last was distinguished in state-despatches but worthless in private correspondence—so fine then was the distinction between the two.² The more important documents—such as deeds of appointment—were drawn up at a special department of the Government, the *Diwan er-Rasa'il*. At Baghdad they went the length of placing at the head of this department the most brilliant stylist of the second-half of the century, although he openly professed the Sabæan religion and declined to accept Islâm when offered the Wizârat.³ And, when he died, no less a person than the Chief of the 'Alids sang an elegy on this non-Muslim, showing how much higher than literary accomplishment stood than mere orthodoxy.⁴ This Ibrâhîm ibn Hilâl es-Sabi (d. 384/994) knew his worth and was fully cognizant of the fact that he was “the eye of the Caliph through which he surveyed the contemporary world”, and that he possessed ideas of which Kings were in need.⁵

His letters fall into two parts: the first recapitulates the contents of the letter in answer. Here the opportunity for courtly compliments is offered and made use of. Thus does a letter of the Wazîr to the Chief Qâdi begin: The letter of the chief Qâdi has come with words which make the sea sweet when mixed with it and ideas so clear that it illumines and chases the night away.⁶ Then follows the reply prefaced by ‘I have understood’. Even to-day the letters of Sabi can be read with relish and admiration for the command of language which enlivens even purely business correspondence with delightful diction, adorns it with pleasing rhymes and embellishes it with wit and humour. And despite all this splendour the sense is never lost in the mere tangle of words or sweet-sounding cadences. Unlike the letters of the later ages, we instantly perceive and understand here what is said. Stripped of all adornments, even in a clumsy translation, they are eminently readable.

A congratulatory letter, drafted by Sabi, from 'Izz-ud-Daulah to his cousin 'Adud-ud-Daulah, in answer to a communication of the latter announcing the conquest of Beluchistan and the mountain range of Qufs in 357/968, may serve as an example of a state-despatch. “The letter of the Amîr 'Adud-ud-Daulah has arrived—May

(1) *Fihrist*, 134. (2) *Yatimah*, III, 119: IV, 31: *Irshad*, V, 331.
 (3) *Irshad*, I, 343. (4) Ibn Khallikân, Eng. tr, Vol. I, 81, T.
 (5) *Rasa'il*, Ba'abda, 1898, p. 8. (6) *Yatimah*, II, 277.

God maintain his power and glory !—with the news of his success which the Almighty has granted him by reason of his faith and piety ; namely that he—May God maintain his greatness !—has conquered the mountain-range of al-Qufs and al-Belus and the inhabitants who were hostile ; to our faith and had strayed away from the path of God ; that he chased them from one hiding place to another that he subdued them wherever they sought shelter or refuge ; that he slew their guards ; destroyed their heroes, laid waste their fields and pastures ; effaced all traces of them with the result that he left them no option but to submit to him, to sue for peace, to give hostages, to surrender their treasures, to take up a correct attitude towards our faith and to enter its fold. I have understood and praised God for the favours He has shown to the Amir 'Adud-ud-Dawlah for I knew what booty God has given him. I rejoice over his success. I share with him what he has and I stand by him, for even the sense of sharing his glory is an honour because of the greatness of the man that has achieved it. We are accustomed to see the Amîr—May God strengthen him !—chastise the unbeliever until he mends his ways and the obstinate until he softens down. We are accustomed to see the Almighty help him and ensure good luck to him and lead him to a successful issue. When information of some great deed of the Amîr reaches me, I await to hear of the next which swiftly follows, and every thanksgiving that I offer for the past glory is a pledge of another to come. And it does speedily come. I pray to God that He may strengthen him with His kindness, overwhelm him with His gifts, so that he may attain his temporal and spiritual ends. I pray that He may grant everything lavishly to him in the two worlds—temporal and spiritual ; that He may crown his banner with victory—be it small or great ; that He may exalt him over his enemies—whatever be their number ; that He may place their forelocks in his hands in war and peace, and that He may reduce them under his authority—be they willing or not.¹

The use of ornate, flowery, rhymed style passes from official (*Sultaniyah*) into private correspondence. In the 3rd/9th century, the poet-prince Ibn al-Mu'tazz condoles with the prince 'Ubaidullah 'Abdullah ibn Tâhir in rhymeless prose and receives a rhymeless reply. But a century later such a thing was unthinkable.² At the end of the

(1) *Rasa'il of Sabi*, 571.

(2) *Shabusht, Kit. ed-diyarat*, Berlin, fol. 46 a ff.

4th/10th century the art of studied letter-writing acquires such esteem and popularity that a living could be made out of it, as it could from time immemorial out of poetry. After the days of the first 'Scribes' of the Arabs Abû Bakr el-Khwarezmi (d. 383/993) is the most famous of such private letter-writers. He visited almost all the Muslim courts of the East: Bukhâra, Nisabûr, Herât, Isfahân, Shîrâz.¹ He wrote to princes, wazîrs, generals, qâdis, officials, theologians and philologists. The contents are of the usual kind: Felicitations on festive occasions, on promotion in rank, on success; consolation on bereavements, dismissal, illness or perils of war; thanks for gifts. Even a complaint to the Director of Taxes finds a place among them. The complaint is regarding too high an assessment of his land-tax. The director is to remedy this grievance *if he would not rob Khorasan of its tongue*. Upon this the tax is remitted for a year.² His fame apparently drew many pupils to him, notably jurists (*Fuqaha*). In his collected correspondence we find many a letter to his pupils, past and present; and even one in which he gives thanks for the appointment of a pupil.³

Among others here is one: Thy letters, my son, are apples and incense, flowers and bouquets to me. I rejoice at the receipt of the first but I wistfully long for the second. I am thankful to thee for the one that has come, but I count days and nights for the one yet to come. Therefore write long and write many letters and know that I am firm and steadfast in my love.

With such intensity do I love thee,
That it would make an enemy friend.

Thy presence I enjoy—in thine absence I fret. Wert thou only aware of my longing for thee, a sense of pride would come over thee, and men would cease to have any value in thine eyes and thou would'st only look at them scornfully and speak to them contemptuously.⁴

Compared with these, the letters of Sabi are simple and matter-of-fact. Rhythm and lightness of touch are the central features of Khwarezmi. The contents are merely so many pegs on which the artist hangs his chaplets. This method, again, has very much in common with the old Arab method—the sheer joy in sweet-sounding words, in

- (1) *Yatimah*, IV, 123 ff.
- (2) *Rasa'il*, Const. p. 81.
- (3) *Rasa'il*, 119 ff.
- (4) *Rasa'il*, 76.

metaphors and similes, in violent, tumultuous emotions. But there is this all-important difference : that the chivalrous strain of the Arab has now become grotesque, as it was bound to become in a prosaic age.

Grotesque is the rhetoric of Khwarezmi. Exaggeration and accumulation are resorted to as deliberate forms of art.

“ Someone has offended me — I know not if the wind has swept him away, or the earth has devoured him, or the serpent has bitten him, or the wild animals have torn him to pieces or the sorceress of the desert has seduced him, or the devil has enticed him away, or the lightning has burnt him, or the camels have trodden him under foot, or the guide has misled him. Has he fallen from a camel or has he rolled down from a precipice, or has he been flung into a well, or has a mountain tumbled over him, or have his hands withered, or his feet been paralysed, or has elephantiasis seized him or diaphragmitis either ? Or has he chastised a slave, and in retaliation been killed by him ? Has he lost his way in the mountain, or has he been drowned in the sea, or has he died of heat, or has he been swept away by a torrent, or has a deadly dart pierced him, or has he done Lot’s work and been stoned ?¹

To one who wishes to buy a copy of his letters he writes : If I only could, I would make the skin of my cheek, paper ; a finger of mine, the pen ; and the pupil of my eyes, the ink.²

Sometimes his rhetoric furnishes us with a very useful list of contrarieties of the times ; for instance, when he describes how perversely and unhappily things have fared with him :—

“ I have ridden a strange animal. I have taken food out of a strange bowl (lit. bag). I have stayed in a hired house ; I have taken raisin-wine. In summer wool have I worn, in winter with paper have I covered myself. In writing courtesy has been shown to me, but, face to face, I have been addressed as ‘thou’. In the line of worshippers, mine has been the very last place. Things have even gone so far, that my female slave has treated me unkindly and my horse has become restive. My companions with whom I have journeyed have arrived before me, and even a good dirham in my hand has become counterfeit. Cloth purchased for dress has looked like stolen stuff on my person. When I washed my clothes in

(1) *Rasa’il*, 68. (2) *Rasa’il*, 106, also p. 68.

July the sun vanished and clouds covered the sky. When I travelled in June, the wind blew and the mist obscured my vision. Everything I had I lost, my honour included.¹

By accumulation he achieves splendid flattery, and at the same time, supplies us with a list of books out of which a fine rhymed letter may be composed: 'The Sâhib² has said that he has written the reply to my letter between the midday and the evening, but this length of time was unnecessary, for is not his mind as full and deep as the sea? To write this letter I, on the other hand, closed my door, let my curtains down, brought my books to my elbow, sat between the tax-gatherers and the Buwayyids, Khâsibi and Ibn Muqlah, summoned the race of the Yezdads and the Sheddâds from their graves, called the Basran Ibn Al-Muqaffa from the other world, the Persian Sahl ibn Hârûn, the Egyptian Ibn 'Abdan, Hasan ibn Wahb, Ahmad ibn Yûsuf. To my right I placed the Life of Ardeshir ibn Babekan, to my left the book *At-Tabyan Wul-Bayan*, in front of me the Sayings of Buzurgmihr ibn al-Bakhtikân and above them all the letters of our Lord and Master Sahib '*Ain ez-Zaman*', etc., etc.

By his contemporaries Khwarezmi³ was regarded as antiquated and far too simple, for he wrote 'like ordinary people with an ordinary pen'.

Abû'l Fadl of Hamadân is the protagonist of the new advanced school. At the age of 12 he came to the Sâhib ibn 'Abbad at Râi;⁴ 12 years later to Nisabûr, where both orally and in writing he measured his strength with Khwarezmi.⁵ On the death of his rival he left Nisabûr, and began his grand tour in Khorasân, Sijistân, Afghânistân, where he visited and reaped a harvest in every town. Finally he took up his residence at Herât, where he formed a rich matrimonial alliance and acquired landed properties. In 398/1067 he died a little over forty.⁶ He was famous for his memory. He could accurately repeat a poem of fifty verses on hearing it once.⁷

Among the feats he could perform and Khwarezmi

(1) *Ras'ail*, 30. (2) *Ras'ail*, 35. (3) Hamadâni, *Ras'ail*, Beyrût, 76 (for Khwarezmi, See Ibn Khall. Eng. tr. I, 366: Vol. III, 108. Khwarezmi died A.H. 383. According to Ibn al-Athir, A.H. 393 Tr). (4) (For the life of Hamadâni, see, Prendergast's tr. of his *Maqamah*. Introduction. Tr.) (5) We should read 392 as in *Irshad* (1, 97) instead of 382 as in *Yatimah* (Damascus edition). (6) *Yatimah*, IV, 168: Ibn Khall. Wüstenfeld's edition, I, 69. (7) *Yatimah*, IV, 167.

could not, he reckoned writing a letter which served as a reply even when read with the lines reversed ; writing a letter without certain letters or groups of certain letters, or without the article ; writing a letter which was a poem read sideways ; writing a letter which may be interpreted both as praise or censure¹—a performance then regarded as the highest triumph of authorship.

Hamadâni also finds fault with the style of Jâhiz as too simple, too much akin to the language of the common folk, too jerky and abrupt, without ornamentation or rare expressions (*Maqamah*, 72, Beyrût edition). Fortunately the letters of Hamadâni which have come down to us are free from literary tricks or jugglery, but they are far more ornate than Khwarezmi's and are strewn with far-fetched allusions and grotesque puns upon words. But something new which has forced its way into the epistolary style now comes to light. It is the *pleasure in sheer narration*. Here and there we now come across in letters, anecdotes, more or less elaborate, by way of illustration—a thing never met with in Khwarezmi. Thus the man from Basra, who had lost his donkey, personifies him who takes a long journey to find what is near home. "He set out to find him and looked for him at every inn. When he failed to find him he marched through Khorâsân, came to Tabaristân and Mesopotamia, went round the *Bazars*, but the donkey was nowhere to be found. Then he gave up the quest, and after a long and tedious journey returned home. One day he sees the donkey in his stable, and lo and behold, he is there with his saddle and bridle, crupper and girth, nibbling away at his fodder."²

And to illustrate one's incessant longing for home, Hamadâni says : The camel, despite his coarse texture, longs for his town ; the birds fly across the sea to return home. He relates of Tâhir ibn el-Husain : When he came to old Cairo he found domes set up in the streets, carpets laid out, houses artistically decorated, people on horseback and on foot, gold scattered to right and to left. But Tâhir bent his head, said nothing, interested himself in nothing and felt pleased with none. When questioned about it, he replied : The old women of Buseng (his native town) were not among the spectators."³

(1) *Rasa'il*, 74. (There is one such *Ghazal* ascribed to the poet Khusru of Delhi. Here are some of the lines :—

تو خوش خفتم بودی و من کرده ام د عا و ثنا ها بو قت سهر
نرا میبندم هم زنت را کنم چنان خدمت مادران راپسر

(2) *Rasa'il*, 174 ff. (3) *Rasa'il*, 370.

A merchant supplies his son with money in a foreign country and, at the same time, gives him advice. He administers special caution against generosity. "Let people say, God is generous ! But His generosity enriches us without impoverishing Him. But with us it is different." Abroad, the son developed a passion for learning. He spent all his money in its acquisition and returned home to his father with the Qurân and its commentaries, and said : Father, I have come to thee with power over this and the eternal life to come. I have come to thee with Traditions and their *Isnad* ; I have come to thee with jurisprudence and its tricks ; scholasticism and its ramifications, prose and its elegance, grammar and its conjugations, philosophy and its principles—so, pluck flower and fruit from the tree of knowledge and things noble and beautiful from the fine arts. The father thereupon took the son to the *Bazar*, to the money-changer, to the linen dealer, to the spice-seller, and finally to the vegetable-seller and asked for a bundle of vegetables and said : Take in payment the commentary on any Sura you please. The vegetable-seller jibbed and rejoined : " We sell only for the current coin and not for a commentary on the Qurân." Then the father took some dust in his hand and put it on the head of his son and spoke : You child of misfortune, with money you left home and to home you have returned with learning which will not buy you even a bundle of vegetables.¹

Hamadâni's leaning and propensity for the dramatic fitted in well with the lively interest in travellers, in their language and adventures, which marked the circle that gathered round the Sâhib. The Wazîr himself was an adept in the language of the common folk (*Munakat bani Sasan*) and loved to converse with Abû Dulaf al-Khazraji. Abû Dulaf had travelled to India and China ' in quest of knowledge and refinement '. To him we are indebted for valuable information on those countries. He collected MSS. for the Sâhib and played the part of a negotiable instrument for his business.² Not only had he eye and ear for foreigners but also for the lowest strata of his own people, mostly as strange as the former to cultured circles. Even here in this sphere of activity Jâhiz had preceded him by some 150 years. Jâhiz was the first to draw up a list of the arts and crafts of the common folk with their

(1) *Rasa'ul*, 393 ff. (2) *Yatimah.*, III, 174 (See Ibn Khall., Eng. tr. I. 215 : on Abû'l Firâs, see Ibn Khall., I, 366 : see Ibn Khall., I, 114 Tr).

distinctive characteristics, which Baihaqi at the end of the 4th/10th century somewhat amplified.¹ But now Abû Dulaf composes a long poem on common folk with such exhaustive notes and comments that he leaves his two predecessors far far behind him.² To Ahnaf al-Akbari, himself a traveller, touchingly singing of his homelessness, belongs the credit of having inspired Abû Dulaf with the idea of that work. As a veritable poet Ahnaf could not compile a dull dictionary of slang but to Abû Dulaf he passed on the material for such a work.³

In this circle Hamadâni now makes his appearance with a special gift for short, rhetorical, lively, dramatic stories. A series of *Maqamat* is the result, of which one, the *Rusafah maqamat*, is a monument of slang, not unlike the poem of Abû Dulaf.⁴ He himself shows the influence of Abû Dulaf, for the poem quoted in the first *Maqamah* is a poem of Abû Dulaf.⁵ Khwarezmi asserted that, besides the *Maqamat*, Hamadâni had achieved nothing, a statement strongly resented by the latter.⁶ We do not know what impressed the critic so much then. For us the great advance lies in the grouping of scenes round one single individual, Abû'l Fath of Alexandria. The many-hued stories are woven round him as a centre. Here a new vein is struck, a fresh beginning made. Only a step was required to attain to Rogue-romances of the lightest and subtlest kind—such as have not been attained even today. That step has not been taken. They failed, not because they lacked the power of weaving a story, for that power abundantly manifests itself in the popular stories, but because the *Maqamat* became a playground of rhetoric where a logical sequence of events was a matter of no consequence. They only developed a taste for rhetorical rockets which shot forth in rapid succession from the subject under treatment. The poems of Hamadâni have also been collected—typical poems of a genuine man of letters—completely unlyrical, brimming over with rhetoric, redolent of deliberate art and laboured wit.⁷ He beats time with his tears to the song of the nightingale; plays artistic

(1) *Kit al-Mahasin*, ed Schwally, 624 ff. (2) *Yatimah*, III, 175 ff. (3) *Yatimah*, III, 175. (4) He boasts of having composed (*Rasa'il* 890, 516) 400 of such *Maqamat*, of which none resembled the other in thought or expression. The number 400 is not to be taken too literally (*Ras.* 74). He asserts that he could write a letter in 400 different ways. (5) *Yatimah*, III, 176. The *Maqamat* are not dated. According to al-Husri, (*Iqd.*, I, 280) the Hamadâniya is said to have been dictated in 385/995 (Beyrut, 150 ff). (6) *Ras*, 390. (7) Printed at Cairo, 1321. The Paris MS. is more correct and complete : *Rasa'il*, 390.

pranks with grammar, even composes a poem without the letter *w* (and)—a feat which Sâhib could not perform, although he could do without any other single letter of the alphabet in a poem.¹ The anthology of Husri (d. 453/1061) shows how Hamadâni outdistanced his predecessors. It contains long extracts from his letters, whereas Khwarizmi is not referred to at all. Among the contemporaries of Husri was Abû'l 'Ala el-Ma'arri (363-449/973-1057), the most famous of prose writers. Thus writes Nasir Khusru who passed through Ma'arra in 428/1037: "All writers of Syria, of the West, of Mesopotamia, agree that there is none who stands on the same level as he. One of his writings particularly the traveller extols, in which he has displayed such eloquence and powers of expression that one can only partially understand it and must needs have recourse to him for explanation."

Such, indeed, was the ideal of good prose! The most amazing subtleties Abû'l 'Ala reserved for his poems, but even in his letters the rhymed sentences are much shorter than in Hamadâni, the comparisons and similes are far-fetched; in fine, the rhetorical artifices so overlay the letters that often it is difficult to decipher the meaning.

Sometimes a comparison takes an epic turn: "And my grief at parting from you is like that of the turtle-dove, which brings pleasure to the hot listener, retired in a thickly-leaved tree from the heat of the summer, like a singer behind a curtain, or a great man hedged off from the frivolous conversation of the vulgar; with a collar on his neck almost burst by his sorrow; were he able, he would wrench it with his hand off his neck, out of grief for the companion whom he has abandoned to distress, the comrade whom Noah sent out and left to perish, over whom the doves still mourn. Varied music does he chant in the courts, publishing on the branches the secrets of his hidden woe, etc., etc."² Here wit and learned allusions flash out, and in every word almost we hear their overt or hidden tone.

The longing for the addressee is the usual preface to letters. Where Hamadâni expresses himself in a comparatively simple fashion: "I need thee as the body needs life, the fish water, and the land rain" (Ras'â'il, 8), now the turtle-dove appears or some other uncommon simile. "My longing for all I have seen in Baghdad is not unlike the wind which is never still or the Persian fire which is

(1) *Yatimah* III, 223: *Diwan*, Paris, fol. 54 a.

(2) *Letters*, p. 47 Prof. Margoliouth's tr. p. 54.

never out. I need you like the verse which cannot do without rhyme ;”¹ or “ My longing for my master is as permanent as time, which is not exhausted by months and years, and as often as one period elapses, another comes to take its place ”;² “ I await thee as the merchant awaits the caravan from Persia ”;³ “ And I with my companions send you with every traveller on the highway, every wind that blows, every flash of lightning, every phantom that crosses the path, a salutation.”⁴ The art of flattery was cultivated to perfection. An abstract of a famous grammar is presented and ‘ one wonders how the Euphrates is made to flow through a needle’s eye’. And similarly a letter to one residing in Egypt thus begins : “ If scholarship emits any fragrance, or wit any flame, even at this distance we have felt the perfume of your scholarship, and your wit has turned our darkness into day⁵ Your letter is too grand to be kissed ; kisses are for its shadow ; too precious to be bandied about, let that be done with copies ! For us it is a sort of sacred thing⁶ The abodes wherein you take up your residence are like those northern and southern constellations, twenty-eight in number, which only are famous because the moon takes up its quarters in them, and to which in consequence the Arabs ascribe every rain-bringing mist.”⁷ He describes his native town Ma’arra to one proposing a visit there : “ He would come to this city like the vulture, who is a King and a Chieftain among birds, and from whose limbs there issues a musk-like odour, falling on a foul carcase.”⁸ This is such an epithet as may be applied to Ma’arra, which is the opposite of the Paradise described by the Qurân, ‘ the garden which is promised to those that fear (Qurân, XLVII, 16) wherein are rivers of water that does not corrupt.’ Her very name ‘ mischief ’ is ominous ; God save us from it ! The water-courses are blocked up ; and the surface of its mould in summer is dry. It has no flowing water, and no trees can be planted there. When a slaughtered beast is offered to the inhabitants by which they might hope to profit, you would fancy that it had been dyed with indigo, yet still they gaze at it as longingly as at the new moon that marks the end of the fasting month. And there comes a time when a goat there is as precious as capricorn, and a ram of inferior breed as rare as a crow

(1) *Letters*, p. 45. (2) *Letters*, 54, Eng. tr. p. 60 : (3) *Letters*, p. 36, (4) *Letters*, p. 88, Eng. tr. p. 100 Tr. (5) Prof. Margoliouth’s tr. p. 1. (6) Prof. Margoliouth’s tr. p. 3. (7) Prof. Margoliouth’s. tr. p. 7. (8) *Letters*, p. 61-62.

with two chicks ; when a man standing by a milk-seller fancies himself standing in Paradise asking for the water of life."

The great art of these pyrotechnists has made the language uncommonly supple and vigorous while terse, and this art is at the back of all those who combined freedom and spontaneity of expression with utmost brevity and concentration. In this sphere Abû Hayyân et-Tauhîdi (d. 400/1009) stands unexcelled. He is, one sees, conversant with the secrets of the elegant style, but there is little trace of mannerism in him. A simpler, a more balanced, a more forcible prose has never been written in the Arabic language. But fashion favoured and honour fell to the other style. Abû Hayyân stands alone, in advance of his age and his people. Says he : Exceptional is my position, exceptional my language, exceptional my beliefs and manners. I am wedded to loneliness ; to solitude and silence I am resigned. Familiar with affliction, I patiently endure grief. I distrust mankind. Often have I prayed in the mosque without noticing my neighbour and, whenever I did notice, I found him a shop-keeper, a tripe-man, a dealer in cotton or a butcher who sickened me with his stench."¹ Towards the end of his life he burnt his books,² for "I have no child, no friend, no pupil, no master and would not leave my books to people who would trade with them and smirch my honour. How am I to leave my books behind to those with whom I have lived for twenty years without receiving love or regard ; by whom, often and often, I have been driven to privation and hunger and galling dependence or reduced to the necessity of bartering away my faith and honour".³ He put so much venom and sarcasm in his *'Book of Two Wazirs'* that people, for long, believed that it would bring ill-luck to him who owns it.

The decline of pure Arab taste is finally evidenced by the fact that from the 3rd/9th century onward the delightful stories of other nations fill a large space in Arabic literature.⁴ Jewish legends (Israilîyah) and sea-fables

(1) *Fi's-Sadaqah*, Const. 130. p. 5. (2) See Prof. Margoliouth's *Arab Historians* pp. 96, 97. There is a letter of Abû Hayyân of about 400 A.H. wherein he defends his conduct in doing this by citing the example of many eminent men. Tr.). (3) *Irshad*, V, 387 f. (4) Tradition says that Quraish were famous for their ready reply and the Arabs generally. The non-Arab could only answer them after deliberation and effort. (*Amali* of Murtada, 1, 177).

had hitherto supplied the need; but fresh translations from Persian and Indian are added to them—the most important being the '*Thousand and One Nights*', or, as they were then called by their Persian title, '*Thousand Fables*' (*Hazar Afsan*). They consisted of 200 stories spread over 1,000 nights.¹ Those accustomed to inflated and ornate prose found the new style 'dry and insipid' (*Fihrist*, 304). The great Abû'l 'Ala speaks slightly of *Kalila Wa Damna* (*Rasa'il*, 120). The new un-Arab style was really meant for foreigners, and yet savants and authors of repute did not consider it unworthy of them to write simple historical works for entertainment.

The well-known writer Ibn Abdus el-Jahshijâri imitated the '*Thousand and One Nights*' but died when he had got to 480 nights. The striking thing about him is that he disregarded the interweaving of the stories, precisely the thing so appealing and attractive to us.² He brought every story to an end each night. To this class belong the entertaining works of the Qâdi et-Tanûkhi (d. 384/994), and, finally, the most important work of the century—Miskawaihi's (d. 420/1029) *Uns el-Farid* (*Companion of the Lonely*), the finest book of stories and anecdotes. (Kiftî, 331 ff).

There are other collections still older, such as those of Ibn Kutaiba and the '*Iqd*'. In them, for the first time, we notice a style of story-telling not purely Arab. Along with these, there grew up a whole host of anonymous books: Romances of chivalry like those of 'Urwah ibn 'Abdullah and the limping Abû 'Omar; books of witticism and anecdotes such as those of Jiha, the Beduin wag, and of Ibn Ma'mili, the famous singer; comical books such as those of the man who fell in love with a cow, the stories of the 'cat and the mouse' (Sûli, *Auraq*, p. 9), of the bird-lime, of the well-scented one, and a heap of love-tales, first and foremost among them being the romances of poets and of cunning and passionate women.

(1) Were the stories of Sindbad there? They existed independently of these '*thousand fables*' in larger or smaller versions and were known even then to have come from India (Mas'ûdi, IV, 90 *Fihrist*, 305). Sûli, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century (*Auraq*, Paris 4886, 9), and the poet Ibn al-Hajjaj (d. 391/1,000 Gotha, fol. 11 a) speak of them as particularly popular fictions. An Indian physician Sindbad is said to have been the author. Their contents were:—*The Seven Wazirs*, *The Teacher and the Boy*, and *The Wife of the King* Mas'ûdi, I, 162: Eng. Tr. I, 175, Tr.

(2) Mez means the process of inserting one story in another: Tr.

Love-stories between men and demons also fill a large space.¹ The historian Hamzah of Isfahân speaks of some seventy widely-read books of amusement in his time, about 350/961.² There were love-stories too of the elegant world of maudlin sentimentality. They evinced great enthusiasm for Udhrah, who “dies when he loves”, and for the pale, sunken hero whose very bones wither away for love’s longing.³

And there Arabic prose has remained up to this day !

(1) *Fihrist*, 303-313. (2) *Annales*, ed. Gottwald, 41. (3) *Muwassa*, 42 ff.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(*To be continued.*)

**DISCOVERY OF A PORTION OF THE ORIGINAL
ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF *TARIKH-I-
ALFI* WRITTEN FOR THE EMPEROR AKBAR**

[*In the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose, Calcutta*].

THE discovery of this remarkable manuscript will, I am sure, be welcomed by all students of Indian history and painting. No doubt, copies of this *Tarikh* are preserved in Indian and European archives but the importance of the recovery of the original manuscript can hardly be over-estimated. This also raises a hope that some day Mr. Ghose will be able to restore to us the entire manuscript.

This *Tarikh* was, as we learn from Badâ'ûnî, written at the instance of the Emperor Akbar.¹ According to the original plan, it should have comprehended a history of the entire Muslim world from the date of the Prophet Muhammad's death (*i.e.*, 10 *Hijra*) down to the thousandth year after his death (*i.e.*, 1010 *Hijra*), but the extant copies do not carry the narrative beyond the year 987 of the Rihlat Era² (*i.e.*, 997 A.H.)

Badâ'ûnî, who is a severe critic of Akbar and is never slow in imputing base motives to him, suggests that "since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact, that the 1,000 years since the time of the mission of the Prophet (peace be upon him!) which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islâm, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of those secret designs, which he nursed in his heart. And so,

(1) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Bib. Indica Series), tr. by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 327 : See also *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), 1, p. 106.

(2) The only MS. which brings down the narrative to the year 98 of the Rihlat era is the India Office Library MS. No. 112 (Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library*, Column 39). It was transcribed on the 14th Rabi' II, 1015 A.H. (19th August, 1606). Another copy in the same Library (No. 115 of Ethé's *Catalogue*) brings down the narrative to 984 A.R., while the British Museum copy, Or. 465, ends with the year 974 of the Rihlat era.

considering any further respect or regard for the shaikhs and 'ulamâ (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islâm, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief (in their stead).

"The first command that he issued was this : that the 'Era of the Thousand' should be stamped on the coins, and that a *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, commencing with the Death of the Prophet, should be written."*

But, the fact that the compilation of the work was, (as we shall presently learn from Badâ'ûnî himself), actually begun about 990 A.H.(=1582 A.D.),—or some ten years *before* the completion of the Hijra millennium,—may very reasonably be urged as an argument against Badâ'ûnî's accusation ; moreover, no historian seems to support his statement. In another place, however, he does not repeat his accusation and gives us a detailed account of the circumstances in which the history was compiled. He says (in the annals of 990, A.H.) :—

"The year 1000, of the Hijrah era, which is in general use, being now on the point of completion, the Emperor ordered a history of all the kings of Islâm to be written, which should in reality supersede all other histories, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled *Alfi*. He further ordered the word *rihlah* to be substituted for *hijrah* in the different dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the death of the last of the Prophets (the blessing of God be upon him, and may He give him peace !) up to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world."

"He assigned the first year to Naqâib Khân, the second to Shâh Fath-ullâh, and so on to Hakîm Humâm, Hakîm 'Alî, Hâjji Ibrâhîm Sarhindî (who had just then arrived from Gujrât) Mîrzâ Nizâm-ud-dîn Ahmad, and myself. And after that another seven years, and in this way the distribution of 35 years was provided for.

.....
At the recommendation of Hakîm Abû'l-Fath the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullâ Ahmad of Tat'hah, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices, a fact

* *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, I, p. 310.

which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changîz Khân, when Mîrzâ Fûlâd one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mullâ Ahmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahore, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. He was put to death in retaliation."¹

Mullâ Ahmad was, as we learn from the account of Nawâb Asaf Khân, (the continuator of the *Tarikh*), murdered on the 15th Safar, A.H. 996. The Mullâ was then engaged in writing the Annals of the year 684 of the Rihlat Era and was in the middle of an account of the early career of Ghâzân Khân, the great-grandson of Hulâgû Khân, when he was mortally wounded by the aforesaid Fûlâd Birlâs. On the death of the Mullâ, the royal command was issued to Asaf Khân to continue the narrative and to complete the *Tarikh*.² Asaf Khân entered upon his duties in earnest and brought down the narrative to the year 987 of the Rihlat Era³ (997 A.H.) The manuscript was then given to Badâ'ûnî and Asaf Khân for revision. The former tells us :—

“ In the year 1001, I was ordered to proceed to Lahore to revise the composition, compare it with other histories, and arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I compared the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Asaf Khân.”⁴

In the Annals of the year 1002 A.H., Badâ'ûnî gives us a fuller account of the way in which he revised the *Tarikh*. He says :—

“ On the day the ‘Eminence of the Sun’ the compiler of this compendium completed the first volume of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mullâ Ahmad of T'hat'hah, the Heretic, (be on him what may) and the third by Asaf Khân. And an order had been issued to me to revise and collate it, in conjunction with Mullâ Mustafâ Kâtib of Lâhôr, who is a worthy friend of mine, and is become one of the Ahâdîs. I presented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approval. And since the second volume contained much

(1) *Ibid*, pp. 327-328.

(2) Rieu (C), *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I, p. 119, (Or. 465).

(3) India Office MS. No. 112 (See Ethè's *Catalogue*, C. 39).

(4) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, i, page 329.

bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of "bigotry", I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health; and may it not, God grant! be a cause of any further injury. My condition with regard to these books was like that of one who eats one date together with the stone, and another says to him, 'Why don't you throw away the stone?' and he answers, 'They have appointed me only just this amount.'"¹

When the *Tarikh* was completed, Abû'l Fadl wrote an introduction but, strangely enough, none of the extant manuscripts of the *Tarikh* contains the introduction, which Abû'l Fadl claims to have written.²

The original manuscript was, (as stated by Badâ'ûnî), divided into "three" volumes but the extant manuscripts are usually divided into "five" or "six" volumes. They seem to have been divided into as many parts as suited the convenience of the copyists, or the taste of the "masters" for whom they were transcribed.

Before describing the contents of the manuscript and discussing its value and importance, it is necessary, I think, to give a brief account of the persons who took part in its composition. The principal compiler, who wrote the Annals of the years 36 to 684 of the Rihlat Era was the well-known physician and scholar, Mullâ Ahmad. He was born at Tattah in Sind, where his father, Nasrullâh, held the post of a Qâdî. At the age of 22, he went to Mashhad, thence to Yazd and Shîrâz where he studied medicine. Next, he visited Qazwîn where he stayed for some time at the court of Shâh Tahmâsp. In 984 he went to Karbalâ and, after visiting Mecca and Jerusalem, returned to India. He passed a few years at the court of Qutb Shâh, in Golkunda and then came to Fathpûr Sikrî in 989 A.H. Probably he was introduced to Akbar by Hakîm Abû'l Fath, the court physician, for whom he wrote *Khulasat-ul-Hayat*, or the "Essence of Life",—a history of ancient and modern philosophers.³ Possibly it was in recognition of this service that he was commissioned, at the instance of the Hakîm, to write the *Tarikh*.

(1) *Ibid*, pp. 406, 407.

(2) *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, page 106.

(3) An incomplete copy of this book, 'containing only a portion of the first of the two Maqsads into which the book is divided', is preserved in the British Museum, (Rieu, iii, p. 1034 b.)

Bâdâ'ûnî calls him a 'bigoted Shî'a' and even declares that 'he had made himself a Hakîm by pure effrontery'.¹

Asaf Khân, the continuator, who wrote the Annals of 686-987 of the Rihlat Era came to India in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign and was introduced to the Emperor by Asaf Khân II, his uncle. Soon he rose to a position of trust and, on the death of the Emperor, entered the service of Jahângîr. He died in 1021 A.H. He 'is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page.'. He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawî, entitled *Nurnama*, ranks after Nizâmî's *Shirin Khusrau*.²

Mullâ 'Abdu'l-Qâdir Badâ'ûnî, the author of the celebrated *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, was another scholar who took a prominent part in the composition of the *Tarikh*. The Mullâ was introduced to the Emperor Akbar in 981 A.H. (=1573 A.D.). He wrote the Annals of the years 7, 14, 21, 28 and 35 of the Rihlat Era. He also revised the first two volumes between the years 1000 and 1003 A.H.³.

Mîr 'Abdu'l Latîf, who received the title of Naqîb Khân in the 26th year of Akbar's reign, was a prominent figure at the Court. He superintended the translation of the *Mahabharata*⁴ along with Mullâ 'Abdu'l Qâdir Badâ'ûnî and Shaikh Sultân Thânesarî. He wrote the Annals of the years 1, 3, 15, 22 and 29 of the Rihlat Era. He died in the 9th year of the reign of Jahângîr, (1032, A.H.).⁵

Shâh Fathullâh of Shîrâz, who wrote the Annals of the years 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 'so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, specially mechanics', that Abû'l Fadl said of him, 'if the books of antiquity should be lost, the amîr will restore them'. He arrived at the Court of the Emperor Akbar in 990 A.H. and was appointed a Sadr ;

(1) For further details see *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, (Bib. Indica), Vol. iii, pp. 262-264 : *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann), i, p. 206.

(2) See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 411-413 : *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, i, pp. 107-15 : *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Rogers and Beveridge), i, p. 222.

(3) See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 104, n2 : Elliot, *The History of India* Vol. 5, pp. 477-492.

(4) *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 104.

(5) See *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 447-449 : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Ranking), iii, p. 150 : *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Rogers and Beveridge), i, pp. 264, 265 : *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, iii, pp. 812-817.

three years later he was given the title of Amînu'l-Mulk. He died in 997 A.H.¹

Hakîm Humâm, who wrote the Annals of the years 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 of the Rihlat Era, was a 'commander of six hundred'. "He was a personal friend of Akbar and possessed great influence at court." He died in his 40th year, on the 6th Rabî' I, 1004 A.H.²

Hâjjî Ibrâhîm Sarhindî, who wrote the Annals of the years 5, 12, 19, 26 and 33 of the Rihlat Era, was a prominent scholar at the court of Akbar. According to Abû'l Fadl, Hâjjî Ibrâhîm "translated into Persian the *At'-harvan* which, according to the Hindus, is one of the four divine books." ³ But Badâ'ûnî tells us that the Emperor 'ordered Shaikh Faidâî, and then Hâjjî Ibrâhîm to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything'.⁴

Mîrzâ Nizâm-ud-dîn Ahmad, who wrote the Annals of the years 6, 13, 20, 27 and 34 of the Rihlat Era, was the celebrated author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003 A.H.⁵

As regards the plan of the *Tarikh* it may be pointed out, that, like several other histories (both Arabic and Persian), it is written in the form of Annals; the arrangement being strictly chronological. This arrangement would have led to little difficulty had the *Tarikh* been confined to the Annals of a particular country or period, but as it comprehends a history of the entire Muslim world—nay of the whole world, as planned originally—the reader naturally finds it extremely difficult to follow the chain of events. Thus, if one is interested in the history of Persia or Africa alone, he has nevertheless to go through the entire *Tarikh* in order to collect his materials which are scattered over its two thousand and odd pages. This is one of the greatest defects of the *Tarikh* and, probably, it is for this reason that very few scholars have made use of it in compiling their histories. A good index may, as suggested by Elliot, remove this defect.

(1) '*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 33, n1 *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, i, pp. 100-105; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Ranking), iii, p. 216.

(2) '*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 474-475; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Ranking), iii, pp. 234-235; *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, i, pp. 563-565.

(3) '*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 105.

(4) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, ii, p. 216.

(5) *Ibid*, ii, p. 412.

It must, however, be said to the credit of its compilers that they have drawn their materials from the most authoritative works on history—both Arabic and Persian. They quote their authorities extensively and, whenever they are in doubt about the truth of any incident, they usually begin it with *گویند* (it is said) or add at the end *واللہ اعلم بالصواب* (God knows the truth). And whenever they find a conflict between any two historians they exercise their judgment and select the version which appears to them to be the correct one. On such occasions they usually state the reason for accepting the one or rejecting the other, but in cases where they are unable to make up their minds they only place the two versions side by side.

It must be admitted, however, that a large portion of the *Tarikh* is of secondary importance only, as it is just a compendium of older histories. But the portion which deals with contemporary events is certainly expected to be of considerable value and importance. As Asaf Khân, the author of this portion, was a prominent figure at Akbar's court, the value of his narrative can hardly be overestimated.

It is very unfortunate indeed that no complete manuscript of the *Tarikh* is available in any public library in India and so I am unable to discuss the value of Asaf Khân's account or examine the charge of Shi'a proclivities levelled against Mullâ Ahmad, the compiler of the first two volumes. I have examined the Asiatic Society Manuscripts, No. 1, 125, which brings down the narrative to the year 503 of the Rihlat Era,* but there I have found little which may be said to be objectionable or incorrect. No doubt, the account of 'Alî, the fourth Caliph, covers a much larger portion of the book than that of the first three Caliphs but we can hardly blame Mullâ Ahmad for that, for he took up the narrative from the 36th year only—e.g., some six years *after* the death of 'Alî. Elliot has apparently done an injustice to the Mullâ by quoting, without comment, the following story from the *Ma'athir-ul-Umara* :—

“ He (*i.e.*, Mullâ Ahmad) used to read out his composition to Akbar, who asked him upon one occasion why he had dwelt so long upon Khalifâ 'Usmân's reign. He

* Ivanow (W.), *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Curzon Collection*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 3. (No. 4).

replied openly, before all the Turani nobles, who were Sunnis, that that period is the *Rauzatul-sh-Shuhada* of the Sunnis, and to abridge it would give offence".¹

This story can hardly be true as the Mullâ commenced the compilation of the *Tarikh* from the year 46 A.H., while 'Usmân died 11 years earlier, in 35 A.H.

Our manuscript of the *Tarikh*, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, is undoubtedly the original manuscript which was prepared for the Emperor Akbar. It is written in good *Nasta'liq*, the style of calligraphy in which Akbar was particularly interested. The manuscript is in large folio size and contains magnificent miniatures on each leaf; but in some cases the miniatures are also found on both sides of the leaves.

We know from the *Ain* that Akbar was a great lover of painting and hundreds of artists, both Hindû and Muslim, were engaged by him in producing manuscripts of extraordinary beauty and excellence. Abû'l Fadl says :—

"Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The *Story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The *Chingiznâmah*, the *Zafarnâmah*, this book, the *Razmnâmah*, the *Ramâyan*, the *Nal Daman*, the *Kalilah Damnah*, the *'Ayâr Dânish*, etc., were all illustrated".²

But this does not exhaust the list of manuscripts which were illustrated for the Emperor. There are at least a dozen more manuscripts in Indian and European collections, which were also written and illustrated for the Emperor. The more important books of this class are the *Darab Nama*,³ and the *Babur Nama*⁴ in the British Museum, the *Baharistan* in the Bodleian Library;⁵ the *Khamisa* of Nizâmî in the collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins;⁶

(1) Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 156. The story is given in the *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, iii, p. 263.

(2) *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 108.

(3) Or. 4615. See Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 241 (No. 385).

(4) Or. 3714, See Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 51, 52 (No. 75).

(5) Elliot, No. 254, See Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, C. 634, (No. 963).

(6) Brown (Percy), *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 116.

the *Akbar Nama*¹ and the *Babur Nama*² in the South Kensington Museum ;³ the *Timur Nama* in the Oriental Public Library at Patna⁴ and the *Diwan* of Hâfiz in the Râmpûr State Library.⁵

To the above list must be added our newly discovered manuscript of *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, which certainly rivals the famous *Razm Nama* in the Jaipur Library, and the excellent *Timur Nama* at Patna. We are at present unable to say whether the entire *Tarikh* was illustrated or whether it was left incomplete owing to its great bulk. For, to judge from the fragment at our disposal, the entire manuscript, when completed, was to have contained between 1,500 to 2,000 miniatures. Possibly this was never done.

There is reason to believe that when the manuscript left the side of the calligraphist and went to the Royal Studio, it was never sent back to him for putting down, in red ink, the headings of the different years. All such places are left blank and we even notice that in certain cases the space thus left blank has been taken over by the painter. In fact, it was due to the ignorance of the Hindû artists, who were not versed in Persian and who, as we know from the available records, outnumbered the Muhammadan artists by ten to one.

Unfortunately, the bottom margin of the manuscript, which contained the names of the artists, has been cut down by some ignorant book-binder. The *Timur Nama* manuscript in the Patna Library has also suffered the same fate. But it will not be difficult, I think, for an expert to identify at least some of the paintings in our copy with the works of the seventeen " forerunners on the high road of art " whose names we get in Abû'l Fadl's '*Ain* (i. pp. 107, 108).

However the names of the following five artists—all Hindûs—which have escaped the ravages of the book-binder can be found on the bottom margin of the *Tarikh* :—

(1) Shankar of Gujarât. Paintings executed by this artist are to be found in the British Museum copies of the *Darab Nama* (Or. 4615) and the *Babur Nama* (Or.

(1) *Ibid*, p. 117.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 152.

(3) 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore*, Vol. VII, pp. 40-48.

(4) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1918, Vol. XIV, p. cclxxvi : Professor Muhammad Shafi's article in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Vol. II No. 2, p. 13, 14.

(5) *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (1911 Edition), pp. 474, 475.



A page from TARIKH-I-ALFI.

3714); the South Kensington MS. of the *Akbar Nama*: the Patna Copy of the *Timur Nama* and in the India Office Library, Johnson Collection, Vol. XXIV.

(2) Sarwan—His name appears in the aforesaid copies of the *Darab Nama*, the *Babur Nama*, (two pictures from which have been reproduced by Smith,* Figs. 247 and 248); the *Akbar Nama*, the *Timur Nama* and also in the *Razm Nama*.

(3) Tirîyyâ—We find the name of this artist on the aforesaid copies of the *Darab Nama*, the *Babur Nama*, and the *Akbar Nama*. Smith has reproduced a fine picture of a banquet from the British Museum copy of the *Akbar Nama*. He remarks "A full-page picture of a banquet by Tirîyyâ, rightly marked by a former owner as incomparable (*be-nazir*), is a fine example of Indo-Timurid style, bright, but not too garish in colour, and far from the common fault of overcrowding."

(4) Sûr Dâs—He was the son of Ishar. The B. M. *Babur Nama* and the S. K. *Akbar Nama* and the Patna *Timur Nama* contain paintings by this artist.

(5) Birahspat—This artist appears to be unknown, as his name is not found in any of the aforesaid manuscripts.

This completes a brief survey of the manuscript and now it remains for the expert to attempt the identification of the unsigned pictures.

* *Ibid*, p. 472.

M. MAHFUZUL HAQ.

INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE¹

PART IV.

General Character of the Incursions of the Muslims and their Results.

Races which took part in the Invasions of France. Slavery. Policy of the Jews. Language and religion of the Conquerors. Their motives. Their dress. Division of the Spoils of War. Christian Prisoners of the Muslims, and Muslim prisoners of the Christians. Muslim administration. Taxes. The Course of the Conquests. Permanent traces of the Muslim occupation of France. Agriculture. Horse-Breeding. Dances. Arabic Influence on French Literature. Exaggerated estimate of the effect of the Muslim occupation of parts of France. The Chivalric Romances; and the place of the Muslims in them.

IN this part we propose to deal with the invasions of the Muslims taken as a whole and to consider certain facts which we have not so far discussed. After discussing these matters we will talk about the various peoples who took part in these sanguinary struggles.

As it was the Arabs who were the first to lead their armies into Europe, and their chiefs who were the leaders and commanders of most of the expeditions which followed, it is natural that their race, which took the most prominent part in the annals of Muslim Spain, and which is dubbed *Saracen* by contemporary Christian writers, should be foremost in the minds of contemporary writers.

As the word *Saracen* was entirely unknown to the Arabs themselves, the question arises as to the origin of this mysterious word. It is really derived from the Latin '*Saracenus*' (Greek, '*Sarakenos*'), and appears for the first time in the writings of the authors of the first century of the Christian era.² It implied the nomadic inhabitants of Arabia Petraea and the country lying between the

(1) Continued from '*Islamic Culture*.' Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 112.

(2) *Vide* the Review entitled *Effets de la religion de Mahomet*, by the Marquis de Fortia d'Urban, printed at the end of M. Oelsner's *Memoirs*, Paris, 1810,

Euphrates and the Tigris ; those tribes, filling, as they did, the gap between Syria and Persia, between the Romans and the Parthians, sometimes taking this side, sometimes the other, were important in turning the balance of victory in favour of the side which they took. Quite a goodly number of authors have attempted a solution of the origin of this epithet ; while no-one has so far been able to prove his argument to the hilt, the majority of authors are in favour of tracing it to the Arabic *Sharqi* (*oriental*), and as a matter of fact the nomadic Arabs of Mesopotamia and Arabia lived towards the east of the Roman empire. A Greek writer who travelled in Arabia in the sixth century of the Christian era describes the races inhabiting the region which he traversed, and says that there is a great difference between the Homerite inhabitants of the Yemen and the Saracens proper.¹ It is not necessary here to discuss the argument of the medieval Christians, who, relying on the opinion once held by St. Jerome,² derived the word *Saracen* from Abraham's wife, *Sarah*, for we need hardly mention that the Arabs had nothing in common with Sarah who was Isaac's mother.

(1) Cf. Pococke : *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, pp. 33 ff., and Casiri : *Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Vol. II, pp. 13 and 19. We can trace the word *Saracen* to a different origin. We have seen that the word acquires currency towards the beginning of the Christian era ; on the other hand Ptolemy mentions a people named *Machurebe* which occupied the part of Africa now called Algeria. Vide Shaw : *Voyage*, p. 84, and the quotation at the end of the work, p. 23 ; Also vide Pliny the Naturalist, Book V, No. 2. If we believe in the accounts of certain writers that a number of Arab tribes had settled in western Africa, it is possible to trace Ptolemy's *Machurebe* to the Arabic *Magharibeh* (sing. *Maghribi*) meaning *Occidentals*, a word which is employed in the identical sense by the Arabs even now. It is even possible that the word *Sharqiun* or *Orientalis* was used by these colonists to signify the inhabitants of their mother-country. Then the question arises as to the difference between the Saracens and the Homerites. Our illustrious contemporary, M. Letronne, informs us that according to the evidence of Strabo, Diodorus the Sicilian and other writers of antiquity, the part of Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea was peopled by Arab tribes as it is today and was called Arabia. It is therefore possible that the tribes who remained in the peninsula were called *Orientalis* in order to distinguish them from those who had crossed the Red Sea. We might mention here that in modern Arab-Egypt the Delta is divided into the *Sharqiyeh* towards the East and the *Gharbiyeh* province towards the West. In the same way the Goths, after they had left their primitive homes, were divided into Ostrogoths or Oriental Goths, and the Visigoths or Occidental Goths. But we must confess that the passage of Nonnosus still presents some difficulty.

(2) Vide the Glossary of Low Latin, by Ducange, under 'Saraceni'.

The Arabs are called Ishmaelites by the Christian authors of the Middle Ages, and their descent from Ishmael is admitted by the Arabs themselves, at least with regard to certain tribes, especially the one to which the Prophet belonged, a fact which is once and again recognised by the Muslim authorities. But, as we have already mentioned, the Arabs do not think that Ishmael was the son of a slave-girl, or that Isaac was in any way superior to him in his station in life. In this connection we should also remember that according to Islamic ideas the son of a free woman and that of a slave are equal before the law provided only that the father is a free man and that he recognises the children as his own offspring. Further the Muslim writers attribute to Ishmael all that is related in the Bible about Isaac.

Harping on the same tune, the Christian authors of the Middle Ages call the Arabs *Agareni* or descendants of Hagar. They think that there is something humiliating about this epithet as Hagar was according to them a slave and thus inferior to ordinary free women. Needless to say, this nomenclature is entirely unknown to the Arabs themselves.

Besides the Arabs, the people who took the most prominent part in these expeditions were the inhabitants of the African continent who are generally named Berbers. By this generic name is meant all those who lived on the slopes of the Atlas mountains and the neighbouring lands from the Egyptian oases to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Mediterranean to the country of the Blacks. This race is distinguished by its olive colour, straight nose and round face. They must have colonized northern Africa before the settlement of the Phœnicians at Carthage and even before the migration of the tribes of Canaan in the time of Joshua and David. They were never completely brought under foreign domination, and in their mountain recesses they have preserved their own nationality and their customs right up to the present day. The Greeks and the Romans dubbed them *Barbarians* which has probably been corrupted into the generic Berber,¹ while the Berbers call themselves *Amazyghs* or *Nobles* which seems to correspond with the *Mazyces* of the Greeks and the Romans.²

(1) Count Castiglione : *Memoires geographiques sur la partie orientale de la Barbarie*, Milan, 1826, p. 84.

(2) *Nouveaux Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XII, M. St. Martin's *Memoires*, pp. 190 ff.

Not one of these communities was known to the medieval Christians, who mixed up the Berbers and the Africans in general and dubbed the Carthaginians and the Romans as well as the Vandals of Africa *Mauri* or the Moors, *Afri* or Africans, *Poeni* or Carthaginians, and *Fusci* or Negroes.¹

Among the nations which took part in the invasion of France were to be found persons of Germanic or Slavic stock as well. We know that after the period of the great Migration of the Races in the fourth and the fifth centuries of the Christian era, the Slavs, who originally inhabited the land situated towards the north of the Black Sea and the Danube, advanced slowly towards the southern climes under the name of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Moravians and Bohemians, occupied the lands which were later called Dalmatia, Serbia, Poland and Bohemia, and even a part of the territory of Greece. On their line of march they had to fight against the nations which came in their way, especially the Saxons, Huns, etc.; and in addition to this they came in conflict with Charles-Martel, Pepin, Charlemagne and their successors, whose States were always open to the ravages of these barbarian peoples. As a matter of fact these terrible wars did not come to an end till the Germanic races, German or Slav, had finally embraced the Christian religion. We now know that it is a part of the public law of the Barbarians that it is right to treat prisoners of war as mere cattle and beasts of burden. Tacitus mentions how the races which inhabit modern Holland were in the habit of selling their prisoners of war, and these were found in the length and breadth of the Empire either as soldiers or as domestic slaves.² This inhuman custom spread into France and the neighbouring lands where the slave trade was publicly recognised as a regular profession, a state of affairs which continued right up to the time when the Germans, Slavs and other Barbarian nations of the north finally came within the fold of Christianity.³

(1) We must remember that there were among the invaders many renegades and adventurers from all parts of the Greek Empire, who were called *Rumi* by the Arabs, a word which is only a corrupted form of the word *Romani*, a name adopted by the unworthy successors of Scipio and Paulus Aemilius.

(2) Life of Agricola, cap. 28.

(3) Cf. Alcuin's two letters, in Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 609 and 610; Ibn-i-Hauqal's Geography, 1872 p. 75, and Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 92. Also Vide M. d'Ohsson: *Peuple du Caucase*, Paris, 1828, p. 86, and M. Pardessus: *Lois Maritimes*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. LXXIX and LXXX.

The slave trade reached its climax after Syria, Africa, Egypt and Spain had fallen into the hands of the Muslims. We are told that slavery had existed among the Arabs for a long time and that it was the custom among them to make the slaves responsible for some of the most difficult occupations such as mechanical trades and agriculture; but we must also remember that under Islamic law slavery has lost most of its stigma, and a slave of recognised intellect and capacity or one who is favoured by fortune is put on an equal footing with free men.

The custom of selling slaves of either sex to the Muslims existed very early. Merchants went to the coasts of Germany, the mouths of the Rhine, the Elbe and other rivers in order to buy slaves, and they were to be seen on the far off coasts of the Adriatic¹ and the Black Seas, a fact which reminds us how in more recent times the people of Circassia and Georgia gave their children to strangers in the markets of Constantinople in exchange for articles of which they might be in need. A large number of these unfortunate beings were brought to France either as prisoners of war during the struggles of the French with the northern races, or as chattels purchased by French speculators.

In common with other races of the south, the Arabs were also given to a spirit of jealousy, with the result that in order to employ slaves in the seraglios and harems of the grandees and princes, they began to castrate them while still young. This custom immediately gave birth to a new industry in France, and a great factory was established at Verdun in Lorraine in the tenth century which turned out eunuchs who were sent to Spain and fetched fabulous prices.² The commodity was greatly appreciated and castrated slaves were presented in the identical manner in which a horse or an ornament would be today. We read in a work by an Arab author how, in 966, in order to seek favour with the ruler of Cordova, the French lords of Catalonia made a present of twenty Slovene eunuchs to

(1) As regards the descent of the Muslims on the Adriatic coast, *vide* Constantine Porphyrogenitos: *De administratione Imperii* (in Banduri's *Imperium Orientale*, Vol. I, pp. 88 ff., and 131).

(2) Cf. Luitprand, in Muratori's collection, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, part I, p. 470; and Ibn-i-Hauqal, 1872, p. 75. Also *vide* Desguignes: *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 485.

[It must be remembered, however, that castration is not allowed under Islamic Law, *vide* the *Hidayah* which says definitely that there is no castration in Islam—Tr.]

him.¹ The Arab authors consider that all the slaves, whether German or Slovene, were of the Slavic stock, and they called them by the name of Saqlabi, whence probably the word "slave" is derived.² We read that a large part of the bodyguard of the Amîrs and Khalifas of Cordova was composed of these Saqlabis. Moreover there were numerous Saqlabis mixed up with the Arabs of Sicily, especially of Palermo, where a special quarter of the town was named after them ; and they were also found in Africa and Syria.³ In all these places they were sometimes invested with extremely important functions. We must bear this in mind, otherwise many important passages in the Arab chronicles mentioning the name of the Saqlabis would remain entirely unintelligible to us.

The Arabs and the Berbers not merely included an admixture of the pagans of northern Europe, but there were to be found among them persons born and bred in the very heart of Christendom, *i.e.*, France and Italy. What happened was that the Jews took advantage of the great hardships in which the various peoples lived, bought children of either sex, carried them to various ocean ports and thence in Venetian or Greek galleys on to the Islamic lands. This shameless traffic, forbidden by the ecclesiastical as by the civil authorities, was carried on in the very capital of the Christian world, and in 750 Pope Zachariah was forced to buy a large number of children of both sexes about to be carried from Rome,⁴ and in 778, Zachariah's successor in office set fire to a number of Greek vessels at Cività Vecchia which had arrived at that place to carry on this nefarious commerce.⁵

To those Christians who were bought as slaves and were then admitted to the Arab society, we must add those prisoners of war of all ages and ranks who fell in their power. We have already noticed that one of the principal objects of the invasion of the Arabs was the capture of prisoners of war, and at the end of every expedition the

(1) *Vide* Maqqari, 1860, p. 249. Other presents consisted of twenty quintals of sable, five quintals of tin and armour.

(2) Charmoys : *Memoires sur les relations de Massoudi*, (*Memoires de l'Academie de St. Petersbourg*, 1835, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff.

(3) Ibn-i-Hauqal, p. 85 and Charmoy, *op. cit.*

(4) Anastasius the Librarian, in Muratori's great collection, Vol. III, part I, p. 164.

(5) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V. p. 557. This trade was kept up right up to the thirteenth century, though it was carried on secretly. *Vide* Michaud : *Histoire des Croisades* fourth edition, Vol. III, pp. 610 and 613.

markets of the chief towns of Spain and Africa were full of saleable Christians. Prisoners of tender age who had been taken away from their parents were brought up as Muslims and were taught Arabic as their mother-tongue, and if they recanted, the magistrates had every power to punish them for their indiscretion. A large number of these men adopted the life of a soldier. We must here confess that no-one forced grown-up Christians to renounce their faith and accept Islam, for the Qurân has specifically enjoined that no violence is to be shown to any person simply on account of his or her religion.*

To these Christian converts we must add a number of the inhabitants of the lands occupied by the Muslims. When the Arabs and the Berbers entered Spain they were considerably helped by many native Christians as well as by the Jews who formed quite a respectable proportion of the population. As time went on, the Muslims found that the troops at their disposal were not sufficient in order to occupy the various strongholds of the country, and they were forced to garrison some of the towns with Jews. Moreover during their incursions into France and into the heart of the neighbouring lands they were likewise helped by those who had neither any faith nor any country to call their own and who were ever ready to take advantage of public misfortune in order to aggrandise themselves. Thus we have already noticed the part which Maurontc, Duke of Marseilles, and other notable persons played in helping the Arabs in their march to success and conquest. When great men behaved in this manner, the less said about the smaller men the better. We cannot but believe that, while the Muslims were settling down in Dauphinè, Piedmont, Savoy and Switzerland, there were many among the natives of those countries who were in communication with them and who actually took part in their raids. True that the contemporary writers do not say so definitely but limit their remarks to complaints of cowardice, perfidy and irreligion on the part of some of the native Christians; but if we do not actually believe in the alliance between the Muslims and some of the Christians, how else can we explain the great facility with which the foreigners conquered these rugged lands; how could their groups, placed at a distance from one another, come into contact with each other specially when intercommunication was so difficult. Although the invaders spoke a language utterly alien to the native dialects and

* [Sûrah I, verse 256, Tr.]

professed distinct religious beliefs, they soon began to mix with the people of the country. We are aware of the instance of the chronicler of Novalèse Abbey¹ who describes how his uncle fell into the hands of the Musulmans, how a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Verceil, how the Muslims were victorious and entered the town in a peaceful manner along with their prisoners of war, and how their prisoners are exhibited to the inhabitants of the town who were given the liberty of examining them and of offering a price for any prisoner. The chronicler goes on to say that the relatives and friends of the unfortunate prisoners gathered together at the palace of the bishop and the houses of the notables of the locality. All this happened just as if in our own day a merchant were to arrive at a small town with saleable merchandise and people were to flock to see it in order to make purchases.

We will now examine the policy of the Jews of the south of France at the time when the Muslims invaded that beautiful part of western Europe. We read in the life of St. Thèodard, bishop of Narbonne,² that when the Muslims first entered the Languedoc, the Jews immediately declared in their favour and opened the gates of Toulouse for them. The author of this work further says that, on hearing of this act of treason, Charlemagne ordered that every year on the occasion of the three important Christian festivals a Jew should be publicly slapped in front of the cathedral of Toulouse. Now there is no doubt but that a Jew was so slapped publicly three times a year;³ but it was not done owing to any previous treason on the part of the Jews, for the simple reason that the Arabs never entered Toulouse at all. It is quite possible that the author of the life of St. Thèodard might have in his mind the entry of the Normans into the capital of the Languedoc in 850, an event which might have been brought about with the help given by the Jews to the invaders in the same way as was done previously in the case of Bordeaux.

When we pass on to the language of the invaders we see the same diversity, for it was only a portion of them who talked the Arabic language while the rest spoke

(1) *Supra*, part III.

(2) St. Theodard lived about 880, but his life was written much later. *Vide* Bollandiste collection, May 1.

(3) It was later commuted to a sum of money which the Jewish community paid every year to the various churches of Toulouse.

Berber or some other dialect.¹ We read how not one of the Muslims who made an attempt to capture Narbonne, in 1019, spoke Arabic.

As regards religion, it was again only a portion of the invaders that professed Islam, so that we find among them not only pagans and Jews but Christians as well. We have already noticed that the band which invaded le Velay about the year 730 was probably composed of men who were idolators.² We have little data about the religion of the Berbers, a race which took a very prominent part in the conquest of Spain and France, and we know only that many of their tribes professed Christianity or Judaism, while there were others who worshipped fire, sand, stars, and others still who were given to pure idol-worship. The worship of fire and of stars dates back to remote antiquity among the peoples inhabiting the territories round the Atlas mountains; and the medals struck in the reign of Bacchus, King of Numidia, contain the same signs as those of certain monuments of ancient Persia.³ We also remember the evidence of Sallust in this behalf, who, following the Phœnician authorities, says that in prehistoric times a body of adventurers, composed mainly of Medes and Persians, came and settled down in Africa.⁴ Further the Arab authors themselves accuse some of the Berber tribes of worshipping fire and stars and of not adopting Islam as their religion,⁵ calling them Sabian, a word which was applied to the worshippers of the stars. Lastly pure idolatry was also not unknown to the tribes of the Atlas Range. We read in the writings of a Latin author of the sixth century A.C. certain invaluable details of religious rites and ceremonies practised in Africa before the conquest of the country by the Arabs.⁶ It is really all these facts which cause the Arab writers to mention the generic term *Majus* in connection with the Berber tribes who had not bowed their heads before the Law of Islam, as

(1) The Arab author Ibn-ul-Qûtiâh mentions a body of Berber troops which talked the Berber language.

(2) *Supra*, Part I.

(3) *Description de medailles antiques*, by Mionnet Vol. VI, p. 597.

(4) Vide *Nouveaux memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XII, pp. 181 ff.; Memoir of St. Martin.

(5) Cp. Extract from Ibn-i-Khaldûn, published in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*. Vol. II, p. 131, and Leo the African's *Relation*.

(6) Corippus: *Joannidos seu de bellis Libycis*, Mazzucchelli's edition, Milan 1120, in 4 to. Consult the Index under the wards *Gurzil Mastiman*, *Ammon*, *Apolin*, etc. Vide also the pagan rites in vogue in Africa after the Muslim conquest in the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits* Vol. XII, p. 639.

well as to the pagans of the north, especially the Normans. It was only long after the conquest of Africa by the Muslims that the Berber tribes finally 'adopted Islam *en masse*'.¹

The Christian authors of the Middle Ages include all the invaders in the vague epithet of 'pagans'. It was not because the cultured among the Christians were ignorant of the patent truth that nothing was further from polytheism and idolatry than Islam. Everyone is aware that the Muslims recognise only one God who is regarded as the creator of the earth and heaven, and they have such a great horror of pagan practices that (like the Jews) they are forbidden to make any representation of an animate being. This was, however, not true of a portion of the conquerors, while we must also remember that among the common people the respect for the founder of Islam had degenerated into a kind of idolatry.² Lastly we know that in the Middle Ages the epithets 'pagan' and 'idolator' were used indiscriminately for all those who did not profess the Christian religion.

We read in the so-called Chronicle of Archbishop Turpin³ that there stood in Spain on the sea coast a huge column with a bronze statue which was falsely said to have been manufactured (نَعَزَ بِاللَّهِ) by the Prophet himself,⁴ and to which the ignorant Muslims of the neighbourhood paid homage. Philomène, in his romantic history of the conquest of Languedoc by Charlemagne,⁵ says that the Muslims of Narbonne erected the statue of the Prophet,

(1) *Vide Cartas: History of Africa*, translated from the Arabic into Portuguese by P. Santo Antonio Maura, with the name of *Historia dos suberanos mohametanos que reinarao na Mauretania*, Lisbon, 1828, p. 19.

(2) [The author here is entirely mistaken. Whatever faults may be found in the present day Muslims, one thing is absolutely certain, and it is that the Prophet is regarded by one and all as simply the Messenger of the Almighty. The Qurân is clear on the point, for it says that "Mohammad is but the Messenger of God —" *Vide Qurân*, Chapter 3, verse 134.

(3) M. Ciampi's edition, p. 10.

(4) [This shows the terrible extent to which prejudiced ignorance of everything Islamic had pervaded the innermost mentality of the Medieval Christian. Fancy, the man, the quintessence of whose teaching consisted in the Unity of Godhead and whose whole life was spent in the attempts to eradicate idolatry, being credited with the construction of a bronze Statue! What profanity and what ignorance! One feels certain that the next piece of "information", that the local Muslims paid homage to it, must also have emanated from the fertile brain of some enemy of Islam. *Tr.*]

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 78.

red in colour, in a kind of chapel and regarded it as the surest guarantee of their authority. We also read, in the play of St. Nicholas, a kind of drama which was very popular during the Middle Ages,¹ that the Muslim subjects of the Prince of Africa worshipped an idol named *Tergavant*, and covered its cheeks with beaten gold whenever they believed it to be the cause of some singular grace or favour. Lastly it is mentioned in the French poem on the adventures of Roland that the Saracens of Sarragosa had selected a grotto which they turned into a temple for their gods and placed there statues of gold with crowns on their heads and sceptres in their hands, and whenever they wished to seek Divine aid they repaired to this grotto.²

The word '*Tergavant*' which is sometimes changed into '*Termagant*', and the name of '*Apolin*' and of other chimerical beings often come before us in the French romances and other old literary works,³ and seem to refer in general to the supposed deities worshipped by the Mussulmans. Such was the ignorance of the Europeans in this respect that it is mentioned in the *Jeu de St. Nicholas* that a statue of a saint which had the customary mitre on its head, was called '*the Horned Prophet*', and the temples of the idols received the generic name of '*Mahomery*'. Such, verily are the results of pure human imagination! What a contrast with the action of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, when he had subdued the richest parts of India about the year 1025, utterly refused to sell back an idol in exchange for an equal weight in gold offered to him, and placed it on the sill of the great Mosque of his capitol to be trampled upon by all those who entered the sacred precincts.⁴

What is then the origin of the grossly mistaken ideas of these writers? Some authors have ventured to say that the Normans and other idolatrous nations of the north were dubbed '*Saracen*' along with the Arabs, and it is in the northern climes that we must look for the origin of the words

(1) Legrand d'Assy has given an extract of this piece in his *Fabliaux*, Vol. I, pp. 339 ff., while the whole of the drama has been published by M. Monmerque in the collection of the publications of the *Society of the Booklovers of France*, 1884.

(2) Monin: *Dissertation sur le Roman de Roncevaux*, pp. 64 and 104.

(3) *Roman de la Violette*, published by M. Francisque Michel, pp. 73 and 332.

(4) This is not the only instance of its kind. *Vide* our *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux croisades* (Vol. IV of the *Bibliothèque des croisades*), p. 236.

‘*Tergavent*,’ ‘*Apolin*’ etc.¹ But we must remember at the same time that the Berbers also practised certain rude ceremonies peculiar to the nations of the south, so that it is perhaps possible to find their traces in Africa.

As a matter of fact this so-called respect for gods of wood, stone or metal, as described in the works we have quoted just now, always occupied a position only secondary to the actual advantages which were anticipated from the pretended veneration, for we find it mentioned that without a second thought they used to fall on these idols, throw them down and break them to pieces.

To sum up, among the conquering peoples the dominant race was that of the Arabs and the dominant religion, Islam. Neither the Berbers nor the Slovenes have left us any mementos of their hardihood, and if perchance some of them did not accept Islam as their faith, their children did. As a matter of fact whatever facts we learn about the conquerors are entirely from Arabic and Muslim sources.

In the same way there was a great difference in the motives of the various elements composing the conquering hordes. No doubt with some the chief motive was the love of wealth, inclination towards an adventurous career and love of pleasure ; but it is also true that the desire of at least some of the conquerors was the propagation of Islam and the hope of reaping the reward of such a meritorious act of piety in after life. Thus it is prescribed in the Quran : “ Go forth, light armed and heavy armed, and strive with your wealth and your lives in the way of Allah ! That is best for you if ye but knew ”² moreover it is said that “ Those whose feet are covered with dust in the Divine cause, they shall verily be kept from the fire of Hell by the Almighty ”.

Those among the Muslims who were capable of carrying arms considered themselves in duty bound to devote their lives for the triumph of their faith, while such as could not do so hoped to reap the same advantages by the sacrifice

(1) Antonio Panizzi’s edition of Boyardo’s *Roland l’Amoureux* and Ariosto’s *Roland le Furieux*, with a volume of introduction called *Essay on the romantic narrative poetry of the Italians*, London, 1830, p. 126.

(2) *Quran*, sûrah IX, verse 41. [The next quotation is not from the *Qurân* at all but is taken from the Traditions as handed down from Nasa’i, Tirmizî and Bukhârî : “ Not one of those whose feet have touched the dust in the Way of the Lord shall ever be harmed by the Fire of Hell. ” [*Tr.*].

of their property. The Qurân enjoins the Prophet to "make it known to those who collect gold and silver in their chests and refuse to use it for keeping the Faith on its proper pedestal, that they will receive the most terrible punishment."¹

It was an Islamic precept that every Muslim who died sword in hand was destined to enter Paradise, and we read in the Qurân: "Do not say that those who are killed in the Holy War are dead; nay they are really alive, and the Lord God nourishes them with His own Hands."² The Muslims give those who thus put their seal on their love for Islam by their own blood, the name of *Shahid* or *Martyr* an idea which is very much analogous to the Christian belief of the martyrdom of those who die for the triumph of the religion of Christ.

Those of the Musulmans who died sword in hand required neither ablution nor shroud, for their blood was taken to have freed them from all impurities, and no shroud was regarded as fitter for their wear than their own uniform. The Prophet has enjoined thus: 'Bury your martyrs in the condition in which they are killed, with their uniforms covering their bodies, their wounds adorning them and their blood washing away all that is impure, and do not give them a bath, for on the Day of Reckoning their wounds will smell like musk'.³

The Law of Islam ordained that before beginning actual hostilities the commander-in-chief of the Muslim armies should enter into conversation with the leaders of the nation which was to be attacked, and should make a proposal that it should either adopt Islam or else pay a tribute to the Muslims.⁴ It was, however, ordered that

(1) *Ibid.*, verse 34.

(2) *Ibid.*, sura II, verse 149.

(3) Here the learned author probably has two traditions before him, one quoted by Ibn-i-Hajar and the other by the Four Traditionists: as follows: (1) "It is handed down by Ibn-i-'Abbas that the Prophet looked at the martyrs of Uhud and ordered that their upper garments of hide and steel be removed and they be buried in their bloodstained clothes". (2) "Whoever is wounded in the way of the Lord, will have his wound on the Day of Judgment appear like saffron and smell like musk." [Tr.]

(4) According to the spirit of the Qurânic law, this alternative was to be proposed only to the Christians, the Jews and the Guebres, *i.e.*, those who claimed to be the followers of a revealed Book, and who were consequently called by the Muslims the People of the Book. For the idolators the only alternative was Islam or the sword. This doctrine was, however, never vigorously applied except in the Arabian peninsula, and we know definitely that a section of the Berbers remained idolatrous. The same policy of toleration was followed among the non-Muslims of India.

this proposal should be made in a very lenient spirit, for the Qurân enjoins the Believers to 'invite them to the Way of the Lord with gentleness, prudence and exhortation at once sweet and persuasive'.¹ It is thus probable that when the Musulmans first crossed the French frontier they invited the inhabitants according to the precept of the Law, but when the natives did not pay any heed to it they had recourse to the sword.²

On the battlefield the early Muslim conquerors had a sword hanging on one side, a club resting on the body of the horse, a spear with a flag attached to it in the hand, a bow on the shoulder and a turban covering the head. But all this changed as time went on, and the Musulmans began to copy the dress of the European warriors. They gradually gave up the use of the bow and club and adopted the buckler, the cuirass and the long spear which proved to be very useful for piercing purposes. Moreover they developed the famous Bordeaux sword,³ while their warriors gave up the use of the turban and began to wear a kind of Indian cap. There were with the twenty Slav eunuchs sent by the French lord of Catalonia to the Khalifa of Cordova ten Slav cuirasses and two hundred French swords, while the same Khalifa presented his Hâjib or prime minister, who was himself of Slav descent, with one hundred French horsemen armed with sword, lance and cuirass and wearing Indian caps.⁴ As a matter of fact most of the Musulmans, great and small, preferred to wear their arms and their scarlet tunics, ride on saddles and carry their flags according to the fashion then in vogue among the Christians.⁵ We are, however, right in thinking that the Muslim warriors always kept up the lightness of their equipment which was their distinctive feature when the Muslims first made a rush on western Europe.⁶

(1) Qurân, Chap. 16, verses, 125.

(2) Turpin's chronicle and the romances of chivalry, while describing the conflict between the Christians and the Muslims, often mention the challenge of the knights to one another and their invitation to adopt their religion. In all probability such challenges were not made until after the establishment of chivalry in Europe, and were the direct corollary of the principle that an enemy who has no opportunity of defending himself should in no wise be attacked.

(3) Maqqari, 1860, Vol. I, p. 124.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 247.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 137.

(6) [There are panels in the Alhambra at Granada which well illustrate the dress in vogue during the later days of Muslim rule in Spain. They depict various phases of Muslim life at Granada. *Vide* my article on "A new Geography of Muslim Spain" in "Islamic Culture" 1928, p. ?....—Tr.].

We have already noticed that not a few of the invading soldiers were led on by greed for booty and, as a matter of fact, for many years afterwards this was the only recompense for their material expenses and bodily fatigue. The irregular warrior, who fought by himself, was the sole master of all that fell in his hands, while the regular had to be content with the share allotted to him by his commander, for the booty was regarded as the common property of the Muslims and consequently divided on the termination of a campaign. This comprised precious metals either in the form of coin or bullion, precious stones, utensils of all kinds, beasts of burden and prisoners of both sexes, young and old. Of all these the prisoners were valued the most, owing to the great facility with which they were taken home for the purpose of being sold in the slave market for domestic service, and their worth was measured by their age, sex, physical force and personal looks.

The commander began by reserving the fifth of the booty as the share of God which was sent to the Khalifah for disposal according to his wishes, and we know that the sovereign generally spent a part of such income on the poor and on other works of public utility;¹ the rest was divided up among the soldiers in such a way that a cavalryman received double the share of an infantryman.²

When the booty had been finally divided, those who did not like to keep their share, either exchanged it with someone else or sold it in a kind of market set up within the precincts of the camp itself. Thus in the train of the conquering army were also found merchants and speculators through whom the articles captured were sent to the most distant parts of the Empire.

Here it is necessary to say something of the French Christians of both sexes who had the ill-luck of falling into the hands of the invader, and the reader must be reminded at the outset not to confuse these captives with prisoners of war of the present day.

When a Christian was captured his hands were immediately tied back; he was then (called *Asir*)³ an Arabic word which means *bound*, and which is synonymous

(1) Qurân, sûrah VIII, verse 42.

(2) Roland : *Dissertationes miscellaneae* Vol. III, p. 49 : Mouradgea d'Ohsson : *Tableaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vol. V, p. 80 : and Conde *Historia*, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, p. 463.

(3) اسير

to the Latin 'vinctus', a word used by the Romans for a captive. After the booty had finally been partitioned as above, the person into whose hands a Christian had fallen became his master, and thus was free to employ him in his service, sell him, beat him or even kill him. The Christian who thus became a slave was called *Memluk*¹ or *owned*, for he was no longer master of his own self. He was also called *Riq*² or *puny*, for his faculties were supposed to be very much restrained as he could not own any land, and whatever he earned went to his master. He descended to the heirs of his master in the same way as a field or a house would, while his children also followed his status and became slaves like him.

Sometimes the master, especially when he was enthusiastic for the propagation of his own faith, asked his slave to change his religion. If the Christian consented, he was ordinarily set free, and even when he was not set free he did not lose hope, for it was just possible that another Muslim might pay his price to his master and emancipate him. 'The Prophet has enjoined that 'The Muslim who sets free one like him, frees himself from the torments of the life to follow and from Everlasting Fire'.³ Once free, the newly converted person was no more required to dance attendance on his master, but was, on the other hand, admitted to the very bosom of Muslim society and could rise to the greatest height in the service of the State exactly like the most favoured ones among the subjects of the Khalifah. He was thenceforth called the 'Mowla'⁴ a word which means one under somebody's protection, and which expresses in the most touching manner the relationship and the reciprocal duties of the patron and the person whom he set free.⁵

If, however, the slave did not consent to become a Muslim, he was sometimes put to all kinds of inconveniences by his master, and if he still persisted the master

(1) مملوك The word is used for the medieval Slave-Kings of Egypt.

(2) رق

(3) Bukhari, Muslim and Tirmizi agree that the Prophet said that whoever freed a bondsman will have all the organs of his body freed from the torments of hell fire [*Tr.*]

(4) مولی

(5) Sometimes a slave was only 'qualified', that is to say that he was given the authority to possess property. He could then follow any profession he liked, and whatever he earned became his own. He had, however, to pay a sum of money to his former master in case he demanded it.

sometimes put irons on his feet, and sometimes he was ordered to till the land for him or do any other mechanical work, which might be profitable to his master.

We have already noticed that the Christian captives—Muslim converts as well as those who remained faithful to the word of the Bible—were distinguished for their hardihood and were prominent in all the expeditions led by the Musulmans. They were found in the Muslim troops on the field of battle, in the body-guard of the Amirs and Khalifas of Cordova and among the followers of the grandees of Spain. We have already mentioned the case of the Hâjib of Cordova to whom Hakam II made a present of one hundred French *Memluks* armed from head to foot, and of the Christian prisoners, castrated or otherwise, who were employed in the royal household and in the mansions of the Muslim nobles.

Such slaves as remained faithful to the old religion also did not give up hopes of regaining their liberty. It was the rule among princes and rich persons, whenever there was any event which particularly pleased them, to offer their thanks to the Almighty by freeing slaves, for they thought that this was the best way of pleasing the Creator. Thus when, in 997, the famous Almanzor heard that some Cordovan troops had met with great success in Africa, he broke the irons of eighteen hundred Christians of both sexes and set them free as a thankoffering to God.*

It was only natural that the relatives, friends and sympathisers of the Christian prisoners should be interested in their welfare, and every year there were men who left France with gold and silver for Spain and Africa in order to ransom their fathers, brothers and friends back to their hearth and home. Quite often the Muslim prince himself intervened in the negotiations and sometimes even paid a part of the price from his own pocket. Later on, the spirit of charity gave birth to those fraternities and brotherhoods which subsisted right up to the Revolutionary epoch, and the main object of which was the redemption of slaves. It was regarded as the greatest mark of heroism to leave all one held dear in order to help one's brethren in distress. History has preserved the memory of Isarn, Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who went to Spain in 1047 to ransom back some Christians who had been captured by

* Conde : *Historia* Eng. Tr. Vol. II, p. 33, [which, however, mentions that only 800 slaves were set free—Tr.]

Muslim seamen off the coast of Provence. As Isarn was very ill his monks would not let him go, but they struggled in vain and he duly started on his errand. He was very much fatigued by the troublesome journey and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could discover the place where the captives were kept. Misfortune followed misfortune, for when the Christians had at last been liberated and put on the sea *en route* for their motherland, there appeared a number of Muslim craft on the horizon, who, coming near, recaptured them. Then more solicitations and further pourparlers. So great were the difficulties which Isarn had to surmount that on his way back home with these captives he finally succumbed to his troubles and breathed his last at Marseilles.*

The fair sex was affected by these forced migrations to a greater degree than the male population. Woman is by nature weaker than man, and is therefore prone to live a retired life to a greater extent than man, so that sometimes she was left entirely unsupported by her relatives and friends. We come across European women employed as chambermaids in the seraglios of the Muslim grandees, while those whose pretty looks or accomplishments in aesthetic arts, such as dancing, music and needlework, ranked them above their less fortunate sisters, were bought by ladies of culture who gave them proper education and then resold them at a high price. This was the gift which was greatly valued by the Muslim Khalifah himself, and these highly cultured slaves as well as those female prisoners of war who originally belonged to high society sometimes shared their bed with their august masters. Who, for instance, knows, that Lampegie, daughter of Duke Eudes of Aquitaine did not share the same fate as so many other noble ladies of France?

The young female prisoners of war were generally at the mercy of those into whose hands they fell, and they often ended their days by becoming their associates in life. We have already mentioned that the law of Islam takes no count of the condition of the woman's birth, and, as truly befits a legal system which was perhaps originally meant for hot climes, it allows a man not only to marry four wives but also to cohabit with the slave-girls whom he may purchase. As a matter of fact it is very seldom that a man marries four wives at the same time, for even in countries where woman was regarded as an inferior

* *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. IV, pp. 489 and 498. Isarn's tomb is still to be seen at Marseilles. *Vide* Millin: *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, Vol. III, pp. 181 ff.

being, he would have no peace of mind with more than one wife. In some countries, however, it was a general custom to own a number of slave-girls, and most men were wont to have such girls as the sharers of their hearth and home.

If the master allowed a slave-girl to occupy the position of his wife, she became *ipso facto* free and her children were considered to have been born free as well, while both were taken to belong to the highest social condition. Although, however, the mother became free by the very fact of the sexual intercourse, she remained under her master's authority during the whole of her life, while after her death she received the fullest rights of liberty and was thenceforward called *Umm Walad* or 'child's mother'. The Khalîfahs of Damascus, Baghdad and Cordova had a number of these 'children's mothers' in their seraglios, while all the children of Hârûn-ur-Rashîd were born of his slave-wives.¹ But if a child was not recognised by its mother's master as his issue, he was dubbed a bastard and ever remained a slave along with his mother while both were regarded as being no better than mere animals.

To give the reader some idea of the curious fortune which was reserved for the Christians of both sexes, we should like to recount three sets of facts. A soldier from the neighbourhood of Toulouse named Raymond, embarked on a sea-voyage to the Christian holy places. On his way to the East, however, his boat was captured by a Muslim who made him a farm labourer. Raymond, who was not used to that kind of work, told his master that he was brought up as a soldier and was not used to farm labour at all. When the Muslims heard this, they immediately admitted him to the fighting forces of the country, where he soon distinguished himself in the art of war in the numerous conflicts which took place between various sections of the population. It should be noted here that although he had to change sides sometimes, he always served his masters, whoever they might be, faithfully. At last he was brought to Spain, and took part in a pitched fight near Cordova along with a number of other Christians in 1009 A.C., where, after fifteen years of a life so full of adventure, he was captured and set free by Count Sancho of Castille.² The second case in point is that of a young Christian girl who was captured by the Muslims who taught her the arts of dancing, singing and

(1) [All except Amîn—. Tr.].

(2) *Vide* the Bollandiste collection, October 6, p. 327 ; also *supra*, towards the end of part II of this book.

music. She was taken to Arabia where she is said to have charmed the audiences of Medinah and other oriental towns by her graceful accomplishments, while on her return to Cordova she was admitted to the royal palace as the favourite wife of the Khalifah himself.¹ The third story is that of some Christians who were employed in the palace at Cordova and who suffered the death of martyrdom at the hands of the Muslims.

The condition of the Saracens who fell into the hands of the French was very similar to that of the Christians who fell into the hands of the Muslims.² We have already noticed that slavery was allowed in France in the case of the Germans, Slavs and other idolators, and the same was true of the Muslims who were taken prisoners by the French. The main difference between the French and the Saracenic captivity was that in France there had always been a line of demarcation between persons born slaves, or treated as slaves, and freemen; while French law also differentiated between the lot of the bourgeois of essentially simple habits and those who were born in gentle society.

Some of the Muslim prisoners were bought back by their relatives and friends, others by the Muslim government, while others still, by means of legal endowments made for the purpose by their pious co-religionists. While associations for the redemption of slaves were being formed in France, kindred societies were also in process of foundation among the Spanish Muslims. It is said that when someone asked the Prophet what the best way of attaining salvation was, he pointed to the freeing of slaves from the chains of their masters.³ An Arab author, however, says that from the time of Charlemagne right up to the reign of Hishâm the arms of the Muslims were so continuously successful in the field of battle that it was not at all necessary to utilise the money left for the purpose.⁴

Those of the Muslim prisoners who were to be resold were taken to Arles, Marseilles and Narbonne whither also came their co-religionists from the southern countries in order to take part in the transactions. Sometimes the

(1) Maqqari.

(2) [As a matter of fact, as will be seen later the lot of the Muslim prisoners was actually much worse—Tr.]

(3) "Whichever Muslim frees a Muslim slave saves himself from the torments of Hell—"—Tirmizi.

(4) *Cp.* Roderic Ximenès, p. 18, and Novayry.

warriors of Islam raided the coasts of France and recaptured their less fortunate friends and relatives,¹ while it also happened sometimes that there were some among the Christian princes who wished to placate the Muslim chiefs by making them a present of such prisoners.

The Muslims who were not ransomed were made slaves in the same way as the Jews and the pagans. They were bound to serve their masters, and these serfs, who were ordinarily attached to the seignorial farms, formed a large part of the population of the towns and villages of Christian Europe. They could neither own nor give away anything of their free will, while their masters could sell them, beat them and even put them to torture. Most of them were chained, so that it was not possible for them to get away and thus better their lot. It was really fortunate that, in the absence of any charitable feeling, mere selfish interests of the seignors sometimes came to the rescue of this suffering humanity for their masters were afraid of maltreating them too much for fear that they might become desperate and somehow or other take to flight or fall into the hands of the opposing chiefs during one of the many internecine feuds which were then going on in Christian Europe.

No Jewish, pagan or Muslim serf was allowed to have intercourse with even such Christian women as had been reduced to slavery themselves, and those among the latter who were weak enough to submit to the former were deprived of a proper Christian burial on their death. For a long time not even serfs of the same religion were allowed to intermarry, and whatever carnal intercourse they had among themselves, was by the permission of their master, so that the issue of the relationship, if any, became his private property *ipso facto*.

Slavery seems to have disappeared generally in Europe about the twelfth century, but there were still countries where non-Christian, especially Muslim, slaves could be met with for a long time, a fact which is evidenced by a number of instances which strike one on reading the contemporary histories of the period.²

Serfdom, however, continued for a very long time afterwards, and declined only when the manners of the people became more polished and a phase of evangelical spirit,

(1) *Vide supra*, part II. end.

(2) Much evidence on the point will be found in M. Pardessus' book entitled *Anciennes lois maritimes*, cap. XXXVII.

which considers all men to be brothers, became further developed. Then, on certain occasions, chiefly on the happening of some happy event, the pious among the people considered it their duty to set the serfs free, and the custom gradually arose whereby those serfs who submitted to baptism were regarded as being enfranchised, thus becoming part and parcel of the Christian population.

The number both of Saracen slaves and serfs no doubt increased either on account of the Crusades proper or owing to the struggle of the Frenchmen and the Muslims of Spain as well as of other countries on the shores of the Mediterranean, or else by sheer slave trade.¹ In any case they were certainly found in France for a very long time ; for instance in 1149 Arnaud, bishop of Narbonne, transferred the Muslim serfs of his estate to the bishop of Béziers,² and about the year 1250 Romèò of Villeneuve, minister of the counts of Provence, directed in his will that the Muslims of both sexes who were employed on his domains should be sold.³ A couple of centuries after this event we read of king Renè actually transacting the purchase of three Moorish serfs.⁴

The following few facts may be mentioned here in order to describe the lot of the unfortunate Muslim who was not bought back by his brethren in religion. An article of the council of Tarracona, held in 1239, and a statute of the bishop of Béziers, dated 1368, decreed that the Muslims (as well as the Jews) of both sexes should put on a dress of special colour and cut.⁵

The intercourse between the Saracens of the two sexes which was carried on in certain localities, was not regarded with favour by their masters, so that the monks of the order of Cîteaux passed a decree forbidding Muslim men and women to gather together under the same roof ; moreover there were some religious houses where no Saracen serf was allowed to work at all.⁶

We have noticed that the Saracens who were willing to be baptised were *ipso facto* set free, but it sometimes

(1) For an elucidation of this point, *vide* M. Pardessus' work, *op. cit.*

(2) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, instrum. col. 39.

(3) Bouche : *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 257.

(4) Fauris de St. Vincens : *Memoires sur la Provence* ; Aix, Ponties, 1817, p. 63.

(5) Martenne : *Amplissima collectio*, Vol. VII, p. 132 : *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Vol. VI, p. 657.

(6) *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Vol. VI, p. 1246.

happened that the consent to become Christian was merely a ruse, and, once set free, the serf returned to his former beliefs. The result was that the masters derogated to themselves an authority to test the beliefs of their would-be Christian serfs.¹ There was, however, many a Christian who valued the services of his dependent more than his religion and troubled to his utmost those of his serfs who had any intention of changing their religion to Christianity.² There were again those who after the conversion of their serfs kept them under their control against the law of the land and still treated them very harshly. We have a letter from Pope Clement IV addressed to king Thibaud of Navarre in 1266, in which the Pontiff strongly protests against the act of the abbot of St. Benoist de Mirande who had tortured a converted Saracen under the pretext that his conversion was not sincere, and had deprived the children of this unfortunate man of all his property by confiscating it.³

Besides Saracen serfs, we come across in France Muslim business-men as well, who were engaged in financial transactions like the Jews. Thus it came to pass that wherever there was an anti-Jewish excitement in the country the Muslims had to suffer the wrath of the Christians just as much as the Jews themselves.⁴

Like the Muslim serfs, these Muslim business-men were barred from marrying Christian women or employing them as wet nurses ; and if there were Christian women who served them in this capacity or cohabited with them they were deprived of a Christian burial after their death. Like the Christians they paid a tenth of their income to the State, and were, moreover, compelled to observe Christian festivals during which they were not allowed to transact any business.⁵ There is not even one of this most oppressed class left in France today.

There is thus no doubt that there were in France a number of Saracens who had become Christians, but of course this was the natural result of existing circumstances. There were, however, many more French Christians who became Muslim. The first rush of the Muslims on France and the detestable commerce of Christian boys and girls

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 290 :

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 1247 & 1250.

(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 360.

(4) *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 904.

(5) *Amplissima collectio*, Vol. VII, p. 132 : *Thesaurus anecdotorum* Vol. IV, pp. 657 and 736.

which was then in vogue in Europe, must have meant the migration of innumerable children of both sexes to the lands of the Muslims. Moreover we must remember the extreme facility with which a Christian could become a follower of the Prophet of Islam, and the welcome which awaited such conversions, coupled with all the advantages which always accrued to renegades and those of an adventurous turn of mind, must have multiplied the conversions to Islam.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

MAHMUD OF GHAZNA.*

THE bibliography which occupies the first sixteen pages of this noteworthy book is of itself sufficient to convince us that Dr. Nâzim has used every effort to collect every scrap of information available concerning Sultân Mahmûd and his period ; and he has set forth all the information thus collected so well that we are able to form a clear idea of the sequence of events in regard to the Sultân's Indian campaigns of which we have derived but a confused idea from former writers. But the material is not enough for the presentment of a lifelike portrait of Mahmûd or a lively picture of his times. It is a misfortune that there was no anecdotist with a sense of history living in those times to do for Ghazna what Umarah did for a small corner of Al-Yaman and what many writers did for Baghdâd, Cairo, and Damascus, giving a picture of a period so vivid as to bring it near to us and make the actions of the folk intelligible to us to-day. It is impossible, without such contemporary interpretation, for us moderns, whether of the East or West, to feel at all akin to a man who went to war northward every summer and southward every winter as we go for holidays, who after laying waste vast territories and taking captive thousands of men and women, returned to a well-ordered life and the avocations of a conscientious and enlightened ruler; enjoying the conversation of the learned and surrounded by the finest works of art, until the time came for the next excursion. Dr. Nâzim has shown that Mahmûd, far from being the monster of ferocity and fanaticism which some writers have depicted him, was tolerant in his own land, and a good ruler. But his character remains, as Dr. Nâzim found it, a profound enigma.

Indian readers will be especially interested in Dr. Nâzim's identification of the place-names mentioned in the histories of the Indian campaigns. Of Somnath he says on page 213 (appendix m.).

* *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* by Muhammad Nâzim M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab) with a foreword by the late Sir Thomas Arnold. (Cambridge University Press 1931.)

“Where did the original temple stand? Al-Bîrûnî, p. 105, says that it was situated three miles to the west of the mouth of the river Saraswathi. With this clue in mind, I searched for the site of the original temple during my visit to Somnath Natan, and about 200 yards to the west of the temple of Bhidia, about three miles from the mouth of the river Saraswathi, I found the remains of large blocks of stone joined together with a whitish cement, partly buried in sand and partly washed over by the sea at high tides. I believe that this was the place where stood the temple which Sultân Mahmûd captured and burnt. Midway between this site and the temple of Bhidia, a *linga* has been placed in the sea in ancient times, probably to commemorate the original site. The whole seacoast around this site is littered with ruins. Every now and then the sea washes away the sand and exposes some of them to view. When I was at Somnath, the ruins of what looked like a small cell were thus uncovered close to Vera-wal. I am sure that, if this site were excavated, some additional details regarding the size and plan of the ancient temple might be brought to light.”

Of the human cause of this and other ruins in India and elsewhere Dr. Nâzim has written (page 160 ff) that “the Sultân was no fanatic. . . . He had, however, the missionary spirit in him, and the preacher invariably followed in the wake of his victorious army. Mosques were erected all over the conquered country, and preachers were appointed to instruct the Hindus in the simple faith of the conquerors. Some Hindu rājās are said to have embraced Islām, but they did so most probably as a political shift to escape the fury of the conqueror, and returned to their faith as soon as his back was turned on them. Some critics hold that “a burning hatred” for Islām was created in the Hindu mind because Islām was presented “in the guise of plundering armies”. This view, however, is not convincing. The Hindus rejected Islām. . . . because of the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between Islām and Hinduism. . . . To regard an idol as a helpless piece of stone, instead of a source of life and death, and to believe in one Omnipotent God, instead of myriads of deities one of which could be played off against the other, was diametrically opposed to Hindu ways of thinking. . . . The Hindus enjoyed toleration under the Sultân. They were given separate quarters in Ghazna and were permitted free observance of their religious ceremonies. The critics who accuse the Sultân of wanton bloodshed and reckless

spoliation of Hindu temples, forget that these so-called barbarities were committed in the course of legitimate warfare, when such acts are sanctioned by the practice of the great conquerors of the world.....The Sultan is never said to have demolished a temple in times of peace. If he harassed the Hindu rājās of India, he did not spare the Muslim sovereigns of Irân, and Transoxiana. The drama of plunder and bloodshed that was enacted in the sacred Ganges Doab was repeated with no less virulence on the slopes of Mount Damawand and the banks of the river Oxus.....”

We must confess that this defence of Mahmûd fails to satisfy us. The clue to the enigma is not here. He was a human being with human motives, a conscience, natural affections and a sense of justice, therefore a much more sympathetic personality than anyone would judge from Dr. Nâzim's carefully collected and collated data. In this book the reader will know all that can be known about Mahmûd of Ghazna from books hitherto discovered. We regret that it is not enough to make his character imaginable by us, though for his contemporaries it was, perhaps, even lovable. Dr. Nâzim's monograph must remain the standard work upon the subject since it exhausts existing sources of information, unless some fresh source, now deemed lost for ever, should hereafter come to light.

M. P.

THE MEDLEY OF ISLAM AND HINDUISM.*

DR. Yusuf Husain has written a very interesting, though to us occasionally irritating, account of various sects, confraternities and movements which owed their existence to the inter-action of Islam and Hinduism in India in the Middle Ages. He has chapters on the saints who are revered by both Hindus and Muslims in Northern India; on the Bhakti movement in Hinduism which he shows to have been largely influenced, at any rate as regards its later development, by contact with Islamic ideas; on Kabîr and his teaching; on Guru Nanak, the Punjab reformer; on the Kabîr-Panthi sects; on the Bhagat poets; on the rapid spread of Sûfism (of a sort) in the congenial soil of India; on the “mystical humanism” of

* *L'Inde Mystique au Moyen Age, Hindous et Musulmans.* Par Yusuf Husain, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve 5 rue de Tournon 1929.

Prince Dara Shikuh. His work is strongly documented, and his claim of Islamic influence is supported by abundant quotation of the original sources. As an account of the medley of Islâm with Hinduism which has actually taken place, his work is not only careful, but authoritative. What occasionally irritates us is the suspicion, arising from his treatment, that he himself considers the mixture of Islâm and Hinduism as in itself desirable. Thus readers of his account of the inception of Akbar's *din ilahi* are made to feel that, in the author's own opinion, it was a distinct advance on orthodox Islâm. It might be argued, from the Muslim point of view, that it was an advance on orthodox Hinduism, but only if it superseded orthodox Hinduism. That it never had the slightest chance of doing. The strength of Hinduism is its power of digesting and assimilating any new cult forced upon it from without. The *din ilahi* was a new cult, and because the beliefs connected with it were sufficiently vague, and personal adoration of the emperor formed part of it, it meant no more than an additional observance for Hinduism. But that Hindus, any more than Muslims, were at all enamoured of the *din ilahi* we think so far from proven that it is open to us to assert the contrary : that most of them regarded it as the folly of an otherwise great man, and a few of them as an error of policy.

True religion cannot be invented, and Hindus are as sensitive to insincerity in religious matters as Muslims, so that Akbar's religion, because he invented it and magnified himself in it, could never have dominated the Hindus, nor could Akbar himself ever have attained the lasting influence with them which many poor and humble Muslim saints attained,—could never found a school of thought as did Kabîr, nor lead a reformation as did Guru Nanak.

Dr. Yusuf Husain also, as follows logically, admires Dara Shikuh's *humanisme mystique*, (as he calls it), and has no liking for the ethical sincerity of Aurangzeb. Here again we differ strongly from him in opinion, and feel moved to state the reason of our difference. Mysticism is an opiate for Indian minds ; it shows a flowery pathway of escape from duties, obligations, pangs of conscience and a hundred mental problems which men ought to solve. For one religious man who takes to it, there are a thousand loafers. India had too much of mysticism even before the coming of Islâm. The thing which India needed and Islâm possessed was not mystical, but ethical : a practical ideal and general code of conduct. The Qur'ân upholds

right conduct as the only proof of true religion. The profession of a mystic sanctity (in India) is popularly considered to absolve a man from moral ties and moral duties. Therefore the growth of mysticism tends to increase laxity of conduct, and thus to promote the decadence of India. The Emperor Aurangzeb loved the bigoted Muslim theologians, who wished to fetter the intellect of believers, no more than did the Emperor Akbar. He was concerned for India as a whole, as Akbar was. But he made a different diagnosis of the disease from which India suffered then and is still suffering, and tried by legislation and his own example to make both Muslims and Hindus observe a higher code of conduct. He was, in our opinion, an advanced reformer whereas Dara Shikuh was in mind a dreamy decadent. In Hinduism to-day there are hundreds of societies founded to press on reforms which Aurangzeb first advocated.

We must add that, for us, mysticism is not mystification; though the majority of so-called mystics seem completely mystified. It is personal religious experience, and, as such, we reverence it. But we believe that it is never to be found in multitudes.

On page 155, in the course of an account of Sheykh Mubârak (father of Abû'l Fazal and Faizî, Akbar's chief advisers) we find: *Les policiers, depites, auraient brisé l'autel de la mosquée ou il avait coutume de dire ses prières* (The police, out of spite, are said to have broken the altar of the mosque in which he was accustomed to say his prayers). Was there ever an altar in a mosque?

The criticism we have made is matter of opinion; we think the book would have gained a little, scientifically, if the author had abstained from showing his personal inclination. As a matter of fact, Dr. Yusuf Husain has given us the result of much research in pleasant literary form.

M. P.

A POLEMIC OF THE THIRD ISLAMIC CENTURY.*

A book published by the Caetani Foundation is always a contribution to Islamic scholarship and *La Lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo* (The struggle between Islâm

* *La Lotta Tra L'Islam e Il Manicheismo; un Libro di Ibn Al-Muqaffa' contro il Corano Confutato da Al-Qasim b. Ibrahim.* Da Michelangelo Guidi. Roma R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

and Manicheism) by Signor Michelangelo Guidi is no exception to the rule. It maintains the high standard of scholarship set up by Italian Orientalists in the last thirty years largely owing to the efforts of the illustrious founder of that Institution, Don Leone Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta. It consists of the full Arabic text of *Kitabu'r-Radd'ala az-zindiqi'l-la'in Ibn Al-Muqaffa'* (The refutation of the accursed Manichean Ibn Al-Muqaffa') by the Zeydite Imâm Al-Qâsim bin Ibrâhîm, which has been cleverly restored by collating the existing MSS.; together with a full translation, many valuable notes and a critical introduction by Signor Guidi. The Italian savant expresses regret that the quotations from the work which Al-Qâsim is refuting are too few for him to form a complete idea of its scope and contents, a polemical writing by a Manichean being very much rarer than a polemical writing by a Muslim. But he is also interested in the refutation, and his knowledge of Islâm enables him to furnish fair and lucid commentation, and often explanation of a rather difficult—and at times, perhaps, corrupted—text. Al-Qâsim ibn Ibrâhîm, the author of the refutation, died in A.H. 246, whereas Ibn Al-Muqaffa' died about a century earlier; yet Al-Qâsim writes of the Zindîq as if he were present, so actual did the evil effect of his work appear after the lapse of a century. Ibn Al-Muqaffa', curious to relate, was a reputed convert to Islâm and enjoyed in his day a high literary reputation among Muslims, even among Arabs. Yet it seems that he had written a book—whether before or after his profession of Islâm we know not, though Signor Guidi seems to think that it was after—in which he at once imitated and tried to ridicule the Qur'ân; a book which a hundred years after his death had still such vogue that a learned Muslim of the standing of Al-Qâsim ibn Ibrâhîm considered it his urgent duty to confute it. From the quotations he has given, Ibn Al-Muqaffa's work seems very puerile, quite unworthy of the notice of a learned theologian; but Signor Guidi indicates the cause which gave it an unmerited importance when he suggests that Ibn-Al-Muqaffa' and other writers who are known to have written in favour of Manicheism or Magism in Islâmic times were animated by nationalistic rather than religious motives. There was, as everyone knows, a Persian national reaction against the Arab domination, and this was stronger a hundred years after the death of Ibn Al-Muqaffa' than it had been in his lifetime. Signor Guidi thinks that Ibn Al-Muqaffa' had no belief in Manicheism though he chose to

write in terms thereof. We would go even further and say that he may have believed, or half believed, in the teachings of Islâm even while attacking that religion in language which seeks to parody that of the Qur'ân, the Arab's chief claim to superiority. If, as Signor Guidi thinks, the attack was written after his professed conversion, our conjecture is less likely to be true but not impossible. Even in our own days we occasionally see men who have lost all faith in a religion adopt its terminology for a political purpose, and to gain the suffrage of the ignorant; and political feelings were more bitter in the days of Ibn Al-Muqaffa'. The *Zindiq* enjoyed a high reputation in his time as a writer of Arabic. Yet Al-Qâsim can convict him of mistakes enough to make it possible for his confuter to say that he did not know Arabic well enough properly to understand the language of the Qur'ân. This makes Signor Guidi doubt for a moment the authenticity of the work ascribed to Ibn Al-Muqaffa', but every other evidence points to authenticity. We should incline to doubt the sincerity of the work refuted, because although some wild Arab of the desert or benighted Muslim peasant might think that when the hand of God is mentioned in the Qur'ân, a hand like ours was meant, no educated man of another religion, or coming to Islâm from another religion, acquainted, as he would be, with the language of religious books, could fall into that error, which is one of the points raised by Ibn Al-Muqaffa' and typical of many other points which Al-Qâsim, versed in the Mu'tazalite exegetics, finds it easy to rebut. Al-Qâsim's book is quite good of its kind, though hardly interesting to us moderns. What interests us is the fact that the author of an open attack upon Islâm was treated in his lifetime with consideration in the Muslim world and, so far as we know, died a Muslim; that this book attacking Islâm was in circulation a hundred years after his death and that no public action was taken to destroy its influence, but it was left to the zeal of a private individual to write and circulate a refutation of its contents. Such was the toleration of the Muslim Caliphate in the third Islamic century, about the era of the Saxon Heptarchy in England.

M. P.

THE GLORY OF ALEPPO.*

IF Dr. Sadrudin had not informed us in his preface that the present work was "originally a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Literature" we should never have guessed it; for doctoral theses are apt to make dry reading, and "*Saifuddaulah and his Times*" is very far from dry; they are wont to seem a little forced and perfunctory while this book is enlivened by the author's evident delight in his subject. We feel that he would have chosen to write of Seyfu'd-Daulah, the warrior-king of Aleppo, and his attendant poets, even if no degree had been in question and he had been free to choose a pastime. His pleasure in the subject has had power to humanise a vast array of learned facts and make them an enthralling narrative. It is a pity that the author did not get some Englishman to correct his MS. thoroughly before publication—almost any English Orientalist would have been glad to do this for him for the sake of the original information which the book contains—for his really brilliant work is often marred by faulty English. That is the only adverse criticism that we have to make.

The fame of his literary protege, the greatest of all great poets in the estimation of the Arabs, has so outshone the fame of Seyfu'd-Daulah for posterity that one is apt to think of Seyfu'd-Daulah only as the patron of Al-Mutanabbi. Dr. Sadrudin restores the true historical perspective, showing us Seyfu'd-Daulah as the most heroic figure of his time, and the king of poets as an un-heroic figure. One must admit the wisdom of the author's choice of the warrior, and not the poet, for protagonist. Seyfu'd-Daulah was the sun and centre of his world, and his generosity attracted to his little court the most notable personalities of the time. His life-story is a romance in itself, and Dr. Sadrudin's treatment of it gives it full effect. From the point of view of the story we could have dispensed with a good deal of the rather crowded chapters of preliminary history, which, however, impress upon the reader the fact that Seyfu'd-Daulah was born into a warring world and lived in stirring times.

As a warrior he was often defeated both in local wars and in his raids on the Byzantine empire; his armies were wiped out and he escaped with his life on more than one occasion; a Greek army even entered Aleppo and

* *Saifuddaulah and his Times*. By Muhammad Sadrudin M.A., D. LITT., Lahore, Victoria and Co.

slaughtered its inhabitants. But his indomitable spirit was unbroken even by a wasting illness, and in a few months he had rebuilt the forts which the enemy had destroyed, the cities were repeopled and he was in the field again, apparently as strong and as confident of success as ever. Dr. Sadruddin has drawn from every available authority. The omissions we have noticed are two only. To his account of Seyfu'd-Daulah's dealings with his brother Nâsiru'd-Daulah, the story of his petition to the latter for the means to conquer Syria in one of the two newly discovered volumes of Tanukhi's *Nishwaru'l Mu-hadirah* might well be added. Prof. Margoliouth has translated it in 'Islamic Culture' (Vol. V, No. 2). Nâsiru'd-Daulah first refused his help and then volunteered it for a peculiar reason, after Seyfu'd-Daulah had fled from his court in terror of his life.

Again, in the brief biography of Al-Mutanabbi, several reasons for the latter's murder are mentioned, but not the one most generally believed by the Arabs : that he was waylaid and done to death by assassins hired by a man whom he had most cruelly satirised. The satire in question can be read in his *Dîwân* and even nowadays might well be held to justify any revenge taken by the victim. In our copy of the *Dîwân* it is mentioned as the cause of the poet's murder, and the commentator says : " It is the worst thing he ever wrote".

Dr. Sadruddin gives proof of sound Arabic scholarship and a literary taste in Arabic which, in our experience at least, is all too rare. But if he ranks Abu Firâs upon a par with Al-Mutanabbi as a poet—we are not certain that he does—we cannot agree with him. We have already mentioned the defective English of the book, which is occasionally ludicrous as when we read that the Greek Patriarch Polycuet "*consummated* the marriage" (of Nicephorus Phocas) "in Hagia Sophia", the Cathedral Church of Constantinople, when all that is meant is that he solemnised the marriage.

Apart from this one complaint of faulty English, which can very easily be remedied in future editions, we have nothing but praise for a book, so full of learning, yet so readable, which is a credit to Indian Muslim scholarship.

AN ASPECT OF BRAHMACHARYA.*

Professor Satyavrata Siddhantalankar holds, with many other modern teachers, that the cure for certain evils sapping the vitality of the race is perfect candour upon subjects which have till now been held unfit for candid treatment. The purpose of his present work is best described in his own words. In his Preface (p. vii) he has written : " It is creditable to the Western writers that they have made Eugenics a special subject for study. Here in India this subject was, at some time, regarded of supreme importance (sic.). Eugenics, according to the ancient Indian ideal, covered the whole field of life. All the four stages (*Ashramas*), and the sixteen *Samskaras* to be performed during them, were a practical demonstration of Eugenics. There was a powerful movement for Race Betterment in the country. Unfortunately, that movement ceased centuries ago, and the nation that first proclaimed the purity of the body, mind and soul has fallen a prey to dirty, devitalising, devilish practices. A revolution of ideals is needed, a Eugenic outlook on life is a necessity. I know there is a keen demand for such literature as may supply information on this subject. I had, with this very object, started a Race Betterment League and brought out a Eugenics Number of the Journal '*Alankar*'....However, no individual can manage this work. It should be properly organised and prominent men should lend their support to it. The advocates of Eugenics should also bear in mind that Eugenics is a very wide science and that to limit it merely to Birth Control is to do injustice to this great science. The development of this science on Indian soil should take place on lines quite different from those in the West ; on the same lines on which it was developed by our ancients. I wish Eugenic ideas to take their root in India but I also wish that Eugenics in India should be the Eugenics of the *Rishis*. This little volume....is an attempt at the reconstruction of Indian Eugenics. I have touched only one aspect of Eugenics, no doubt, but that aspect, I am thoroughly convinced, is most important, and, at the same time, most neglected."

The aspect on which he has touched is the need of physical purity, maintained by healthy occupation of mind

* *Confidential Talks to Young Men*. By Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantalankar. With a foreword by Swami Shraddhanand. Lahore. Atmaram & Sons.

and body for young people. While we are at liberty to doubt whether the "keen demand for such literature" noted by the author is really a hopeful sign and not largely a symptom of the disease which he is seeking to cure, we have no doubt whatever of the author's praiseworthy intention, and must admire the way in which he has conveyed a serious warning together with much useful knowledge in this little work. He advocates the Brahmachari's life of purity for every man until the age of twenty-five. He writes in terms of Hinduism ; but sincerity can overleap the boundaries of creed ; the evils which he seeks to cure, are not confined to Hindus, the Brahmacharya which he describes reminds us often of the true Jihâd of Muslims, and Muslims, hardly less than Hindus need the message of his work.

M. P.

A BOOK OF FOLK -TALES.*

The fairy-stories in this fascinating collection are mostly, we gather, from the Telugu, though the narrator of one of them is described as "an old domestic servant from the Nagpur country" while "a Tamil gentleman and son of an Indian clergyman of the church of Englandnarrated five of the stories which he has brought from the classic land of the Tamulians (the worth and value of whose cyclopean temples the astute archæologist is at a loss to determine), the sympathetic medical man having heard the stories from his Tamil Pandit in the early seventies of the last century."

The florid style of writing in the preface from which we have just quoted is chastened in the actual text owing, no doubt, to its revision by Englishmen who had the sense, however, to leave a little of the author's style, to help the local colour. Mr. Venkataswami guides us through a world of foolish kings and wise princesses, talking animals and magic trees, where the wicked are intensely wicked and the good are good by favour of the gods, who come at once in answer to their cries ; where men and women are killed and brought to life again, are sent, at the king's nod, to the tiger's cage or to be burnt alive in the lime-kiln. Perhaps the most lovable character in the book is an affectionate cucumber which saved the life of a prince and was kept by him "in a pot very safely. He used to

* *Folk-Stories of the Land of Ind.* By M. N. Venkataswami, M.R.A.S M.F.L.S., Madras, Methodist Publishing House.

inquire after its welfare every morning and evening with a shout of 'Yes, brother' and used to receive a reply of 'Yes, brother'. This continued for some time, till one day his household complained of having no curry for the night. Whereupon the prince's sisters said 'There is a cucumber in the pot. Make it into a Pickle'. As soon as the cucumber was cut open, the whole house was turned into blood..... 'My life-preserver is gone, why should I live?' howled the prince and committed suicide. The parents followed suit for grief at the loss of their son, and the cattle also, bemoaning the loss they had sustained by the death of their protector, ate a poisonous herb and died".

After that who would dare to be a vegetarian ?

The beginning of the story called "The Four Friends" also pleases us : "In a certain country the King, the Prime Minister, the Personal Secretary and the Master-Carpenter lived in great friendliness ; and they had no progeny for a long time. One day the King, all of a sudden, saw a grey hair in his mustachios and in great trepidation fell a-thinking and exclaimed, drawing a long breath : 'O what's the use of this life to me ? I am advancing in years and there is no-one to ascend the throne on my death'. Calling his councillors, including the Minister, the Personal Secretary and the Master-Carpenter, he asked their advice as to what should be done.....the Minister, the Personal Secretary and the Master-Carpenter, who were also in low spirits, and for the same reason, proposed that the king should retire to a forest and meditate on the Supreme Being. The King.....retired to a forest, the Minister, the Personal Secretary and the Master-Carpenter accompanying him, and meditated, subsisting on nothing, for seven days, his friends doing the same. Now the meditation won the blessing of God and the King's wife conceived, the Minister's wife conceived, the Personal Secretary's wife conceived, and the Master-Carpenter's wife conceived"....and so on.

From the above quotations it will be seen that Mr. Venkataswami has presented genuine folk-tales with all the repetitions and cumulative effects dear to primitive folk. And the ideas of very primitive folk are evident in these stories, which remind us in some respects of the folk-lore of Central Africa, telling of a race which did not know the natural causes of childbirth but attributed the phenomenon of conception to magic causes. We

can recommend Mr. Venkataswami's book both to the general reader and to learned folk-lorists.

M. P.

A HINDU-MUSLIM CONVERSATION IN THE ELEVENTH
CENTURY A. H.

Contemporaneous Persian notes of a discussion which took place in Urdu : that is the description given by Prof. Louis Massignon of the text which he and M. Clément Huart have here annotated and translated into French. Prof. Massignon considers that the work has special value at the moment "when the unity of India depends upon a new attempt at mutual comprehension between the two spiritual elements". We have read the pamphlet carefully ; but, while we are impressed by the sympathetic knowledge of Hinduism displayed by Dara Shikuh and the sympathetic knowledge of Sûfism shown by Baba La'l Das throughout the reported discussion, we find nothing here that could help towards reconciliation of the present differences. While the speculative philosophers of the two religions can always find a common ground for discussion, the points of their agreement are entirely in the realm of thought and can in no wise contribute to a political understanding. This must be sought in a political and social *modus vivendi* ; it can never be found in a compromise involving mixture of beliefs. All historical attempts at compromise have merely added a new religion or a new caste to the Indian pandemonium, and have left the Hindu-Muslim difference as it was, or more embittered. These "conversations of Lahore" in the year 1063 A.H. are, none-the-less, extremely interesting ; and the work of annotation and translation is, needless to say, exceedingly well done.

* *Les Entretiens de Lahore. (entre le prince Dara Shikuh et l' ascete hindou. Baba La'l Das).* Par Cl., Huart et L. Massignon, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.

M. P.



MEMOIRS OF THE LATE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI

(Introduction)

AMONGST the memories I have of Syed Ameer Ali is one that will ever linger in my mind. It was at Pollingfold Manor, his beautiful home in England. We were nearing the end of a glorious summer day and I stood with him at a window overlooking the garden. The air was perfumed with the scent of flowers ; the roar and rattle of the London streets was far away, and nothing disturbed the beauty of the evening calm, save the songs of the birds, the lowing of cattle and the whisper of an evening wind through the trees. He drew the curtain aside and as the light fell on him I was struck by his distinguished appearance which was by no means detracted from by the shortness of his stature, while his aristocratic face set off by his thick iron grey hair and his white moustache made him a figure of the utmost dignity.

We talked over the matter that had brought me from town and then turning to general topics, I asked for some details of the history of the house. The Manor was held in the time of Edward the First by William de Pollingfold, more than six centuries ago. In a moment I remembered the motto that the great king had proudly blazoned on his shield—" Keep Faith",—and I thought how well it suited the present owner ; for Syed Ameer Ali kept faith—with his Religion, his Sovereign, and his Country. Just one short year after, when the ripe corn was falling before the scythe of the reaper, full of years and honours, and surrounded by those who loved him, the Angel of Death touched his eyes and he fell gently asleep.

An abler pen must take up the task of describing Syed Ameer Ali's official work ; I only knew him as a gifted writer, a sturdy champion of the oppressed, and a friend to the poor and friendless. His literary labours included *The Spirit of Islam* and *A Short History of the Saracens* : the first being a scholarly exposition of the Moslem religion, showing that its teaching was perfectly applicable to

modern life, while the latter will always be a mine of authoritative knowledge to any one who attempts a more extended volume. His mastery of the English language was complete. Sonorous phrases fell easily from his pen and often he would suggest a correction to a memorial or a letter that converted a rough and slovenly rendering of a passage into a model of style.

His letters to the "Times" on matters of public policy in dealing with the Moslem powers, frequently brought him into variance with other public men. Although in controversy he was courteous and good-tempered, he was nonetheless effective. His wonderful command of English rendered him a formidable opponent, while his keen perception made him quickly see the gaps in his adversary's armour. He argued like a practised fencer wielding a light and elegant rapier against the clumsy blows of a heavy broadsword. He was rarely betrayed into sarcasm and I can only remember one occasion in a letter to the press in which he was stung into using it. A writer had suggested that Constantinople should be made a free city and that the seat of the League of Nations should be placed there. Like a flash of lightning came the riposte, when Syed Ameer Ali quietly suggested that Jerusalem would be a more fitting place— "where the reign of peace on earth and goodwill towards men was inaugurated nearly two thousand years ago!"

When rebuked by a suggestion that a man occupying his high position in the state should not speak out so boldly in defence of what he considered right and justice, he calmly replied that it was the very position he held that made it a duty for him to speak out. What temporal preferment and honours might have been awarded to him but for his resolute advocacy of certain policies, can only be known to those in power at the time who brushed aside his views which if adopted would have saved many lives and much British prestige.

Despite the gross discourtesy displayed to him by the new Turks, the representatives of the once greatest of Moslem powers, he was never embittered thereby. In fact, when one of his most ardent admirers commented drastically on their behaviour Syed Ameer Ali gently reproved him and counselled—as he always did—moderation.

The foundation of the British Red Crescent Society was, perhaps, the noblest work that Syed Ameer Ali set his hand to. At the outbreak of the War in Tripolitana

between Turkey and Italy, he was struck by the fact that while the various Red Cross organisations did excellent work in their own sphere, there was no great British Society who made it their business to look after the wounded and afflicted who professed the faith of Islam. With characteristic energy he got to work, and aided by the generosity of H. H. the Aga Khan and other persons of all classes both Indian and English, he launched the British Red Crescent Society, which has since done such admirable work in many parts of the world. The first units were despatched to Tripolitana, where they laboured for two years amongst the Arab victims of that War. I had the good fortune to be amongst the surgeons who went out and it gives me the greatest pleasure to testify to the fact that our work was entirely unhampered by any display of religious bigotry. I well remember taking my final instructions from Syed Amcer Ali. When I asked him if relief was to be confined to Musulmans, he replied : — “Although your first duty is to the Turkish and Arab wounded, you will never turn away any poor Christian or Jew, who presents himself to you in his hour of need”. The spirit thus displayed was faithfully adhered to by the whole of the personnel.

The outbreak of the terrible struggle in the Balkans was the signal for sending further units to the East, and the work of the Turkish Red Crescent was greatly strengthened by the aid thus sent from Indian and English supporters of our Society. Then followed the Great War with its train of misery, suffering and distress. In the first winter two Indian Divisions formed part of our terribly thin line in Flanders. Trench warfare was at its worst. Aided by the generosity of the public, he was able to supply the Indian troops with comforts according to the needs pointed out by their Regimental Officers.

Amongst the many beautiful wreaths that lay upon the tomb of Syed Amcer Ali, was one from two members of the Society, British soldiers who had served and suffered for their Country. The red carnations, that formed the emblem of the Society, carried a card on which an attempt had been made to epitomise the charitable activities of the deceased. “By the efforts of this man, the hungry were fed, the naked were clothed, the sick healed and the wounded restored to health. The footsore refugee was helped on his way and many a mother clasps to her breast a living child that otherwise would have perished by the wayside. The despairing peasant, faced by the ruin of War, was

again provided with implements to till the soil and seed corn was placed in his hands.”

The home of Syed Ameer Ali was a haven of love and happiness. He was an ideal husband and a perfect father to his sons, guiding their footsteps along the path to manhood, understanding and sympathetic to his many friends and beloved by all who came under the spell of his charm and kindliness.

ERNEST H. GRIFFIN.

RECOLLECTIONS

FAMILY TRADITIONS.

We trace our descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fatima. Our ancestor, the eighth apostolic Imam, Ali surnamed Al Raza, is buried at Meshed the principal city of Khorasan in N. E. Persia. His mausoleum is venerated by all followers of the Faith attached to the house of Mohammed. The sanctity of the city finds expression in the following Persian couplet immortalised by the great Central-Asian traveller Arthur Connolly :—

“ Meshed is the most excellent place on the face of the
Earth,

For there doth shine the Light of the Lord of the
World.” *

The descendants of the Prophet in the West (North Africa and Arabia) bear the title of Sherif. In Persia and India they are called “ Ameer ” and “ Syed ” both conveying the same meaning. It is analogous to the word *Signor*, used in the middle ages of Europe to designate a noble.

The head of the sect of the Ismailias who profess esoteric doctrines bore the title of “ Shaikh al Jabal ” (the “ Old Man of the Mountains ”), and was commonly addressed by his followers as “ Syedna ” (our Lord). This was corrupted by the Crusaders in the 12th Century into “ Sidney ”.

In modern times the word “ Syed ” is used to signify deference and respect to a descendant of the Prophet, as also “ Sidi ” and “ Syedi ” both expressions meaning “ my Lord ”.

A large number of the Prophet's descendants settled in the neighbourhood of Meshed when Ali al-Raza came to Khorasan on the invitation of the Abbaside Khalif Al-Mamun.

In later centuries many members of our family held high office under the Sufi Monarchs ; one was a grand-chamberlain to the King who ruled over Persia shortly before the Afghan invasion, another was the Chief Mujtahid

* “ Mashhad afzal tar-i-rui Zamin-ast
Ke anja nur i Rabb-ul-al-Amin ast.”

(Religious Chief) at Kum, a City in Persia famous for its scholars and the fanaticism of its inhabitants.

The story of my family settling in India is not without interest.

In 1739 the conqueror, the cruel Nadir Shah, had made himself master of Persia. He had beaten the Turks in the West and the Russians in the North. The Timuride or Mogul Emperor who ruled over India about this time was Muhammad Shah. His control over the turbulent Feudatories who acknowledged his sovereignty was nominal. Their quarrels and aggressions supplied Nadir Shah with a pretext for an attack on India. In the army organised for the invasion, the Khorasani contingent from Nadir's own province was under the command of Ahmad Afzal Khan, our ancestor.

The tale of the massacre in Delhi and the sack of the glorious city of Shah Jehan under the orders of Nadir Shah is known to most readers of Indian history. Family traditions, however, give a somewhat different account of the cause which led to the dreadful occurrence. The story is that on its capture, Nadir Shah pledged his word to the Mogul Emperor that his soldiers would not be permitted to commit any excesses towards the inhabitants and would abide solemnly by the truce concluded between them. The temptation to the mob to assault the invaders was hardly resisted and the "Badmashes" (hooligans) of the City appear to have attacked straggling parties of Persians. Stray Persians were also murdered in the streets. When this was communicated to Nadir Shah, his fury knew no bounds, and he gave orders for an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants. Blood flowed through the City and the innocent suffered with the guilty. Every house which showed the smallest sign of an attack on the Persians was sacked and destroyed. Muhammad Shah threw himself at the feet of Nadir Shah, and begged for mercy for his subjects which, at the intercession of some of the leading Persian nobles, Nadir conceded to the people of Delhi.

When Nadir Shah was leaving India with the Peacock Throne of the House of Babar and the accumulated wealth of Delhi, the Mogul Emperor persuaded Ahmad Afzal (my grandfather's grandfather) to enter his service. The Khorasani soldier obtained without much difficulty the sanction of the Persian monarch to the transfer of himself and the remainder of his seven thousand horsemen to the service of Muhammad Shah.

In the struggles that followed the departure of Nadir Shah, the Mahrattas found their opportunity ; they made themselves masters of Delhi and of the weak Emperor.

Ahmad Afzal and his son Muhammad Tahir defended the capital but were overthrown, and Muhammad Tahir was forced to take refuge in Lahore. In the meantime Ahmad Afzal died. At Lahore Muhammad Tahir received an invitation from the brilliant Shuja-ud-Daula who had succeeded on the death of his father, Safdar Jang, to the Rulership of Oudh. Muhammad Tahir accepted the offer and settled in Mohan.

The descendants of the Prophet (the Syeds) have ever since their arrival in India always settled in townships already occupied by kinsmen who had preceded them in the search for new homes.

The four townships Hillour, Barah in Muzaffarnagar, Mohan and Bilgram in Oudh, were the favourite places at which they congregated.

Mohan, where our ancestor settled, was still a prosperous township when Sir Charles Elliott wrote his chronicles of the District of Unao. Now it is entirely denuded of its old prosperity.

Shuja-ud-Daula had married an adopted daughter of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and was a great favourite both in Delhi and in his own province of Oudh. In 1761 he sent a contingent to the support of Ahmad Shah Abdali the Afghan King, against the Mahrattas. Muhammad Tahir commanded some of his troops, who bore the fiercest attacks of the Mahrattas fighting desperately for their lives. Three times has the fate of India been decided on the field of Panipat.

In 1197 Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad, the Ghorian Monarch, won the victory which lifted the pall that had hung so long over India. Four centuries later Babar the founder of the Timurid or Mughal dynasty, overthrew the Pathans and seated himself on the throne of Delhi ; and in 1761 a Musulman confederation with Afghan help, under the Abdali King, broke the power of the Mahratta host and cleared the way for the establishment of the British Empire.

Ahmad Shah Abdali's victory shattered Mahratta power never to rise again to its combined fullness of strength. There is a very good account of the defeat and destruction of the Mahratta host which issued from the Deccan for the conquest of India, in the monograph of "Casi Ram

Pandit", himself a Mahratta Brahmin, but who was in the service of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh and was present at the battle, which he styles the last battle of Panipat. This was translated into English by Lieut.-Col. James Brown 30 years after the event. *

From Casi Ram's account, there can be little doubt that the Indian contingents were far more humane than the fierce Afghans of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and that Shuja-ud-Daula and the other Indian chiefs of the Musulman confederacy saved thousands of the defeated Mahrattas from the sabres of the Duranis, as Ahmad Shah's troops were styled in history.

How the Mahrattas requited the generosity and clemency of the Indian Moslems will be found in the Memoirs of two Officers of the British Indian Army entitled "Soldiering in India in 1765" recently re-edited by one of their clan, the MacPhersons.

Mohan has produced distinguished scholars and physicians. Hakim Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, Court Physician to two later Kings of Oudh, built and endowed a great Imambara in his native town.

Among men of learning I must mention the distinguished scholar who edited the *Rahbar-i-Islam*. This work advocated with singular ability the doctrine that prayers offered to the Almighty in any language are as acceptable as in Arabic; and that the reading of the Koran in the vulgar tongue is as meritorious as in the classic language. Did not the Prophet himself, the *Rahbar* argues, permit his Persian disciples who had no knowledge of Arabic to recite their prayers in their own tongue? Muhammad Hussain laboured to popularise the ideas thus expressed.

Muhammad Tahir's son Mansur Ali Khan, *alias* Munawwar Ali Khan, was my grandfather. It was from his time that most of us had second names. He was in the service of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula of Oudh as a Revenue Collector, a stalwart man, bluff in his ways, rather fierce-looking with his upturned moustache. He figures in the poem of Sauda the poet and panegyrist, which bears the name of "Qasida-i-Shahar-ashob". In this "Qasida" the poet apostrophises Delhi as "Jahanabad" (short for Shah-jahanabad, the city of Shah Jahan), and describes the cruelties inflicted on that ill-fated city.

* Recently re-edited by Mr. Rawlinson. I. E. S.

Mansur Ali Khan was killed about the year 1820 in a battle with a Raja who had rebelled against his liege-lord. Hakim Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, who had married his sister, took charge of my father's education and brought him up as a physician ; but he had an ingrained roving spirit and chafed at being tied to the profession of a Hakim. Shortly after the death of his mother Amina Begum, he made over his own share of their joint patrimony to his three brothers and obtaining monetary compensation, took to travelling. He travelled throughout the country from east to west several times, and frequently visited a cousin, Jafar Ali Khan who was a Deputy Collector and Settlement Officer under the East India Company at Cuttack in Orissa. During one of his journeys he married the daughter of Shamsuddin Khan a nobleman of Sambalpoore, my mother, who bore him five sons. After his marriage he settled down at Cuttack to be near his cousin.

Whilst living there my father made the acquaintance of Mr. Malet, C.S., then Judge of Orissa and of Dr. Mowat then Director of Public Instruction in Bengal. They both persuaded him to give an English education to his sons. Although in those early days English education was not in favour with Moslems, my father felt that the time was coming when it would be an important factor in the growth of the people. Accepting the advice of Dr. Mowat he brought his three elder sons to enter the Calcutta Madrassa, which was founded by Warren Hastings and was then at the zenith of its fame. My third brother was then only seven or so ; I was the youngest but one, and then only an infant. My father himself soon tired of Calcutta which had hardly emerged from the conditon in which it was found by the Bokhariot envoy who unmercifully satirised the city in the time of Sir John Shore, about 1806.

My father's old friend Syed Karamat Ali had been appointed a few years before to the Mutawalliship of the Hooghly Mohsin Endowment, and desiring to be near him my father removed from the Calcutta Madrassa and proceeded to Hooghly where he entered the two elder ones for education in the Mohsinia College.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

earliest recollection is of a big rambling oriental house with an old world garden of 3 or 4 acres. The garden to the South of the house was surrounded by a high wall. Mango trees, plantains (bananas), batavian limes, guavas,

mulberries, and many others the names of which I have forgotten, filled the garden. About a quarter of an acre was planted with roses, jessamine, the sweet smelling Bela, and other flowering shrubs. As I grew up I took a special interest in my garden. Besides indigenous fruits and vegetables, I cultivated English vegetables, the seeds of which I obtained from England, with knowledge of their cultivation derived from "Chambers' Information for the People" which I studied diligently.

I also grew quantities of pumpkins, which with the help of the head gardener I converted into money for the purchase of books or gunpowder, for I began to shoot quite early in life. My elder brothers would not give me any instruction in the use of firearms as they considered shooting a dangerous pastime for a boy; so with the secret connivance of my brave mother, who was afraid of nothing except ghosts, I learnt to shoot without their aid.

Our "up-Country" Durwan (gatekeeper), a cantankerous Brahmin of the Doab, taught me wrestling and single-stick. Later he gave me lessons in fencing, but I could never learn to whirl the firestick with his marvellous skill. I also used Indian Clubs from the age of 14. Beginning with 10 seers (20 lbs) each I increased the weight gradually to 20 seers.

We were not rich but in comfortable circumstances. There were only two horses in the stables, one saddle horse which my elder brothers rode alternately and a hack on which I had my first riding lessons. It was scarcely used for driving except when my mother thought (which was very occasionally) of driving to the river-side about two miles from the house with her daughter-in-law, the wife of my second brother.

We also had a resident "Moulvi" who helped us younger ones in our Persian and Urdu studies. My mother was strict in the observance of the prescribed prayers, and the women of her household were not allowed to neglect them unless engaged on their household duties, whilst the Moulvi looked after the observance of the daily prayers by the men-servants. We boys had to go to school; so we could attend only at evening prayer.

Besides myself and my youngest brother, the boys of the neighbourhood attended our Moulvi's classes. Often the Moslem Subadars (Indian Officers) and well-born sepoy of the Regiment stationed at Chinsurah came to join us in the study of the "Gulistan", the "Rose Garden" of the Persian poet Sadi. Although I was quite young

I could follow the conversation of these soldiers with much interest. Once or twice they brought with them a stranger who obviously did not belong to the country. He talked Hindustani fluently with a strong foreign accent and was dressed in Hindustani garments, but I had a strong suspicion that the colour of his skin was not natural. I imparted my suspicions to our dull-witted Moulvi. The talk of our strange visitor always turned upon the greatness and power of the Russian Emperor and on the prowess of the Russian troops and their arrival in India. This was, if I am not mistaken in my recollection, at the time of the Crimean war. The Indian soldiers seemed to me to regard this man with much respect.

Just after the Mutiny my eldest brother left home to enter the service of the Government as Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector in Behar. This was an important office in those days. The after-effects of the great Sepoy Revolt were hardly over ; Behar was in a very disturbed condition and Koer Singh's exploits were fresh in the memory of the daring yeomen who did not readily forget the tyranny of the money-lenders, protected as they considered by British laws. The task entrusted to my brother was to assist in restoring order in the Shahabad District. He appears to have succeeded by means of tact, judgment and conciliation, combined with firmness where needed.

Speaking of Koer Singh reminds me that that sturdy old Rajpoot Zemindar, of whom I myself have only a hazy recollection, would never have gone into rebellion but for the somewhat equivocal conduct of Mr. William Taylor, the Commissioner of Patna during the Mutiny. He had invited Koer Singh to Patna with an ill-disguised intention of arresting him the moment he arrived. Koer Singh then applied to Moonshi (afterwards Nawab) Ameer Ali, who had been appointed by Sir Frederick Halliday, Assistant Commissioner, and Syed (afterwards Nawab) Vilayat Ali Khan who was helping Taylor to maintain order in the District, for an assurance of safety from arrest. Knowing the intentions of their chief they both refused to pledge their word. Whatever else may have been said or written on the subject I was assured this was the fact. That same night, on which Koer Singh learnt that the two Nawabs declined to give the pledge, he left Arrah with a large following and the whole of southern Behar was in a blaze. It was the aftermath of this situation which my brother was called upon to handle. Many of Koer

Singh's tenants were wont to enlist in the Company's army. He was followed into revolt by three Sepoy battalions of the Dinapore garrison. Koer Singh held out till 1859 when he was struck in the wrist by a musket ball, amputated it with his own sabre above the wound, and died as the result at the age of 76. His surviving followers surrendered under the amnesty.

A connection of our family, Colonel Hidayat Ali, was serving in the loyal Behar Military Police Battalion. He had been part of the small garrison of the Magistrate's house at Arrah, known to history as the "little house of Arrah", which had beaten off Koer Singh's attacks, unmoved by the taunts and exhortations of his soldiery to revolt.

On the few British Officers becoming casualties, he brought the Battalion through the final operations against Koer Singh as Senior Indian Officer. He was afterwards given the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. The Regiment was taken into the regular line after the Mutiny as "Rattray's Sikhs" and has earned further fame in many campaigns.

Soon after my brother was settled in his appointment my next two brothers went to join him. I was much their junior and was then left alone to pursue my studies under the care of my mother. This meant that they were entirely in my own hands. I was a voracious reader, and had finished most of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" before I was twelve. Although many parts were too difficult for me to understand and I required to read them over and over again later, the picture of the Roman Empire and its development and the march of the conquering legions enthralled me. But the sixth volume in which the historian describes the rise of the Saracenic power I found especially fascinating.

My father Saadat Ali, had the reputation of being a first class Arabic and Persian scholar. In addition to medicine, which he had studied with his uncle Hakim Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, Court Physician to the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula of Oudh, he had devoted himself to the study of Arabian history and philosophy and for some years before his death he was engaged on a history of the Prophet. He had, I believe, nearly completed it when death overtook him. He died of an attack of Cholera in 1856. The manuscripts in his own beautiful writing were placed in a chest along with many family records. This chest was left untouched by my mother for more than a year. When

it was opened, to our dismay and unutterable grief, we found a reeking mass of white ants—a few fragments only were left of the precious papers. My mother was inconsolable. The loss of many of our family records was, alas, irretrievable.

When I had reached the age of 14, I had a collection of half-a-dozen guns of sorts ; one was a flint-lock converted by the village blacksmith into a percussion-lock which I used as a duck gun with great effect. Two muzzle-loaders of large bore were kept for big game. I made my own heavy bullets, procuring from Calcutta a number of moulds into which I poured the molten lead. This when it hardened left a piece of pointed lead projecting from the mould.* When I could not get small shot in the bazaar, I had recourse to an ingenious device of my own to manufacture it. I made small slits in bricks into which molten lead was poured. When the pencils hardened they were cut with a pair of nippers into small pieces, and these were then ground into shape in a common stone-mill used by the household for grinding corn. This made quite useful small shot. Besides these I had a double-barrelled muzzle-loader for snipe, etc. I shot with this numbers of poisonous snakes with which the old garden was infested. One little episode deserves mention. I had a fondness for birds and among others kept pigeons. The dove-cote was over the passage-way leading from the inner to the outer apartments. To my sorrow I found that the young pigeons were unaccountably disappearing. One morning I sent up the garden-boy to investigate the cause. No sooner was he up the ladder than he clambered down shouting “snake, snake”. The lad’s cries gathered the inmates of the house, among them my mother, who arrived on the scene just as I was going up the ladder with my gun ready cocked in my right hand. To her shrieks and entreaties I protested that I could not risk another boy’s life and that it was my own duty to see to my own belongings. A moment’s view of a black cobra with distended hood hissing furiously ready to strike, a shot and it lay dead with its head blown off. The least hesitation would have meant certain death. I must confess that though years have passed the vision of that furious reptile still before my eyes gives me a shudder. I would far sooner face a tiger or a bear, the only large beasts I have shot, than a cobra under those conditions.

* In the old days in England this projecting piece of lead was known as the “get”.

Once with the same gun that I always kept loaded, I shot under somewhat strange circumstances, one of those green snakes which are said to strike at the eyes of human beings and animals. I was walking up and down the garden reading a book, when suddenly looking up I saw, on the branch of a mango tree a squirrel absolutely immobile as if paralysed. I was puzzled at its attitude and threw a small stone at the little animal. This roused it and it ran away. I then espied a green snake slipping along, fetched the gun and shot it down from the branch.

In those primitive days filters were practically unknown in Indian houses. For drinking purposes we boiled the water ; ordinarily alum was used for precipitating the sand or earthy deposit. "Chiraghs" (little earthen spoon-shaped saucers) with a wick in mustard oil were used in kitchen and in the servants' quarters. A lighted wick in cocoanut oil floating in a glass of water under a glass shade lit the principal rooms. Matches were unknown. Small sticks made of the stalks of the flax plant dipped in melted sulphur were used for ignition. These sticks were hawked by the scavenger class and were called "Dya Salai", every household kept a supply of them. The "Dya Salai" did not strike but ignited only when put into the fire which was religiously kept alive for the purpose.

In the cold weather months before I was considered old enough to go for the Christmas holidays, to my brother in Shahabad, I used to organise wild fowl shoots twice a week in the "Jheels" (swamps) up the River Hooghly, with two or three school friends and a servant to pick up the birds. The fate of this lad was sad. He was the same boy who had found the snake among my pigeons. On one occasion when he swam to the middle of a lake to pick up a goose, he was seized with cramp and drowned. Our sorrow at this calamity was acute and we had not the heart to go to the same place again for a long time. The inhabitants of the neighbouring village said that the "Jheel" was haunted by a spirit which had seized the boy by the leg and dragged him down ; more likely it was a crocodile.

After that occurrence we employed only local boatmen and fishermen to pick up our birds. I paid a local villager the modest fee of three rupees a month to bring me news when a flock of wild geese or duck arrived on the "Jheels", and hired a commodious boat to take us up the river. We had to leave the house at about 2 a.m. It was bitterly cold, but we had braziers at which to warm our frozen fingers. Two hours hard rowing brought us to the

landing-place and half an hour's tramp took us to the "Jheel". It was a glorious night—wild duck and geese, teal and other wild fowl in prodigious numbers feeding gluttonously on the abounding fish. We had "Doongas", (cances dug out of palm trunk), the "gun" at one end, a man paddling at the other. The four of us never got less than 30 to 50 brace of birds; not a bad bag for old fashioned muzzle-loaders.

If this book ever comes within the ken of the present day sportsman, how contemptuously he must smile at our sporting efforts. But they gave me intense pleasure as also I believe to my comrades. Our sport over, we breakfasted in the boat, and then rowed leisurely back, past numbers of crocodiles basking on the sandbanks in the sun. Some were huge monsters, others quite small. These slipped quickly into the water, whilst the big ones moved leisurely and afforded good targets. We never failed to take a shot at the reptiles and occasionally succeeded in killing some.

These wild fowling expeditions were my only pastime in those early days. Later when my holidays were spent at Shahabad, I was able to get some big game shooting with my brothers. When we could not borrow elephants from the neighbouring Zemindars (squires), we had often to sit upon the old fashioned Machans, (platforms lashed to trees), on which the sportsman sits whilst the game is driven up to him.

The College at Hooghly was divided into two watertight compartments; one was called the Anglo-Persian department for Moslem students, the other was exclusively for Hindu youths. Great friendliness existed between them but boys will "rag" and often the Moslem boys raided the Hindus and carried away their books and belongings. I was considered to be one of the ringleaders. One day a message was brought to me from the Principal—Mr. Robert Thwaytes—that he relied on my honour as the brother of his old pupil, Waris, to help him to preserve order. Thenceforth I felt it my duty to avoid giving him any trouble. Two years later the Anglo-Persian department was amalgamated with the other, as the number of Moslem students from one cause and another was fast dwindling.

I think I was 15 or 16 when I first came into contact with our Principal, a tall, strongly built, full-bearded man. Rather grim to look at, his appearance belied the warmth of his heart. I can never be too grateful for the kindness and affection he showed to me. He was one of the best

friends of my life and whatever good qualities may lurk in my character I owe, apart from my mother, to my two mentors, Robert Thwaytes, and the really great Syed Karamat Ali, the venerable and venerated Mutawalli of the Shiah religious institution at Hooghly.

I remember well one day Mr. Thwaytes coming into our class-room and calling me out. (He often forgot my name and called me by my brother's name "Waris"). I followed him, not without some trepidation as I thought I was in for a "wiggling". My fears, however, were soon dispelled; he only wanted to speak to me about the re-opening of the College Department (or University Standard class) which had been closed for some years, and was desirous of getting me to make a list of the young men fitted to "come up" after their matriculation. The list was made, and twenty of us entered the College. Each year some fell out and their places were filled by others, but I stayed on till I took my degree.

I was fortunate enough to retain Mr. Thwaytes' confidence and friendship, and when I took my Master of Arts Degree (the first M. A. of the College), he awarded me the Senior Scholarship which I retained for two years.*

SCHOOLDAYS.

I think it was in 1868 that Lord Kimberley established the State Scholarships for selected Indian students to pursue their studies in England. Although after taking my law Degree, I had been enrolled as a Pleader, Mr. Thwaytes advised me to apply for one of these scholarships. I was not readily willing to abandon my already fair prospects of success in the legal profession, but his counsel was so cogent that I set aside my own feelings, the more so as my eldest brother urged me not to forego the chances it offered. I obtained the scholarship and sailed for England early in 1869.

I feel I cannot pass over my College days without mentioning two or three men who greatly influenced my tastes and sympathies, such as Mr. Ronald Cockerell, C. S. and Mr. Henry Brailsford. Ronald Cockerell was then

* The influence of Mr. Thwaytes for good shows how grave was the mistake made when the policy was introduced of keeping European Educational Officers in India mainly to the Inspectorate. The influence of young Englishmen of the right type in direct contact with the pupils is more than ever needed, but now their very recruitment to the Educational service seems to have been stopped.

Magistrate and Collector of the District. He was the younger brother of Mr. Horace Cockerell afterwards Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal under Sir Ashley Eden. I made his acquaintance when I was about 18. I was fairly conversant with English literature and with the Persian and Urdu Poets. Mr. Ronald Cockerell was an extremely cultured man, with a wide outlook. He hoped for a time when Indians and Englishmen would work together for the advancement of India, as friends and comrades without bitterness on the one side or arrogance on the other. Men of his calibre were rare then and seem to be rarer now. He was a gentleman by birth and breeding, and despite disparity in age we became great friends. He often came to our house and sent his "Taslim", a high-flown salutation, to my mother before the tea was brought in. I gained considerable information regarding the West whilst perhaps I gave him some ideas as to the East. Mr. Cockerell was held in great esteem by both Hindus and Moslems. He frequently went to *Durga Pooja* celebrations in Hindoo houses where he seemed to receive a sincere welcome, and I often accompanied him on these visits. He spoke Bengali fluently without a trace of foreign accent. His Urdu was not so perfect; but he could follow admirably when I read out to him the Hindustani poets. He died, I think, while I was in England, and these few lines are the only tribute I can pay to his memory.

In those days there was no bitterness between Hindus and Moslems. They both lived and worked together in complete amity and concord; there were no disputes about processions before Mosques during worship, nor any obnoxious parade of the sacrifice of calves or cows during what is commonly called the *Bakr Id* festival. If any dispute arose it was when an ill-mannered domestic fowl chanced to fly from a Moslem house into a Hindu neighbour's courtyard. The apple of discord between Hindu and Moslem in the shape of "communal representation" had not yet fallen between them, and there was no attempt to drive the voters of both communities to a common "hustings". One side was not animated by the ambition of dominance, nor was the other obsessed with the fear of subordination. I had many friends among my Hindu comrades. I frequently went to their homes and they visited mine, in particular one whose mother and sisters I was allowed to see, but not his wife. He had been married when he was 16 years old and his wife was only 13.

A Cashmere Brahmin friend well-versed in Persian literature also frequently visited me for exchange of ideas.

Mr. Brailsford came to India as Professor of English literature when the College Department was opened. He was, I believe, an Oxford man, highly cultivated and of great intellectual gifts and sympathy. Somewhat shy in manner and of nervous temperament, he had little in common with the majority of the youths who came under his tutorship; their outlook was so essentially local with their eyes glued to their class-books.

I am told that India has radically changed since I left the country. If the system of education has changed and the vast mass of youths who receive an English education have now a broader vision and a wider intellectual sympathy, a greater blessing could not be conceived. I cannot help feeling a certain fear that the rising tide of unregulated Nationalism has had a contrary effect. In my opinion Nationalism pure and simple is a reversion to primitive tribal instincts. The first impulse of primitive man is to club his adversary belonging to another tribe, and to seize his belongings. The present day Nationalist is, speaking with the greatest respect, equally uncompromising and equally intolerant. And this is not confined to any particular country.

Henry Brailsford found himself in a somewhat uncongenial atmosphere although he strove hard to win the goodwill of his pupils as a whole. Unfortunately he had to return to Europe for reasons of health. When in England I learnt that he had died in Italy.

Owing to our congenial taste in literature he frequently came to my house and I often went to his. I had read a good deal of English literature as well as Gibbon's "Decline and Fall", most of Shakespeare, Milton's "Paradise Lost", and his minor poems. I knew Shelley almost by heart, had a good knowledge of Keats, Byron, Tom Moore, Dr. Johnson, Longfellow, and the Lake poets who appealed to the literary taste of the age. I had read all of Walter Scott's novels, Fenimore Cooper, Bulwer Lytton, and Thackeray. Dickens I could not appreciate until I came to England and observed with my own eyes the life he portrayed. I was only then able to grasp the absorbing interest of his inimitable characters, now also belonging to a period which is past. I had already read the "Chronicles of Carlingford", "Salem Chapel", "Evelina", and gone even a little further back to "Pamela". I had a

fair grasp of the History of European and Eastern Civilisation, and had studied the Annals of the War of Independence in North America, and so I was able in some degree to meet Europeans in intellectual sympathy.

It may be useful to those present day Indian students anxious to cultivate their minds, to know how I managed to put in so much reading with other activities. At the beginning of each week I made out a schedule of work to complete at home. The moment, however, my mind flagged, I put my studies aside, and took up a novel or Byron or Shelley or Shakespeare, and after a respite I returned to my work with fresh zest. During term-time on returning home, after a short rest, I went to one of the Professors living near by to study Arabic with him.

With Mr. Brailsford we had the late Sir Alfred Croft as Professor of Philosophy. A profound scholar, he proved an efficient auxiliary to the Principal in his educational task. Since those days Sir Alfred Croft has played a great part in the development of Indian education. He became Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, retired some time ago and lived in Devon till his death in 1925.

It was obvious that Mr. Brailsford was interested in the intellectual awakening of India, and in watching the development of his pupils. With my friend Mr. Cockerell the talk had a political tendency ; his great concern was to understand and realise what the slumbering masses of Bengal, mostly untouched by the intellectual movement set on foot during the Mogul domination in Upper India, thought of British rule. I had even then some definite ideas which have not altered much during the last 60 years. But his versatile mind often led him back to the reigns of prehistoric Hindu kings, to a comparison of Pathan and Mogul rulers, the birth of the Urdu language, the poetry of Amir Khusru and Sauda, and his rival Atesh.

It was about this time that Mr. Robert Thwaytes took a year's leave, and that kind-hearted and sympathetic scholar Dr. Lobb acted in his place. To Mr. Lobb I am indebted for my acquaintance later with Doctor Congreve "the sage of Mecklenburg Square". Though I was a mere upper school boy in those days, the friendship of men of this type helped greatly to stimulate my ideals.

Syed Karamat Ali, the Mutawalli (Guardian) of the Hooghly Imambara had travelled far and wide in Persia and Central Asia. A friend and comrade of Arthur Connolly, he had mixed with every sort and condition of men in

that distracted region. His historical and biographical anecdotes were illuminated by a humour peculiarly his own. He was for several years at the Court of Fateh Ali Shah, King of Persia, knew Abbas Mirza well, had stayed with Dost Muhammad the Barakzai Ameer of Afghanistan, and was a friend of his brother Abdul Jubbar, familiar figures in Oriental history of the early 19th century, though unknown to the outer world. Whatever knowledge of Moslem philosophy I happen to possess, I owe to that truly great man. Every Sunday morning Moulvi Obaidullah, the Persian Professor and I, breakfasted with the Syed and scarcely ever left before 1 o'clock. We ranged over the whole region of Oriental history and philosophy. The Syed had studied ancient Hindu philosophy and loved to draw comparisons between it and the Arabian schools of thought.

A word in passing about Moulvi Obaidullah. He was a scholarly man conversant with English. He took the "nom de plume" of "Al-Obaidi". One of his nephews is now a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta. The family has assumed the name of Suhrawardy, as it purports to derive its descent from a Sufi saint of the middle ages. Moulvi Obaidullah, died some time after my return from England in 1873. He was a man worthy of respect, but he had one failing, common in India, of retailing ordinary gossip without giving due weight to its consequences. He even tried, perhaps unconsciously, to make mischief between me and the Mutawalli. May his soul rest in peace.

Before I left for England, I translated into English the Syed's important work on the origin of sciences (*Makhaz-i-Ulum*). He took great pride in my "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed" published before I returned from England. I shall never forget his pleasure and affection when I went to see him immediately on my return to India. His health began to fail him in 1876 but unfortunately the young man whom he had nominated as his successor, for some unaccountable reason, never informed me that he was seriously ill. To my unutterable sorrow I was not present at his death-bed, but I carried out his last wishes. I gave my whole-hearted support to his successor, and protected him from his enemies for 28 years from 1876 until my retirement from the High Court in 1904.

Before I went to England I had my fair share of accidents and illnesses, which, unless one is particularly careful beset Indian life. On one occasion I very nearly blew off

part of my face trying to extract a bullet from a heavy muzzle-loading gun. Twice I was attacked by cholera, once very severely when my life was saved by Hakim Mubarak Ali, a very able physician. He was a Persian by descent and was for a time in the service of the Nawab Nazim at Moorshedabad, whence he came to Chinsurah and set up in practice. His grandson, according to a custom which has grown up in recent years in India, assumed the name of Tabrizi to denote that his ancestors came originally from Tabriz in North Persia. Just before the examination for my degree of Bachelor of Arts (Law), I had a bad attack of malarial fever which clung to me until I came to England. I placed myself in the care of Nawab Syed Vilayat Ali at Patna, who was an enthusiast in Homeopathy but he treated me without success.

ENGLAND.

In 1868 the railway from Calcutta did not extend beyond Raniganj.* I had therefore to sail from the port.

Sir William Grey was then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and I was advised by Mr. Thwaytes to see him before my departure for England. He was a stiff man, quite typically bureaucratic, and "did not see *why* I was going to England".

On the other hand the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, was genial and kind. He thoroughly approved of my going and "suo motu" gave me three letters of introduction—one to his brother the Hon. Robert Bourke (afterwards Lord Connemara); the second to Sir William Kaye, the renowned author of the "Sepoy Revolt", and the third to the Master of Downing College at Cambridge. The impression Lord Mayo made on me has never faded from my memory. He was an imposing figure with courtly manners, a genial voice and a kind heart. I little thought it possible that such a man would meet his death two years later by the hand of an assassin through the carelessness of his guards on the shores of the Andamans.

Other introductions I had were to Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo's predecessor in Office, and to Sir Frederick Halliday the retired Lieut.-Governor of Bengal who had

* The author was thinking of the Mutiny, when Raniganj was the railhead where all reinforcements from overseas detained for the area of hostilities many hundred miles "up country". Earthwork and survey were then being carried on to beyond Cawnpore and this was one of the reasons which weighed with rebel elements to bring matters to a head before communications by rail were extended. In 1868 the railway to Bombay was incomplete between Allahabad and Jubbulpore.

shared with Lord Canning the unpopularity of the measures taken under the Great Queen to bring about peace and appeasement in India. To Doctor Clarke who, I think, was the Director of Public Instruction, I owe the introduction which gave me the privilege of the friendship of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fawcett. I had also a letter to the famous physician Mr. Henry Hancock of Harley Street, whose son Sir Burford Hancock shortly after became Chief Justice of Gibraltar.

I sailed from Calcutta in December 1868 in the P. & O. steamer "Simla". Neither the ship nor the food in the saloon were at all to my taste. There was a long table at which the Captain presided; at the other end sat the Purser. Each man carved for himself and for the ladies with him, and I had rather a lean time of it. The servant I had taken with me added to my troubles; he was a very particular Moslem and objected to everything on board. I soon found I had no need of a servitor.

At Point de Galle the ship stayed three days and I went ashore with several other passengers. The Moslems of the place somehow learnt that a descendant of the Prophet—a Syed or Sharif—was on board the "Simla," and I was asked to receive a deputation and to accept an invitation to a banquet, at the residence of the principal member of the community, which I found it difficult to refuse. The house of this gentleman appeared clean, spacious and comfortable. The banquet and hospitality were rather overpowering. Many children were brought to me after the feast to receive my benediction. The incident gave me a pleasant impression of the people. These *Lubbays* are descendants of the old Arab settlers on the Island of Ceylon, and have inherited the energies of their progenitors in trade and commerce. In virtue of my descent their women were allowed to appear before me unveiled. They seemed to be taller than the average women of the same class in Bengal, slenderly built and good looking. The men retained their Arab features but were not of such good physique as their ancestors, and were not given to physical exercise. I am told that conditions have changed since my visit and that *Lubbay* youths have taken to football and cricket like the young men of the Indian continent.

On the 21st day after leaving Calcutta we arrived at Suez. The Canal was not yet open and it was a relief to see again the Indian *khansamahs* clad in white, ministering to our comforts in the clean hotel. The next time I

landed at Suez the Canal being blocked, we had to travel across by rail to Alexandria. The hotel's occupation gone, it was practically abandoned; we had ourselves to fetch the water for our toilet, there being only one Egyptian attendant to serve meals, such as they were. On the first occasion two days had to be spent at Suez; on the third day we started at nightfall, reaching Alexandria in the morning to embark in the "Ceylon", a small, uncomfortable ship in which the Captain's manners were hardly commendable for courtesy. Seven days in heavy weather brought us to Marseilles.

In those days there were no "sleepers" on the trains to Paris and no comforts of any kind, even for first class passengers. Meals or a cup of coffee had to be snatched at the different stations. The meals were execrable but the coffee excellent; a wash was hardly possible anywhere.

At the advice of a fellow passenger on the "Simla" I put up in Paris at the Grand Hotel, and knowing no French a *Commissionaire* who spoke English was allotted to me. Old Digard was a linguist but supremely avaricious and he took *sub rosa* a share in the price of whatever I bought. As a consequence I was inordinately "fleeced" in the shops. I visited the Tuileries, the Champs Elysees, the Louvre, and the tomb of Napoleon, and duly admired the Arc de Triomphe and other memorials of Napoleon's victories. In those days I was a thorough-going admirer of the great Corsican, and it was interesting to me, fresh from the East, to see how the French worshipped his memory and traditions. Remembering what I saw then, I can realise the revival of his policy in the present day which has been called by an English writer "Neo-Napoleonism".

In Paris my servant got himself lost. Whilst I was somewhat selfishly congratulating myself on a good ride, he was brought back to me by Digard at the cost of 25 Francs for board and lodging at some Cabaret and 10 Francs for himself for discovering him!

We arrived in England at the end of January, and I was met at Charing Cross by Mr. Abdullah, the Hindustani "coach" to students preparing for the Indian Civil Service. A well-known character, he had come to London some years before, had married an English lady and set up as a "coach", which in those days brought him a good income. I well remember his proud boast of living at "21 Fulham Place" somewhere in Paddington. His

letters were headed with a high-flown Persian verse "Makan-am-bast-o-ek Fulham Place ast," that is "the house is at one and twenty Fulham Place".

In Syed Abdullah's house I made the acquaintance of the grandsons of the famous Savoyard soldier of fortune General de Boigne, who served under Mahda Rao Scindia, the powerful chief of Gwalior at the end of the eighteenth century, and heard much about his exploits. He must have possessed considerable military capacity like most of the French soldiers of the time. His grandsons had come to get translated into English some Persian documents addressed to de Boigne by Scindia. It was years later that I was able to see the imposing monument that had been erected to their ancestor in his native town of Chambery near Aix-les-Bains with its base of four elephants.

I lived in the family of a widow of a clergyman, a Mrs. Chase, until my return to India four years later. She treated me as one of themselves, and I shall always treasure with abiding gratitude their unvarying kindness.

London did not appear to me inhospitable or uninviting as it does to many foreigners. Though I had arrived in England in the depth of winter, I did not find the climate severely inclement in spite of a good deal of frost and snow. Horse buses and "growlers" were the ordinary means of conveyance. Hansom cabs were still too advanced for ladies to ride in. I first became acquainted with the Underground railway when Mr. and Mrs. Fawcett invited me to dine with them shortly after my arrival in England. In the kindness of her heart, Mrs. Fawcett gave me explicit directions about the trains and the way from Victoria to their home, which was somewhere in Lambeth. I tried to follow her instructions and was half-an-hour late. There was another guest, Sir George Lawrence. I threw myself on their indulgence and was forgiven. Mr. Henry Fawcett was indeed a great man and it was a pleasure and a privilege to hear him talk. After that I visited them frequently during my first stay in England. Both husband and wife were ardent advocates of "equal rights for women" and as my sympathies were on the same side, our friendship was not marred by the difference of opinion, much of which was prevalent at the time.

Mrs. Fawcett, now Dame Millicent Fawcett,* is still happily amongst us to see the absolute fulfilment of all her and her husband's aims and endeavours. After over half

* Dame Millicent Fawcett died in 1929.

a century's labours her great work in the advancement of the cause of female franchise has received the recognition of His Majesty's Government. On the 1st January 1925 a G. B. E. was conferred on her. It cannot be said any more that the British Government never recognises honest, unselfish labour in the advancement of the public weal.

Early in 1870 a great meeting was held in St. James' Hall in support of the female suffrage movement. The speeches of Mr. and Mrs. Fawcett on that occasion made an ineffaceable impression on my mind and I became convinced that the English law of the time as regards womens' rights to their own earnings and property, to the custody of their children, and to the franchise, needed substantial improvement. I saw then how far behind the Moslem law it was in all these respects and the passing of the Married Women's Property Act of 1873 was a satisfaction to me. At the suffrage meeting just referred to, I was seated next to the distinguished American writer and thinker Mr. Moncure Conway. We exchanged greetings and our acquaintance soon ripened into warm friendship. Mrs. Conway had social reunions once a week at which congregated *litterateurs*, savants, and distinguished men and women from every part of the world. I attended her receptions frequently and there made the acquaintance of many people whose friendship and esteem I hold and value to this day. One of these was Mrs. Thomas Taylor, who occupied a prominent position in London Society. She had travelled with her husband in Egypt and Palestine, and had visited Constantinople, then, of course, far less accessible than later. She was a consistent supporter and an admirer of Mrs. Fawcett. Her weekly parties represented all the best minds of the liberal party to which she belonged, besides scholars, artists, poets, and other eminent men. Mr. Thomas Taylor owned considerable property in Oxfordshire besides Coal Mines and Cotton Mills in the North of England. The kindness and hospitality they extended to me both in town and country has my lasting gratitude. I was a frequent visitor at Aston Rowant, their beautiful home in Oxfordshire where Mr. Taylor's collection of famous and choice pictures by modern masters was a feature of the county.

I received much kindness from both Lord and Lady Lawrence, though he was always to me somewhat awe-inspiring. Lord Lawrence was a grand figure, tall, impressive, somewhat grim and taciturn ; not so genial as his successor Lord Mayo, but his personality was indefinable

in its imposingness. I was invited to one of his great dinners, at which were present many retired administrators and distinguished Generals, blazing with decorations, —my first experience of a grand official or rather semi-official banquet, and I must confess I was somewhat awed by the galaxy.

Among the great Indian Pro-Consuls who extended their hospitality to me was Sir Frederick Halliday, who had been Lieut.-Governor of Bengal during the Mutiny, and was at the time a member of the India Council. The Marquis of Salisbury was then Secretary of State for India, and received me with his well-known courtesy. Among other questions he put to me I particularly remember one, whether my co-religionists were taking advantage of the new conditions created by the Queen's Proclamation to place themselves on a level with their Hindu fellow countrymen. To this question I could only reply somewhat doubtfully, while referring to the effect of the Rules passed by the Indian Government a few years previously which, by displacing the Urdu language from the position it had occupied until then in Indian Administration, had destroyed their prosperity. Lord Salisbury asked me to explain the matter more fully. What I said to him then is set out in detail in an article in the "Nineteenth Century" written by me 12 years later.

Sir Frederick Halliday was a stately man but genial and pleasant. He gave me much valuable advice which rendered my course easy in England. On one occasion in later years when I was dining with him a telegram was handed to him during dinner which he read out to the company. It announced the victory of Ahmad Khel. This battle took place on the march of Sir Donald Stewart's army from Kandahar to Kabul during the second Afghan war. Tribal opposition gathered, in his own words, "like a thundercloud", and burst on him on his way. It was afterwards reported that a raw British regiment had behaved none too well and that the day had been saved by the steadiness of the Sikhs and Gurkhas in facing the rushes of the Afghan swordsmen. This action dispersed the tribal concentration and cleared the way for Sir Frederick Roberts' subsequent march in the reverse direction which for some reason took the popular fancy far more than Sir Donald Stewart's operations.

In later years I knew Sir Frederick Halliday's son and grandson, both men of ability. The former was a member of the Board of Revenue in Bengal, and the latter

Commissioner of Police in Calcutta. He is now, I believe, the Chief of the Police Mission at Athens.

Mr. Bourke, Lord Mayo's brother, was my sponsor when I was admitted to the Inner Temple. Both he and Lady Susan Bourke, a daughter of Lord Dalhousie the famous Governor-General of India, showed me much kindness.

As I had taken my Law Degree at the Calcutta University, I had to undergo no examination. I thus had ample time to devote myself to Chamber work and attend the Common Law Courts, mostly with or for Mr. Baylis (afterwards Judge Baylis) in whose chambers I read. He had three pupils besides myself, Norman Bazalgette, Sandbach and young Baylis. Bazalgette was one of the best fellows I have ever met and we became close friends. His father lived some distance from town; Norman had several sisters and they often gave dances to which I was invited. As they could not accommodate all their guests in the house, rooms were taken for them in the neighbouring cottages, but all met at breakfast full of good fellowship.

The last time I saw dear Norman was when he appeared unexpectedly to look me up as I was presiding at the Chief Magistrate's Court of Calcutta, I think in 1878. He watched the proceedings from the Bench with some curiosity. In those days the Magistrates were required to administer an outrageous law which to my mind was very disgusting. A number of the "filles de joie" of Calcutta were every week brought up before the Magistrate for non-compliance with the rules prescribed for their periodical examinations. To my question as to why they failed to attend according to regulations, the invariable answer was that "they had gone to their homes", which the Court Interpreter translated as "country houses"! My friend considered that these girls must be very rich to own "country houses", and it took me some time to explain what was meant. That night we talked over our early days till midnight. Next morning he sailed for Australia and we never met again.

Mr. Baylis was most kind and hospitable to his pupils, and treated us as members of his family. After finishing my studies with him I entered the Chambers of Mr. Alfred George Martin of the Chancery Bar. Mr. Martin later received a knighthood. He had a large practice and his pupils were kept quite busy.

In London Mrs. Taylor and her two younger daughters, who were still children, frequently went with me to the Crystal Palace which in those days wore a much brighter and more inviting aspect than it has done in later years. In the autumn of 1870 I was in the North of England staying with my kind friend Mr. FitzAdam, in his old country residence, and whilst I was there the son and heir of the Lord Crawford and Balcarres of the time brought home his young and beautiful Italian bride. There were great festivities at the Castle on the occasion, to which we were invited, and I thus had an opportunity of getting a glimpse of the old feudal life of England. Twice we went down a coal mine, an interesting experience. I also sat on the Bench, as my host was Recorder.

I spent Christmas of 1870 at Aston Rowant where a large house party was assembled, and that winter I made the acquaintance of several interesting people who have remained friends. If a stranger with opportunities of observing social changes in England may express an opinion, in those days English Society was not such a close preserve of the monied classes as it became later. One could receive hospitality in private homes without resort to restaurants. Nor were "Salons" the exclusive monopoly of ladies of title; many had circles, admission to which was obtained by personality and not purse. The Americanisation of which Professor Dicey writes in one of his most trenchant articles had not yet commenced.

Almost every family I knew had an evening "at home". Mrs. Vaughan the wife of the Master of the Temple, (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff), gathered round her a brilliant circle. Through her I became acquainted with her brother Dean Stanley. To know him was a privilege and an honour. Dean Stanley was particularly interested in the development of religious thought in India. One remark of his lingers in my mind; it was only a little while after he had heard Keshub Chunder Sen in St. James' Hall. Talking of "Brahmoism" he said: "He had heard Sen's address with interest and pleasure, but he doubted", added Dean Stanley, "whether the new cult would ever excite the fervour of its votaries and lead them to undergo sufferings for their creed". I referred to the sufferings of the Buddhists in S. India after Brahmanism regained its ascendancy. He replied "It was a creed and not a mere philosophical aphorism".

At Mrs. Vaughan's I first met Mr. Ernest de Bunsen, the son of Baron de Bunsen at the time Prussian Ambassador

at the Court of St. James'. He and Madame de Bunsen who was a niece of the great Elizabeth Fry, showed me for nearly 30 years, until their death, great kindness. He was a profound scholar, vastly read in the philosophy of the East and West, and his conversation revealed extraordinary stores of knowledge. I was frequently at their beautiful home in Regents Park—"Abbey Lodge"—with its umbrageous garden. It is now a thing of the past and has been annihilated by the builders of leviathan flats. His "Angel Messiah" is one of the most remarkable works on the Messianic conception.

At the same time I got to know one of the most gifted families I have had the good fortune to meet in England. The four Miss Montalbas were highly accomplished ladies; Miss Clara Montalba* was an artist of outstanding talent; Hilda, the second sister, painted with exquisite genius on porcelain. Ellen, who came next, was an accomplished linguist. The youngest, Henrietta, played the violin to perfection. In their company I went in 1872 to the Session of the British Association at Brighton, where I met Edward Maitland the author of "The Pilgrim and the Shrine", an unforgettable work, and "Jewish Literature and Modern Education".

The ex-Emperor Napoleon III and the Empress Eugenie, with the young Prince Imperial, were at the Grand Hotel where I was staying at the time. I wore a Fez. In passing me, as I stood aside, the Emperor asked if I was an Algerian. I answered also in French "No, Sire, an Indian, a subject of Queen Victoria". He at once spoke to me in English and asked if I liked England? I answered "I love it". He replied, "So do I, I have received much kindness here", and chatted to me for ten minutes. The Empress was all smiles, a fascinating personality. The young Prince looked so frank and full of vivid life that no one could help liking him. Alas for his death in a savage land.

When there was no evening sitting of the British Association, or other engagement, Mr. Cholmondeley the Rector of Ditton (Oxon.) and I went to the pit of the Theatre. Apart from economy, to us it was interesting to hear the comments of the townspeople. Mr. Cholmondeley was a great scholar and gifted with a sense of humour which was inexhaustible.

* Died recently 1929, at the age of 90 at Venice.

At Dr. Schlesinger's house in Bloomsbury I met some notable people. He was the doyen of the foreign press like M. de Wesselitzky in later years. At his wife's Friday receptions were artists, *litterateurs*, scholars and politicians from every country in Europe, musicians such as Joachim and Rubinstein, the famous Madame Mojeska the Polish actress, the accomplished Hamid Bey afterwards Turkish Minister in Brussels, academicians such as Lord Leighton, Alma Tadema and Boughton, and others too numerous to mention.

In the hospitable house of the Boughton's, where I was almost a weekly guest, I met my kind good friend Mrs. Lynn Linton, famous for her "Girl of the Period". She was a remarkable personality; in spite of her years her mind was as active and alert as that of a woman of 30, and I am indebted to her for much advice in the formation of my literary tastes.

Some of my kindest and most valued friends were Mr. and Mrs. Henry Buckley of Edgbaston, whose son Mr. Wilfrid Buckley of Moundsmere Manor in Hampshire has done so much for infant welfare by his strenuous exertions in combating the dangers of tuberculosis and of infant mortality, in forwarding the movement for the Country's supply of clean milk.

In 1871 Miss Manning founded the National Indian Association, which became in her hands a link of fellowship between the English and Indians. The inspiration for the movement came from Miss Mary Carpenter, the design was Miss Manning's and my suggestion as to the name was accepted. In those days there only existed the East India Association, founded by Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. Its object was, however, entirely political. The aim of Miss Manning was to make the National Indian Association the means of bringing Indian students and visitors from India into touch with English social life. Other societies with similar objects have since come into existence, but the National Indian Association under the able and sympathetic guidance of Miss Beck, still retains its pre-eminence and vitality.

While staying at Bangor one autumn, where I had some wild-fowl shooting on the Menai Straits, I was advised not to miss the opportunity of visiting Ireland. From the landing at Kingstown to Salt Hill Hotel was some distance, and I took a side car. Unfortunately I ventured to say to the driver "Eringo-Brugh", all the Celtic with which I

was cognisant. His face beamed and his eyes gleamed, and he poured forth a torrent of words which I could not understand. I tried to conceal my ignorance of Celtic by talking Persian to him. At last he quieted down. When I "tipped" him on arrival at the Hotel, he invoked the blessings of all his saints on me. The crowd of beggars of all descriptions, mostly cripples, which surrounded the Hotel every morning was not a pleasant sight, so I left Salt Hill and went on to the Sherborne in Dublin. Here I found bitter feud between Saxon and Celt, but as I was neither the one nor the other I was safely left out in the cold. I had intended to visit Killarney but in disgust I returned to Holyhead on a typical stormy night in the Irish Channel.

It was pleasant to find myself again among kindly people, away from racial feuds.

In 1871 Mr. afterwards Sir Denis Fitz Patrick, G.C.S.I., was in England on behalf of the Government in charge of the well-known "Dyce Sombre Case". Our friendship dated from then, and lasted to the end of his days. When later I was Additional Member of the Viceroy's Council, he was the Legislative Secretary. He was ever a true friend to India.

Mr. Henry Channing, nephew of the great Channing, the famous Unitarian Preacher and writer, was a man of wide sympathies and still wider outlook. He was an admirer of Abraham Lincoln and agreed with me that the only Holy War ever waged by humanity, save, perhaps, the War of Spanish liberation from the cruel, devastating rule of the Visigoths, was the War for Negro Emancipation. He was greatly interested when I explained that Islam did not recognise human chattelhood and that the brutality which characterised the treatment of the Black Races in the Southern States of America was impossible under Islam. To me, it was astonishing, I told him, that in a civilised community the taint of slavery should last for eight generations, and that a father could sell his progeny into slavery. Mr. Channing was much impressed with the humane provision of the Islamic Law, namely that the child of a bondswoman born to the Master is not only born free but causes the automatic enfranchisement of the mother. Such a rule of humanity promulgated in the VIIth Century of the Christian Era had no such parallel. Mr. Channing lent me for perusal "Clark's Ten Great Religions", and when I referred to the errors with which the book teemed he asked me to write something

on the subject. This was the genesis of my first book "The Critical Examination of the Life and Teaching of Mohammed". I spent a good part of 1872 over this work which engrossed all my leisure hours, and it appeared early in 1873 just as I was leaving for India.

A few months later I had the grief of hearing that my eldest brother Waris Ali had died suddenly from heart failure. The gap his death made in my life was irreparable. As a token of my great affection for him I dedicated my book to his memory.

Considering that it was the first presentation of Islam by a Moslem in the English language, I could not have expected a more favourable reception than was accorded to it by that eminent Orientalist the Major R. D. Osborn, writing in the "Calcutta Review".*

In 1871 Syed Ahmad Khan (afterwards Sir Syed Ahmad) the great founder of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, came to England with his two sons. One of them was Syed Mahmud who not long after his return to India as a member of the English Bar was made a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad. He was an able man but unfortunately did not live many years.

Both in England and in India I had frequent opportunities of discussing with Sir Syed Ahmad the position of the Moslems in the political economy of British India, and of their prospects in the future. Syed Ahmad Khan pinned his faith on English education and academical training. I admitted their importance but urged that

* "The 'Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Muhammad' by Syed Ameer Ali is in one respect a very remarkable work, and most creditable to the author. It exhibits an easy idiomatic command over the English language, and is written in a style free alike from redundancy or turgidness; very rare among educated Englishmen, and quite marvellous in the case of a native of this country. The Syed seems to have shaken himself clear of all the defects of manner which mark the English compositions of an educated Hindustani; the characteristics of his book being an absence of all straining after-effect, and a perspicuous brevity. Regarded simply as a literary achievement, we have never read anything issuing from the educated classes in this country which could be compared with it; and the Muhammadans of India are to be congratulated on the possession of so able a man in their ranks. It is impossible, if his after-life accords with this early promise, that he should not leave his influence for good stamped upon the country in deep and enduring characters. But with the greater part of what the book contains, we differ profoundly, and these differences and the reasons for them we propose in the following paper to set forth in considerable detail."

unless as a community, their political training ran on parallel lines with that of their Hindu compatriots they were certain to be submerged in the rising tide of the new nationalism. He would at first not admit the correctness of my forecast, but I believe the birth of the National Congress opened his eyes. In 1877 when I founded the Central National Mohammedan Association we respectfully invited him to give us his valuable support, but he declined. Twelve years later, however, he established the "Muhammadan Defence Association", which I looked upon as rather an unfortunate move, and likely to be considered provocative. But I am anticipating.

I was called to the Bar on the 27th January 1873 along with Henry Bell, afterwards Legal Remembrancer, and J. G. Apcar who became Clerk of the Crown at Calcutta in the eighties. Shortly after my call I sailed for India and travelled by one of the Rubattino Steamers from Genoa to Bombay.

On my way out I stayed a few days in Paris to call on the great Orientalist M. Garcin de Tassy and other friends whose acquaintance I had made in London. M. de Tassy was one of the most charming of men. Both he and his daughter spoke perfect English, but he preferred to speak to me in Urdu (Hindustani) from a natural desire to show his mastery of that language. I confess I have met but few Englishmen possessing such perfect command of it. Among them stands foremost that great linguist Edward Palmer, whose untimely death by murder in the Sinai Peninsula was a loss to Oriental literature. Others whom I should like to mention are Col. Law (Agent to the Governor-General with Sirdar Ayub Khan son of the Ameer Shere Ali) and Colonel Mowbray-Thompson who was attached in the same capacity to the ex-King of Oudh.

One day after luncheon at M. de Tassy's he showed me over his extensive library, in course of which he recited a good deal of Urdu poetry mostly from Sauda and his friend and rival Atesh.

We stayed at Genoa three or four days as the Italian steamer made its preparations very leisurely, and progressed as leisurely as it had loaded. Port Said, the town which the great Canal had in the meantime produced, did not make a very favourable impression on us. We had landed after dinner and the lady passengers of our party insisted on having a look at the local Casino. I had warned them that the experiment might not be agreeable. They were, however, insistent. Our first peep passed

without incident ; this emboldened the ladies to enter the dancing room. No sooner were they seen by the " local ladies " inside, than a rush was made for them. Probably it was sheer pleasantry, but our friends were frightened by the screaming of the harpies and took to their heels, we men behind them running as hard as we could until we reached the Canal. We were able to laugh at the episode afterwards, but at the time it was not a pleasant one.

In the Red Sea the courteous Captain invariably gave us our meals on deck and consulted us on the *menu*. In those days there were no dining cars on the Indian railways and the trains were stopped for meals at certain stations, a system far advanced on what was then in vogue in Europe. We did not fare badly until we passed Buxar. Here the engine broke down and we had to stay in our carriage from 9 A.M. until 3 P.M. tormented by thirst and hunger. But the neighbouring villagers took pity on us and brought us fresh milk in new earthen gharas or jars.

S. AMEER ALI.

A LESSON OUT OF THE QUR'AN

'Tis worship but to gaze on Nature's face,
Not with a questioning but a grateful heart,
With eyes that find in every varied part
Some sign of Providence, some act of grace.

Wind-wafted rain-clouds bending o'er the earth
Pour forth the Maker's bounty from on high
Upon the dead sod and the seeds that lie
Entombed in all the expectancy of birth.

His Mercy lights on them in gentle showers,
Breathes life into them, bringing forth to view
In beauty's garb of ever-changing hue
The season's generous gift of fruits and flowers.

That all His earth-born creatures may obtain
In all their haunts the sustenance they need.
He knoweth all their haunts, His hand doth feed
All, all that dwell in valley, hill and plain.

When such the scene that spreads before man's eyes
Shall he with thankless pride the boon ignore ;
And having all yet crying out for more,
Undo the gift and miss the priceless prize ?

Nay, let man's soul, responsive to the call
Once heard and sounding in it still, attend
To all His gifts and blessings to the end,
Whose pity, mercy, grace encompass all.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE PERSONALITY OF MAN

ISLAM is a house of many mansions. In one aspect it is a religion of practical morals. In another it reaches out after speculative philosophy. In a third it seeks the mystic in Man, above formulæ, above rites and ceremonies, above disputations, above intellectual argument ; for it seeks the inner light from inner experience. All these aspects are represented by many schools of thought. The literature on the subject is so enormous that the study of a life-time is not enough to master it. All that we shall do on the present occasion is to take a general view on first principles and see what glimpses we can get of the Personality of Man. This fills a large space in Islam under any aspect, because Islam lays stress on evidence that is clear, tangible, and accessible to the spirit of Man, rather than on authority or the exaltation of Powers about which in the nature of things we can know very little directly. Follow only certain knowledge, says the Quran. We are not to go after what we fondly imagine in our hearts, or receive from hearsay, or see vaguely without clear light ; for our hearing, and our sight, and our hearts, —of all these, question will be made and their responsibility enforced (Q. XVII, 36).

Four kinds of evidence are appealed to : (1) Nature, (2) History, (3) Inner Experience, and (4) Revelation.

The appeal to Nature gives us some of the most poetical and sublime passages in the Quran. For example take that glorious passage which begins the 78th Sura :—

“ About what are they disputing ?

About the Great News,

The News about which they cannot agree !

But they shall indeed come to know !

Indeed they shall come to know !

Have we not created the earth as a great expanse,
And the mountains like pegs ?

And have we not created you in pairs,
 And made your sleep for rest,
 And made the night as a covering,
 And made the day as a means of sustenance ?

And have we not built over you the seven firmaments,
 And placed therein the light of splendour ?

And have we not sent down the clouds with waters in
 abundance,
 That we might produce therewith corn and vegetables,
 And gardens of luxuriant growth ?

As surely is the day of decision a thing appointed ;
 The day whereon will sound the trumpet,
 And ye shall come forth in crowds ;
 And the heavens shall be opened as if there were doors,
 And the mountains shall vanish as if they were a
 mirage."

The argument is about the very matter which has given rise to the greatest speculation and the greatest disputation in all ages. We are asked to contemplate the wonderful works of nature in all its aspects,—the face of the earth in its beautiful scenery, the creation of man and animals, with the mystery of the sexes ; the wonderful succession of work and rest in our own physical life, compared with the succession of day and night in outer nature ; the beauty of the starry heavens and the splendour of the sun ; the clouds and the rain and the fields of waving corn and the gardens of plenty. If all these things are possible to God, why is it impossible that a day should come when the most substantial things we can think of will pass away like a mirage, and we shall obey the summons of our Maker, to appear before Him and give our account ? Nature and Man are brought into close relationship, and Man's needs, physical and subjective, are shown to be fulfilled by something above Man and Nature, some Potent Force to which Man's destiny points. Numerous passages can be quoted to show how Man's destiny is connected with Nature and how Nature can supply him with guidance in the interpretation of other evidence if only man contemplates her aright. Every verse of the Quran is called an *Ayat* (a sign), and the forces and sights of Nature are also called *Ayats* or signs. In chapter XXX, these signs are recapitulated and set forth and we are asked by their contemplation to set our faces to the true way of life, the pattern after which God made human nature (Q. XXX, 30).

The evidence of history is also appealed to as showing the manifestation of God's working in our collective human experience. The stories and legends of nations of old and of heroes and prophets are told, and we are asked to draw our lessons. The working of God in history is just a line of evidence in the extension of time, parallel to the line of evidence in Nature in the extension of space. There may be guidance required in the interpretation and application of both, but as far as they go, they sum up human judgments beyond our individual experience.

The evidence of our Inner Experience or Inner Light is again a parallel line of evidence in our own individual human experience. In Q. XLI, 53 we are told :—

“We shall show them our signs through the uttermost ends of creation as well as through their own souls, until it shall become quite clear to them that it is the very truth.”

This inner experience is insisted upon by the Sufi and Mystical Schools more than by the others, but in any case it is part of the light by which man can contemplate and understand his own personality.

And then there is the evidence of Revelation. According to Islam, God speaks to people through inspired Messengers and Prophets. He has sent Messengers to every nation and section of mankind. They speak clearly in their own tongues. Our very differences of languages and colours is a sign of God, like the creation of Heaven and Earth (Q. XXX, 22), and we are to use these differences in order to emulate each other in virtue and good deeds (Q. V, 48). I take this Revelation through words in a wide sense, applying to all who teach the right and the truth.

Revelation in words may seem to be the clearest and plainest of Revelations. But human beings will turn and twist language and words according to their own desires. And it is necessary to check them by what we see of God's handiwork in Nature and History. The checking process is itself an act of human judgment, and must depend upon our use of the Inner Light which God has placed within us. That again may become obscure because of our remissness or other accidents, and we have the judgments of others (on whom we can depend) to rely upon. Our collective judgments must ultimately be based on all these sources of Light, which God has opened out to us. The doctrine of *Ijmâ'*, or collective judgment, though narrowed down by theologians, rests on the belief that God will guide aright

all earnest seekers after truth. It is the hope of man's destiny that truth must ultimately prevail ; for " falsehood must ever vanish". (Q. XVII, 81).

The progress of man is set out in several stages as follows :—(1) An extract (Sulalat) of fine clay, for man is from dust, and to dust he must return ; (2) the seed of physical life ; (3) a clot of blood ; (4) a lump ; (5) bones and skeleton ; (6) the filling out of the bones with flesh and limbs ; (7) a " new creation " (the breathing of the spirit) ; (8) physical death ; (9) the resurrection after death. (Q. XVIII. 12-16).

If we understand by the " extract of fine clay " the basis of physical matter, we see in this progression the relation of the origin of physical man with the material world. Items two to six describe his physical growth. We need not say anything further about them, as they are questions of physiology expressed in current language. But we may note that the physical nature of man is not despised or made a subject of apology. Man, even when linked on with the higher spiritual world, and as long as his physical nature links him also with the animal world, has the responsibility for both kinds of his nature. He must take a pride in both. He must recognise his kinship with the animal world and give it all the rights and fulfil all the duties which that kinship involves. There are numerous anecdotes about the Prophet's kindness to animals. The kinship involves an idea of kindness that is more than mere condescension to " dumb", " helpless " or " brute " animals. It involves the idea of a sort of brotherhood in a minor degree. It is not only not inconsistent with the Darwinian ideas of evolution, but leads up to them. It is not ashamed of them, but looks upon them as natural and conformable to the laws of man's own physical being. The torture, by man, of his body would therefore be entirely opposed to the fundamental basis of his morality. Asceticism as such has no value, although self-denial for definite purposes may have high ethical and spiritual significance. Monasticism as an institution is expressly disavowed as contrary to the spirit of the full and even development of society, though retirement and contemplation, study and self-education, may be steps in an individual's training for the higher life which we shall mention presently.

It is not even certain that Islam entirely excludes the possibility of ethical and spiritual development in animals, or of their relation in a special way with God, parallel,

tense (*Yughshi*) is the maintaining of the wonderful order and law which we find continuously manifested in every realm of Creation. If we could imagine an Architect building not a solid, motionless house, but a constantly going machine, or a thing of pulsating life, and maintaining it in its wonderfully complex working, we can conceive of the two kinds of activity in our imperfect way. I understand *Kahlq* to refer to the bringing out of something from non-existence to existence, and *Amr* to refer to organisation or direction, the maintenance of all the wonderful laws of motion in the astronomical world, or the laws of life in the world of life, or spiritual growth in the still higher world which mankind is ever striving to attain. For man, this creation of his manhood, or the breathing of the Spirit which brings him nearer to God, is a new creation, distinct from the earlier stages through which he has passed, though not necessarily posterior in time.*

This leads us to the conception of the creation of Adam and his relation to his descendants. The story of Adam is nowhere told in the Quran *as a story*. It is referred to in three places in some detail, and elsewhere incidentally, by way of edification. There is no creation of Eve from his rib; there is no snake; there is no recrimination of Adam against Eve; when they fell they were not two, but many, and the Fall meant that the harmony among themselves was destroyed, and they left, with enmity against each other in their hearts. It is not even clear that Adam was the first man, though he and Eve are reputed to be our ancestors. In Q. II, 35, Adam is expressly mentioned, and the earlier part of the story is in the dual number, but later on, the story is in the plural number. This is less marked in Q. XX, 115-123. In Q. VII, 11, the story commences in this way:—

“We did create you (plural, not dual) and fashioned you (plural again). (Does the fashioning refer to the second creation?)

Then we said to the Angels, ‘Bow down to Adam’.

And they bowed down, except Iblis.”

Here it is obvious that the multiplication of mankind is assumed before the fall of Adam and Eve, and they become the representatives of humanity; for one, or two, or all are mentioned interchangeably. In Q. XV, 26-44, the same story is told, not of Adam, but of Man (*Insan*),

* See the remarks of Sir Muhammad Iqbal at p. 143 of his “Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”.

Collating various passages together, we infer that Adam or Man, repented, and God showed him mercy and guidance, and made him his vicegerent (*Khalifa*) on earth. In Q. II, 30, Adam may be considered the Vicegerent, though some commentators refer the office to the whole of mankind, as in Q. VI, 166 where "you" (*ie.* Mankind) in the plural, are made the Khalifas on earth, with gradations in rank and dignity.

It would seem, therefore, that there is a corporate Personality for Mankind. There is of course no doctrine of original sin. Man was created "in the best of moulds" (*fi ahsan i taqwim*). But when evil enters, he can be made, and has been made, the "lowest of the low" (*asfala safilin*, Q. XCV, 4-5). How does evil enter then? In the allegory of Adam, evil enters through Iblis, or Satan. Iblis was arrogant, and would not bow to Man at his Lord's command. Iblis broke the harmony of God's creation. God through His creative power could restore that harmony and is constantly restoring it. But Iblis got a reprieve for a time, during which he lays snares for man. But man is forewarned, and if his moral nature is to be perfected, he must have an opportunity of choice between good and evil. A wrong exercise of that choice puts him back. But God is always Forgiving and Merciful. The permission granted to Iblis is only for a limited time, which must again have reference to our limited life. For time is nothing to God, and practically nothing in eternity.

There can be no question of Adam's sin descending to the children or his loins, for he was himself forgiven. Where the descendants "from the loins" are mentioned, they are descended from the "children of Adam" (Q. VII, 172), not from Adam himself, thus making him a remote, shadowy, allegorical figure. It would seem, however, that in the corporate personality of Man, an individual Man shares. There is corporate human experience, not only among associations of contemporary men, but through history and through kinship and descent. Heredity, besides its physical aspects, must give rise to moral and spiritual tendencies and predispositions on account of the intimate associations of body and mind. To that extent humanity has a collective record on its shoulders, which it must purge away where it requires purging, and advance and heighten where the development has to be carried further. A special responsibility lies on humanity on account of its office of Deputy to God. That responsibility involves man's highest honour and highest

opportunity, as well as, in its failure, his lowest degradation. The corruption of the best makes it the worst.

Man has, as it were, undertaken a trust. God offered the trust to the heavens and the earth, but they refused to undertake it, fearing to be found wanting. But man undertook it, perhaps rashly and ignorantly (Q. XXXIII, 72). God will, however, help him out, and cure and improve man's activities and forgive his failings, if he will only follow God's law (Q. XXXIII, 71). The evil, if it is such, is subjective, in the mind of the evil-doer, in his attitude towards God's law, or God's will or God's plan and purpose. It started with Iblis's rebellion. Iblis did not directly question God's authority. He was one of the hierarchy of Angels* (Q. II, 34). When God raised man above the angels and asked them to bow down to him, Iblis, unlike the other angels, felt arrogant and jealous. In other words, translating human terms into the sublime world above humanity, Iblis questioned God's plan and purpose. When man took upon his shoulders the great responsibility of judgment and discrimination, it involved an opportunity of choice when Iblis tempted him. The permission given to Iblis for a time to tempt him makes, in our imperfect human view, God responsible for the temptation. Hence the Christian prayer, "Lead us not into temptation". But the temptation is only an incident in man's freedom of choice. God knowing man's weakness has promised to give him strength and guidance and help him on the upward path and forgive him when he fails, so long as he puts his will at the disposal of God. The tuning of his will to the universal Will, the submission of his purpose to the universal Purpose, is Islam. God shows him the way ; it is for Man to choose (Q. LXXVI, 3).

What about the individual man ? What are his powers and responsibilities ? What is his place in the scheme of things ? As an individual he starts with a clean slate, though he shares in the inheritance of corporate man. He can improve that inheritance or dissipate it. And that is where his individual personality comes in. There is no warrant for the supposition that as an individual he had a previous existence, except in so far as all men are created from a single soul (Q. VI, 99). But the building up of his individuality is a personal responsibility which he cannot share, and which he cannot throw off to others. If he acts well, it does good to his own soul. If he does evil, the evil is for his own soul. (Q. XVII, 7).

* But see Q. XVIII, 50, where he is spoken of as a Jinn.

We may possibly "act extravagantly against ourselves" and waste our talents and energies (Q. XXXIX, 53). No one else can carry our burdens or intercede for us. (Q. XXV, 18). Is then our salvation to be by deeds? This is expressly disapproved. Our deeds at best must be wholly inadequate, although God never imposes burden on any one, greater than he can bear. If God were to punish for our iniquities, there would not be a single creature left (Q. XVI, 61). It cannot be by our deeds that we can win salvation. It can only be by God's all-embracing mercy or grace. But we must not interpret this to mean salvation by a sort of arbitrary election. There must be faith on our part, an active faith. For faith is of no value unless it results in action. And action must be earnest; there should be a constant effort and striving, an unceasing fight against evil, and an unceasing striving after good. According to the homely Arab proverb, "Trust in God but tie your camel". Our trust in God is in our attitude towards Him. It is the opposite to arrogance or self-will. It involves the acceptance of His guidance, and confidence in His goodness. But that implies that we strive on our part and use all the means which are placed at our disposal.

All our striving then makes up our individual record. And that record is our personality. Some are forward, and some lag behind. Some in their haste and ignorance pray for evil when they would be praying for good (Q. XVII, 11). Some are patient and endure suffering with confidence in God's goodness, while others wrongly attribute what they call evil to God Himself. Others, when God is good to them attribute the good to their own devices, and stray farther from God. In adversity there are those who despair, for they have not realised the all-embracing care of God. There are those who are so niggardly as to "tie up their hand to their necks" (Q. XVII, 29), and others so extravagant as to stretch it out for pride and show. Both err from the law of virtue, which consists in moderation in all things. And the duties as between sexes and ages, and to parents and kindred, orphans and the poor, the helpless and the sorrowful, the unfortunate in physical, moral, or spiritual endowments—in fact, to all God's creatures,—these, faithfully performed, constitute service to God, and neglected, mean rank ingratitude to Him. Everything we do or say or think, goes to pile up our record. That record "clings to our neck, like a bird of augury, for good or evil" (Q. XVII, 13), and there is no getting away from it. It is our personality. It

grows, rises, or deteriorates, taking us upwards or downwards. It is like the "Karma" of Hindu theology, except in three things. In the first place we do not suffer or gain from an unknown past. Life would be unbearable if we were haunted by the terrors of an unacknowledged Past as well as of a Future. Secondly the balance is weighted in favour of goodness by God's boundless mercy (Q. XXIV, 38). And thirdly, the consequences in the World Beyond cannot be measured in terms of this life, as the planes are entirely different. The momentum of our progress or deterioration also changes with our sense of nearness or distance from God.

What happens at death? It is certainly not the end of all things. It may end what Tennyson calls "the petty cobwebs we have spun", but it brings us nearer to realities. In Islamic literature this "our muddy vesture of decay" has even more significance than in Shakespeare. It is frankly meant to be shed, for Death is the one "Certainty" (Al-Yaqin, Q. XV, 99), within the horizon of this life. The vesture will, and was meant, to go back to the mud from which it came. It may have made us insensible to the harmony of the spheres, but if we were attuned to the voice of God, it was meant to prepare us for the greater life to come. God was always nearer to us than our neck artery, carrying our very life-blood (Q. L, 16) but it is when our veil is removed, and our sight is sharpened (Q. L, 22), that we see as it were our own Personality as we never saw it before.

For death corrupts and destroys only a part of ourselves. It is through death that our bare record stands out in our own newly-awakened consciousness (Q. L, 4) to accuse or defend us. Then will be the satisfaction of those who followed their Lord's injunction: "Repel evil by what is best" (Q. XXIII, 93): for their souls will be with God. They will find a safe refuge in their Lord, and the day of temptation and exposure to evil will be over. But there will be others who will see their wasted life in a new light, and want to go back to retrieve their lost opportunities. But they cannot go back. There is the barrier of the *Barzakh* between death and the Resurrection, which they cannot pass (Q. XXIII, 100). The *Barzakh* is a sort of neutral state, a state of suspended activity, about which we have no data for further speculation. If there is any possibility of communicating with the spirits in that state, it may interest Spiritualists to know that Muslims disapprove of any attempts in that direction. But it is legitimate to pray to God for the souls of the dead.

The Resurrection is described in graphic allegory, when the spirits will rise to give an account of themselves. The terms used are such as recall the muster of an army but we are there on a plane of life altogether different from ours, and we can take the terms as only giving us something for our imagination to take hold of. The question of time is altogether dwarfed, for we are on the brink of eternity. To the question how many years the resurrected souls lived on the earth, they reply : "A day or a part of a day, but ask those who have the account". "Indeed", says the recording angel, "it was but a short time, had you but known". Life here, as seen in perspective, then seems so little. It is a day of division or classification, the day on which each one will stand to his own record, and see it in perspective. And the man without faith, seeing that perspective, will say : "I wish I were dust". (Q. LXXVIII, 40).

The division will be, not into two classes, the good and the evil, but into three classes (Q. LVI, 7) : the Companions of the Right Hand, the Companions of the Left Hand, and those who are brought specially near to God. Apparently those who are brought specially near to God have arrived at the highest state of development. But the Companions of the Right Hand also reach their heaven. Mystics think they have further stages of spiritual progress to perfection. Both the righteous companies are numerous (Q. LVI, 39-40). But that is not said of the Companions of the Left Hand, the erring ones, who perished in lives of unbounded wickedness (*Hinth al 'Azim*, LVI, 46). It is said in many places of the dwellers of heaven that they have achieved the purpose of their life, and will dwell in heaven for ever. About hell, it is said that its inmates will dwell there for certain periods (*ahqaban*, LXXVIII, 23), and some commentators draw the conclusion that it is a purging period, and that even they will ultimately achieve the mercy of God when their eyes are opened in the higher world of reality. This is supported by two passages (VI, 129 and XI, 103-108), in which the words used are : "They shall abide therein except as God pleases". This eliminates the question of time altogether and suggests future worlds and possibilities of which our present minds and imaginations cannot conceive, and about which it does not in anyway help humanity to speculate. The second of the two passages is remarkable in other ways. It states that the Day of Division is not delayed except for a period appointed (*li ajal in ma'dudin*) : that the division will be between those who are distressed

and those who are happy (*shaqi and sa'id*) ; and that for both the stay will be as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as God pleases. This may mean that heaven and hell are subjective states of mind ; that the day of division is not necessarily one for the whole universe, but may be different for worlds measured on the subjective plane ; and that the limit is during the existence of any given subjective world, or as God pleases in his combined attributes of justice and mercy.

At the Resurrection each one will come up as an individual (*fardan*, XIX, 95). Will the individual human Personality persist after that ? We cannot say. We are there so remote from anything we can conceive of in this life that speculation becomes merely a matter of words. The Sufis indeed speak of annihilation in God (*fana fi'llah*), but they contemplate such a consummation even in this life. It must therefore be a figure of speech, and not to be taken in the sense of the Buddhist *Nirvana*.

So far we have kept to the text. Let us now pass from the close cloisters of meticulous scholarship to the wind-swept freedom of a spiritual landscape or seascape. Let us realise that the oft-repeated phrase "Lord of the Worlds" implies in the clearest terms a plurality of worlds and their unity through God. This plurality is both objective and subjective. Astronomers are finding more and more of the wonders of the countless worlds in space, of magnitudes whose immensity staggers our imagination. Physicists are finding more and more of the wonders of the countless atomic worlds, equally organised, whose minuteness can give us no idea of their pent-up energy, and which we can only conceive of through abstract mathematical formulæ. And yet neither the one nor the other are more numerous or more wonderful—or more clearly conceivable—than the subjective worlds which our human personality is making. These subjective worlds are infinitely more important worlds to us—and more real—than the objective worlds. So much is this the case that we are apt to dismiss the phenomenal worlds as illusions. Yet they may exist side by side and be quite different for different people. A rainbow has a basis of existence in particles of moisture in ponderable air acted on by rays of light. And yet different eyes see different rainbows and in a different places. Nothing can be more solid to the testimony of our senses than a mountain. And yet we see the shape and colour of a peak of the Himalayas quite differently from different points of view or in different lights or

atmospheres. What matters to us is the subjective experience and how we react to it.

If so much we grant for ourselves, can we grant less for the Bee or the Ant, or the Beaver, which live in social communities, or the turtle-dove or the weaver-bird, which give us types of conjugal love and comfort, or the humorous penguin or the courageous and dignified lion, or the faithful dog or horse, or the sagacious and reasoning elephant? Each of these, and thousands of other types in the animal world, have their own worlds, into which man intrudes, and for which man has reactions and responsibilities. Each human personality has its own individual world, highly organised, in relation with these external worlds, as well as with human worlds, in various circles and grades. The individual has his family circle, the one out of which he grew (his elders and consanguines) and the one in which his life is expected to continue (his descendants), linked by the mysterious sex-relation, which has its spiritual and mental features, as well as physical and social. And the circles intersect and grow. The man and the woman may have their own affinity circles determined by some minor affinity or taste or occupation or art. And the social circles may enlarge or intersect, giving us communities, fraternities, art or literary schools, professions or trades, town or political organisations, spiritual associations or churches, nations, races, groups, and so on in infinite gradations. Can we not conceive of circles, concentric and eccentric, touching enclosed, or unrelated, narrowing or widening with the horizons which our visions can compass? Embracing them all we have a generalised personality of Mankind, a circle just growing into our consciousness in the political world, but long familiar to us in the moral and spiritual world. And in the world of spirits, why must we assume that the differentiation and enlargement ceases, or that besides our released spirits (*i.e.* released from the life we know) there are not other spirits living their lives on planes of spiritual existence unknown to us?

All these different planes of spiritual existence are worlds in themselves. It is difficult to reason from one to another or to visualise one before passing from another. For this reason it is a futile task to seek to define our future in the Beyond. At best, human language can here speak in symbols. To stretch the symbols in terms of the present is to show disrespect to the symbols as well as distrust in our growth and evolution, when we know from our proximate Past that such growth and evolution have

actually taken place. Thus faith is a matter of analogy, a reaching out after a light which we know is there, though our eyes may not have got used to it sufficiently to give names to shapes and colours in a newly-opening world. That faith shows us that there is order and beauty and harmony in the worlds that we perceive. Lacking that faith, we are immature, we are on a lower plane, we have farther to go before we reach the stage of those who are Nearest to God. With that faith, we can see that the co-ordinating principle, that which evolves unity and permanence out of innumerable varying and fleeting experiences is the Will and Purpose of God. That Will is the standard and measure of all things. Good and evil, as we conceive them, are merely subjective to us. In the Supreme Will there is no conflict, no opposition; there is complete and necessary unity. When we say: "Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest, and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thy hand is (all) goodness; and over all things" (Q. III, 25): we seem to qualify one thing with another as we know it. In human life power does not always go with goodness, nor goodness with power. The Will that we know is often arbitrary, with no Purpose behind it, and in such a case we think it opposed to justice or righteousness. But when we realise that in God's Will and Purpose all that we can possibly know of good is comprised, and a great deal more, we gladly merge our lesser lights in the one and only true Light, our lesser plans and purposes in the one and only true Plan and Purpose. For that is the Law of the Universe.

We seem to surrender something. But in reality we surrender the negative. In negating the negative we make a great and real gain. Our subjective evil vanishes, as well as our expectation of evil. The expectation of evil was Fear, and our subjective evil was our inner Distress. The legion of devils that haunt us are the legion of our Fears. The unquenchable torture of hell is the distress which consumes us. In surrendering these, our Personality gets freedom. It can mature and develop. Man can then read his past with understanding, and not with blind fear. The modern psychology of the unconscious tells us that if once the outcrop of the unconscious can be brought into the plane of the conscious and be properly explained, many fears can be cast out, and arrested development put on the normal road of development. That is precisely what man wants to do in the spiritual world. There are dark caverns in his being. To achieve or perfect his true Personality, he has to drag his darker

desires, his darker will, into the light. As they were shadows they will vanish in the reality of light. His will then takes a delight in God's Will. He is intensely, actively happy (if such a word can be used) in a Garden of Perpetual Delight. And yet it is no stagnation. For he has tuned himself to the active, creative Will of God. That is the root-meaning of Islam as I understand it.

A. YUSUF ALI.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

PART II.

(Continued from our last issue.)

61. I was told the following by al-Husain b. Muhammad al-Jubba'i, who heard it from Abu'l-Qasim b. 'Amr b. Zaid, cloth-merchant of Shirâz, resident in Baghdâd. I was told, he said, by Abu Hamdun the Messmate¹ after one of his ancestors, who was the source of the information, that Mutawakkil was passionately fond of Indian wood² and one night complained to him of the lack of it. I (he said) said to him : Prince of Believers, kings do not disdain to request of other kings presents of rarities to be found in the countries of the latter. If you were to send the king of India a handsome present and request of him some Indian wood, there would be no disgrace therein.—The Caliph said : Then you must be the messenger.—I was unwilling, but he urged me till I assented, wishing indeed that I had not made this suggestion though a sound one, as it involved me in danger of losing my life. I said to myself : I might well have kept silence.—Mutawakkil proceeded to prepare presents, while I got ready for departure, and made my will, as I had little hope of returning. At all events, I thought, I must take with me a good supply of wine, so that if the waves are high I may drink, and get intoxicated so as not to know if I drown, or feel the force of the waves. So I took with me a good supply of wine of Qutrabull, fine grapes, and Syrian apples, some of which I preserved in honey. My voyage lasted some months, and I faced terrible dangers, but at last I reached the Indian coast. I then obtained a mount and travelled from town to town till I reached Lahore, which is the capital of the most important of the Indian kings, whose name is—. I arrived at the city with the escort which he had sent. was

(1) Not, it would seem, the celebrated Ibn Hamdun,

(2) Probably sandalwood is meant.

met, treated with honour, given servants, and housed in a fine residence. The king then held a public audience, to which I was introduced. He was there with his court, his insignia, his troops and his subjects, and was seated on his throne, clad in two garments of Chinese silk, one round his loins, the other round his shoulders. On his neck was a ribbon of the same material supporting a bag, whose contents I did not know. Addressing me through an interpreter he said : The king asks thee why thou hast come ?—I replied : The Prince of Believers would establish relations of friendship and affection between himself and his majesty, and has sent certain gifts through me.—I asked for his orders to present them.—The interpreter returned a civil and kindly answer in his name, ordering the presents to be accepted. So I went away with his messengers, and he received the gifts. I repeatedly attended his public audiences. After some days he summoned me at noon on a hot day. Entering the public audience room in which I was accustomed to visit him I found scarcely any one there ; I was taken from place to place, and finally was brought to a private chamber tastefully built and splendidly furnished like one of the chambers in the Caliph's palace, wherein he was seated on an exquisite divan of Tabaristan.¹ He was clad in an embroidered shirt of delicate texture and drawers of Dabiqi,² of Baghdad cut ; and his cushion was covered with a magnificent piece of embroidery. In front of him were gold and silver vessels and numerous vases of Iraq workmanship all handsome and filled with camphor, rose-water, ambergris, and *nadd*,³ and statuettes.⁴ When I entered he addressed me in perfectly fluent Arabic, and asked how I liked his uncomfortable country.—I thanked him for his kindness, eulogized his land, and assured him that I was living in luxury owing to his forethought and bounty.—He talked to me long in friendly fashion, and he found pleasure in my conversation. We touched on numerous topics, and ultimately he conversed without restraint. Taking him altogether I concluded that he was a polished native of Iraq. Presently he offered me some amber-coloured wine in a china cup saying : Drink this and tell me whether you have anything like it at home.—Kissing

(1) For the textiles of Tabaristan see the references in de Goeje's Glossary to vol. iv of his *Bibliotheca Geographorum*.

(2) An Egyptian fabric.

(3) A mixed perfume.

(4) Probably of some scented material.

his hand I took the cup and drank. It is, I said, as excellent as could be.—He said : Tell me truly whether you have the like at home. I proceeded to describe the wine of Qutrabull, its uses, virtues, and bouquet, and when I dilated on these I noticed some expression of scepticism in his eye. I said to him : I took with me a supply of this wine for my voyage, and there is some left over, which I should like no one but your majesty to taste. If your majesty will order it to be brought in with the view of testing the truth of my statement, I will see that this is done.—He said : Do so.—I told my slave to bring all that remained to us of the wine. He produced a few jars, and I told him to fetch some of the Syrian apples. He brought a number of those which had been steeped in honey, of which he wiped the honey, though a considerable amount of it still remained on them. When the jars were set in front of the king I ordered my slave to decant some of the wine into a cup, which, after I had drunk from it first myself, was handed to his majesty. He approved of it, and then took an apple. When he saw its colour, he beheld something the like of which was not in his land, and when he smelt it, he almost sighed with admiration. He then proceeded to eat part of an apple, which I had broken and of which I had eaten one half while he was drinking, leaving the other half in front of him. This he now ate. He then wiped his mouth and said to me : I had no idea that the world contained such wine or such apples as these. I was indeed sceptical about what you told me, but now from my personal experience I admit that you told the truth, and feel the highest respect for a land wherein such things are to be found in profusion. Had I not had personal experience, I should not have believed it. Then he said to me : Good gracious, do you people drink such wine and eat such fruit and after all die ?* That is extraordinary !—

After this he invited me everyday to that chamber, where I would eat with him and drink, and he would tell me anecdotes. When I felt sufficiently intimate, I said to him : Would your majesty permit me to ask a question ? —He bade me do so.—I said : God Almighty has conferred on you a number of favours. You are seated in a chamber indistinguishable from a part of the Caliph's palace in Iraq. Further He has given you such wisdom and understanding and such familiarity with the Arabic language that you might be a citizen of Baghdad. Whence have you this ?—

* Nectar and ambrosia preserved the gods alive.

He said : My friend, my father was of the royal family ; his father was put to death and his kingdom seized by one of his captains who had rebelled. This usurper was not of the royal house, so my father fled to Oman in fear for his life. He came to Oman incognito, and wandered from country to country till he arrived in Baghdad in the guise of a trader, accompanied by a servant who concealed his secret. He travelled all over Iraq, being supplied with means from here. He stayed in Iraq some years, where he learned to speak Arabic correctly, made friends of some of the inhabitants, married among them and mixed freely with them. After many years the rebel died, who had put his father to death and seized his kingdom, and the people of this country, acknowledging my father's right, communicated the facts to him, and summoned him, supplying him with funds. Taking with him some Iraqis of scholarly attainments and social gifts, and skill in crafts, he arrived and assumed the sovereignty. He made it his object to attract people from Iraq, and was so munificent towards them that they came in great numbers, built him this chamber, and provided him with these implements. For audiences to his subjects he would adopt their own style lest it should be noised abroad that his mode was different from theirs, which might lead to his being thought inferior to other sovereigns, and bring him into contempt. But when he was in private he would sit in the style which you see. When I was born, he put me in charge of both Iraqi and Indian tutors, who spoke to me in their respective languages, so that I grew up speaking both. My training however was chiefly done by Iraqis. When my father died, the kingdom was given to me and I have followed my father's practice of adopting the style of the country for public audiences, but this other when I am alone and in private.—I then asked him : What is there in the bag which you hang on your neck ?—He said : One of the bones of the man who instituted the worship of Buddha and gave them this code. He lived so many thousand years ago (he put it at ten thousand years). When this man died, he said, he ordained in his will that he should be put into coffin after coffin so many thousand years, and whenever any of his bones decays they preserve the remainder, removing the decayed bones lest the corruption should spread to such as are yet sound. Ultimately only this one bone remained, and this they put into a golden case and the case into a bag, which the kings carry on a string suspended from their necks out of reverence for it, for good luck, as a decoration to themselves, and to preserve

it from decay. It has hung from the neck of ever so many kings during their reigns for ever so many years (he mentioned a vast number). So with us it has obtained the place of your Master's *burdah*, which is worn by your Caliphs.¹

When my stay had been wearisomely protracted, I asked permission to be dismissed, and telling him how much the Caliph admired the Indian wood, asked for a copious supply of it. He prefers it, I said, to anything else which you could give him. The King accordingly sent an enormous quantity of this wood, and besides an unparalleled store of curiosities. Further there were sent with me precious stones such as ruby and calamine and various rare products of his country, whose value was very great, many times that of the presents which we had brought. When I wished to bid him farewell he bade me wait, and ordered a box to be brought, which he opened with a golden key, taking out some bits of Indian wood with which he presented me, to the amount of half a *ratl*. He then called for a casket, into which he put the wood. Having locked it he handed it with its key to me, saying : This is something special, which you are to deliver with your own hand into his.—I thought this strange, and said to myself : This gift will certainly look silly.—Noticing the disapproval in the expression of my face, he said : I fancy you despise this gift.—I asked : What is it, that you should give me such instructions about it ? Perhaps the king will explain.—He bade a slave bring a censer and fire. When these were produced he called for a fine handkerchief, and when this was brought he took out a splinter of the wood less in size than a silver *danak*,² which he then cast on the fire, and with which he then perfumed the handkerchief. He then said to me : Smell.—I did so, and the odour was unknown to me, resembling neither *nadd* nor sandal, nor any other scent which we use in fumigation. Never had I smelt the like. So I said : This wood certainly deserves the instruction which the king has given me about it.—He said : Wait, and I will show you something even more marvellous than what you have seen.—He proceeded to call for a basin and water, and when they were brought ordered the handkerchief to be washed with soap. This was done in front of him, and he then ordered the handkerchief to be dried in the sun, and then brought to him.

(1) This story would appear to be very largely romance.

(2) One sixth of a dirhem, which would be about the size of a Swiss Franc.

When this had been done, he bade me smell it. I did so, and found the odour absolutely unchanged and undiminished. He then had the washing with soap and the drying repeated a number of times, about ten, until at last the odour was removed. I was amazed at this, and he said : Know now the value of what you have, and learn that in the stores of all the kings of India there is not one *ratl* of this wood in addition to what I have given you. So inform your master of its value.—

I now bade him farewell, and departed ; God gave me a safe voyage and I presented myself to Mutawakkil, who was pleased at my arrival. He treated me with honour and I delivered the presents which he received favourably. I repeated to him most of my conversation with the king, coming finally to the account of the half *ratl* of wood, which I produced and handed to him, without telling him the story of the kerchief. He thought the man a fool as I had done. I then repeated the explanation, produced the censer, the fire, and the kerchief, and did as the king had done. Mutawakkil was amazed in the highest degree and delighted with the result.—This half *ratl*, he said, is worth the whole of your journey.

Al-Husain added : Abu Hamdun Zaid said to me : I was sceptical about this wood,* until I was told about it by a trustworthy trader, well-known to have visited India repeatedly, whose description tallied exactly with the other. I asked him whether he had heard why this wood was so rare.—He replied : I asked them the reason, and they answered that it grew only in one place on a mountain-height, separated from us by difficult and dangerous country infested with wild beasts. The kings put themselves to vast expense for days, months, and even years, to enable their agents to reach the mountain, where they climb as far as they can, reaching a place where there is no path or means of progress. There they see bucks like our mountain bucks feeding at a distance among the trees. It sometimes happens that they see one of these animals on the crest having in his mouth a piece of that wood which he is chewing. They shoot arrows at him, and if an arrow happen to hit him, and the buck, enraged by the arrow, falls into their hands, having the wood in his mouth, they take it from him ; otherwise there is no possibility of obtaining any. So only once in a long series of years do they succeed in obtaining this little bit, and

* The narrator of the experience was an ancestor of this person, not himself.

that after much trouble and the exercise of vigilance. That is why it is so rare.

62. I was told by Abu Ali 'Abdallah b. al-Hajjaj and Abu Bishr the Christian Clerk that someone lampooned the former vizier Abu'l-Fadl al-Shirazi¹ in the following lines :

To grow a beard beneath the chin
Is no sure means fair fame to win.
That mule's tail is no glorious thing,
Whereby you wealth are compassing.
I could not count the men I've seen
Whose beards are thick and brains are thin.²

63. I was told the following by Abu Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tabari, Witness. We were told, he said, by al-Husain b.—the Christian Clerk, nicknamed³—that Ibn al-Furat once said to him : Kingcraft is legerdemain, which becomes statesmanship when it is carried to perfection.

He also narrated as follows. We were told, he said, by the qadi of qadis (Muhammad b. Ma'rûf) how he had once been with Muti⁴ in his barge. We were afloat, and I was standing in front of him with his chamberlain. As each group of men invoked a blessing on him, he asked me who they were, and I told him. Presently a group of Tâlibis⁵ saluted, and he asked who they were. I replied : The Tâlibis.—He turned away and hung his head frowning till he had got past them. Then he called me, and when I had signified that I was attending, he said : The descendants of 'Ali are my own family, and the nearest of mankind to me. I love them, but I am aware that they hate me. A man of my rank does not deceive people, so that I can only treat them in the way you saw.

I also heard him say : I hear the Sufi Ja'far al-Khuldi⁶ say : If the Sufis would allow me, I could bring you an endless chain of authorities.⁷ I went to 'Abbas al-Duri⁸ when I was a young man, and took down a lecture of his.

(1) His name was 'Abbas b. al-Husain, and he was vizier in 357 and again in 359. For his career see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(2) A long beard was associated with stupidity, *Irshad* vi. 412 ; some however regarded it as a proof of virtue, *Uqala al-Majanin*, 99.

(3) Too obscene for translation.

(4) Caliph 334-363.

(5) Descendants of 'Ali b. Abi Talib.

(6) An ascetic to whom many sayings are ascribed in the *Luma'* edited by Nicholson.

(7) This seems to be the sense, but the expression in the text is unusual.

(8) Traditionalist, 185-271 A.H.

I was met by one of my Sûfî associates, who asked me what I had got with me. When I showed it him he said : Good gracious, are you abandoning the learning of the cloaks¹ to take up that of the books ?—His words sank into my mind, and I did not go again to 'Abbâs.

I also heard him say : I heard the Sûfî Junaid² say : I heard the Sûfî Sari al-Saqati³ say : I know some persons who regard equalization as stinginess, but it is rather preference which should be so regarded.⁴

I also heard him report the following as said by Ja'far al-Khuldi. We were in Junaid's circle when a beggar stopped by it and begged of him. Junaid refused him, saying : My friend, our trade is the same, only we are the subtler.⁵ Go away, and may God enrich you. So the man departed.

I also heard from him the following, which he had heard from Ja'far al-Khuldi. I have made the pilgrimage, he said, fifty-six times, twenty times according to the system—meaning “in reliance”, *i.e.* without provision or mount.

I also heard him repeat the following from Ja'far al-Khuldi. If any one wishes, he said, to keep his desire a secret, let him do as Ruaim⁶ did. He concealed his love of the world for forty years.—How so ?—he was asked. He replied : He practised Sufism for forty years, at the end of which time the qadi Isma'il b. Ishâq⁷ was appointed qâdi of Baghdad. There was warm friendship between these two, so the qadi pressed Ruaim into his service and gave him charge of his door. So Ruaim abandoned Sufism, the Sûfis, and “reliance”, attired himself in poplin, embroidery, Dabîqi fabrics and fabrics of Merv, rode asses and mules, had dainty food, and built palaces. So you see he concealed his desire for the world when he could not gratify it, but when he was able to, he revealed the ambition which he had kept secret.

(1) The garment worn by the Sufis.

(2) One of the most famous ascetics, b. 298 A.H.

(3) Ob. 251 or 257.

(4) Equalization means regarding others as to be helped or protected equally with oneself : Preference means regarding their claims as greater than one's own. See the account of this matter in Nicholson's *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 190. The sense of the proposition is probably that such preference is at the expense of the other's virtue.

(5) This sounds more like the comment of some cynic on the practice of the ascetic.

(6) See Nicholson's *Kashf al-Mahjub*, where, however, this person's fall from grace is explained away.

(7) In 262 A.H.

I also heard him say that he had heard the Sûfî Abu'l-Qasim al-Zayyat record how he had heard Junaid relate as follows. Sari al-Saqati, he said, told us that the innocent man is bold, the treacherous timid, and the guilty alarmed.

64. I was told the following by Abu 'Amr al-Qâsim b. Ja'far b. Abd al-Wahid al-Hâshimi, the Qadi. We were told, he said, by Abu'l Qasim al-Bazzaz that he had heard one of the associates of Sahl b. 'Abdallah al-Tustari¹ say : Sahl said to me : The ignorant man is dead, the offender intoxicated, and the obstinate ruined.

A popular proverb is : Let health abound, speech will be sound. Another proverb of similar import is *si urina tua bene se habet, feri ea vultum medici*, i.e., If you are in good health, you need not mind what you do.² A felicitous rhyme of the same import is :—

If when you do mischief you feel in a fright,
Your ease to recover, you best had do right.³

65. I heard Abu Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. Ahmad al-Tabarî say how he had heard Ja'far al-Khuldi narrate how he had heard Junaid state that he had heard Sari al-Saqati say : Men become friends in their transactions, but this comes about only through good behaviour before God.⁴

He also told me that Abu'l-Husain b. Nasrawaihi frequently consulted him about some affair that was going on. I was surprised, he said, at his doing so, and would say to him : Do you, with your age, experience, training, practice, and discipline,⁵ consult me, your child ? This is a proceeding on your part which alarms me, as it seems as though you were poking fun at me.—He would reply : God has raised you above that. Your supposition might be true if I let you contradict me, but did not contradict you, or let you argue against me, but did not argue against you, so as to arrive at a result according to which I should act. But since you see me do this,⁶ you have no ground for suspicion. I, in fact, try to think of myself as a young man, whose knowledge is of no account.

(1) Famous ascetic, ob. 283 A.H.

(2) This gloss is clearly wrong. The meaning is : If you are in good health, you need not trouble about physicians.

(3) Here too the author is mistaken about the import.

(4) The sense seems to be : by acting in a way which will be observant of decorum before the Deity.

(5) Ibn Nasrawaihi was a qadi.

(6) i.e., argue with you.

66. He also told me that he had heard Abu'l-Husain b. Nasrawaihi narrate as follows. When Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi¹ was secretary to Mu'izz al-daulah, he came to Basrah and arrested the qâdi Abu'l-Qâsim Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Wahîd al-Hashimi, in order to disgrace him, and in order to gratify Abu Tammam al-Zainabi al-Hashimi, who was related to Muhallabi by marriage and was an enemy of Ja'far.² There was no special enmity between Ja'far and al-Muhallabi himself. Presently Abu Tammam paid an official visit to al-Muhallabi. When he departed, the latter bade his slaves see how far he went. They returned to report that he had gone out of the vestibule and left the house. Al-Muhallabi exclaimed : Here am I, putting a man like Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid into confinement solely on Abu Tammam's account. He pays me a visit in the house wherein Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid is in custody, and has not the generosity to go and see him, offer his services, go bail for him, and petition me on his account, so as to be the cause of his deliverance, and secure his attachment ! Rise up, Abu'l-Husain and lead Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid to his house, as I release him.—So (said Abu'l-Husain) I went to the room where Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid was imprisoned, told him what had occurred, brought him to al-Muhallabi, whom he thanked before going to his home.

67. He also told me the following which he had heard from Abu'l-Husain b. Nasrawaihi. I was present, he said, in the chamber of al-Muhallabi, when there entered Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Wahid. Al-Muhallabi received him with a frown, and treated him with disrespect. He sat down and produced from his pocket a petition. I observed the repugnance and disapproval on al-Muhallabi's countenance ; however he read the document and signed it. Ja'far proceeded to present a whole series of documents, and as al-Muhallabi signed them, his face assumed a more friendly mien towards Ja'far. When the lot were completed, Ja'far rose. Abu Tammam al-Zainabi now entered, and was treated with profound respect by al-Muhallabi, who beamed upon him. Abu Tammam produced a petition and presented it to al-Muhallabi, who signed it. He then produced a whole number of petitions and each time one was produced and signed, disapproval and repugnance appeared on al-Muhallabi's countenance. Finally he finished the lot, and Abu Tammam took them and rose. Al-Muhallabi then addressed me and said :

(1) Famous vizier, for whose career see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(2) Further references to this person will be found in the Index to vol. of the *Table-Talk*.

Abu'l-Husain, there is a vast difference between these two men. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid came in, and it was my intention to drive him away by the disrespect and coldness with which I treated him. I had made up my mind before reading the first petition which he presented to refuse it; but when I perused it, I found that it was on behalf of someone other than himself, and I did not like the idea of his being more generous than myself, seeing that he was sacrificing his dignity for the sake of someone who had asked him to petition me, well knowing what my feelings towards him were; still this did not prevent him from giving away his dignity for the benefit of the suppliant. Were I to stint what it was in my power to bestow, he would be more generous than I. As I loathed this idea I signed. Then followed a series of petitions, and I found that they were all on behalf of people no one of whom had any connexion with him. So I signed them all, and indeed willingly, as my opinion of the man had risen, and I thought it improper to refuse. Then there entered this other, whom I treated with the respect which you saw owing to our relationship, and when he presented his petitions, I found that they were all for personal favours. I signed them; each time he presented one I kept hoping that it might be on behalf of someone else, so that when I signed it on his account I might thereby be winning him some credit; but I found, in fact, that they were all for things which concerned himself. I disapproved of his conduct, and my opinion of him was lowered; still owing to our relationship I did not think proper to refuse, and signed. Yet how is it possible for me to promote a man who acts in this way, and degrade one who acts in the other style?

68. I heard Abu Ishaq¹ say that he had heard Ja'far al-Khuldi state that he had heard Junaid report that he had heard Sari al-Saqati say: The dainty part of Nearness (to God) is Absence (from all mundane thoughts).

I also heard him quote the following saying of Sari al-Saqati as reported by the same authorities. For thirty years, he said, I have been harbouring a desire which I have been unable to gratify. Asked what it was, he replied: I should like to eat some food for which neither God Almighty nor any creature could feel resentment against me, and I have found none such.²

(1) See § 65.

(2) It may be supposed that this saint thought some other person might have a prior claim.

69. I heard Abu Ishaq say that he had heard the following from one of the older Witnesses at the capital. I was in the presence of the qadi Abu 'Umar with a number of Witnesses whom he employed and deputies of his with whom he was on familiar terms. He showed us a garment of Yemen make, valued at fifty dinars. It was admired by all who were present in the room. The qadi bade his slave summon the cap-maker, and when he came ordered him to cut up the whole piece of stuff into caps, and bring one to each of his friends who were there. He then turned to us and said : You have all admired it ; had one of you done so, I should have presented it to him. Since you are all partners in admiration, I can find no expedient but to present each one of you with a portion of it.

70. I was told by Abu'l-Husain Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Isma'il b. Shand al-Wasiti that Abu Qurrah al-Husain b. Muhammad al-Anani the clerk had been in the service of Abu 'Ali Kattab (?) b. al-'Abbas the Dailemite known as al-Kausaj (man with thin hair) owing to a written recommendation of the vizier Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi. After a time the clerk took fright and went into hiding for two or three days ; Abu 'Ali sent him a message with a promise of immunity, and he came out again. After his reappearance Abu Qurrah wrote to al-Muhallabi telling his story and the reason for his hiding lest a garbled account of the matter should reach him from Abu 'Ali. Al-Muhallabi wrote with his own hand on the back of the letter : I have read this, and God has favoured you even as He has guided you aright. You may be at ease, as I am your helper ready to back you, if God will.

71. He also told me the following. On one of the occasions when al-Muhallabi during his vizierate went down to Basrah he spent the summer there, and took a vast crop, worth ten thousand dinars, belonging to my father, which he found there, also crops belonging to traders which had come down from Dastamisan¹ and Wasit, and others belonging to numerous persons. These he proceeded to sell, employing the proceeds as imperial revenue. My father was advised to go to Sabuktakin the Chamberlain² and ask him to inform Mu'izz al-daulah of what had been done, so that he might order restitution to be made. My father instead of taking this advice went to al-Muhallabi, who was at 'Ubullah. When (he said) I came into the vizier's presence, he greeted me

(1) District between Wasit, Basrah and Ahwaz (Yâqût).

(2) For his career see Index to the *Eclipse*.

effusively, and asked me why I had come. I replied : I was informed that the vizier (God aid him) had taken some crops belonging to me which he found in Basrah, and I was delighted to hear it, as I supposed that this was an honour conferred on me personally, he having made free with my property as he would with his own or that of his intimate associates when he required it. I felt flattered by this until I was told that in addition to my property he had taken that of certain traders, owners of estates, and humble folk of Dastamisan and Wasit. This alarmed me, for I took the view that if this had been a friendly act, the vizier would have confined it to me, and would not have associated with me therein this class of people, with whom one of his rank could not be on such intimate terms that he could solicit a loan or other help from them. No, he could only fine such people. I feared then from his associating me with this class that his good opinion of me must have altered, and I have come with the view of regaining his approval and otherwise putting myself under his orders.—My words pleased him very much, and he said to me : ‘Ali,¹ by heaven, you are a lucky man ! (This he repeated several times). A moment before your arrival a man came to tell me that you had gone to Sabuktakin the Chamberlain to complain of me, and I meant all sorts of mischief for you ; it was my intention to defend my action, and to employ all possible arguments for that purpose. While I was reflecting on this you were announced. You came in, and bewitched me. By Allah I will not leave this place before I have restored to you your property or most of it, with sound security for the rest.—Seizing his inkhorn he wrote out a list of the sources whence immediate payment could be drawn, and when he had finished this he ordered certain letters to be written giving me an order for the remainder on Shabashi al-Khwarizmi, client of Mu‘izz al-daulah, farmer of the revenue of Basrah. I obtained payment in a short time and went off to Wasit.

72. I was told the following by Abu Bakr b. Ja‘far al-Sawwaq a trader in the part of Baghdad called Karkh, famous for his wealth, good character, and knowing the Qur‘ân by heart. Indeed he was one of their leading men. I had, he said, promised a cash payment to the banker Ibn ‘Abdan (a wealthy man and leading banker in ‘Aun Street,² who is still alive), but owing to stress of

(1) It would appear from the heading that the man’s name was Muhammad.

(2) The Lombard Street of Baghdad, see Index to the *Eclipse*.

circumstances delayed it. This was not my practice in my dealings with him. He came to demand payment and in the course of his talk said : I am saying to you, Abû Bakr, as Allah says : *And hard is a custom uprooted.*—Good heavens, I said, Allah the Almighty has not said that.¹—The banker was discomfited, rose up, and did not return to me for some days. When the money was in my possession, I sent it to him.

There was with us in Basrah a respectable trader called Abu'Ali b. Sa'dan, a wealthy salesman in the Melon-house, who rode (a horse ?) and freely took part in lectures and discussions. I was told by Abu Talhah al-Azdi, a respected shaikh, associate of the Banu'l-Muthanna,² that he had seen this man once when they were sitting in the vestibule of the qadi Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Wahid, waiting for admission to him. The time for the afternoon prayer arrived, and, he said, each one of us rose to perform it. Ibn Sa'dan did the like, but his performance was the most stupid that I have ever seen. I said to him : Abu 'Ali, this performance of yours is not *Salat*, you ought to perform it properly. Your performance is like that described by Ibn al-Mu'tazz.³

Among those who worship you pray with a click
Like creature that gulps when expected to lick.

He replied : Abu Talhah, this is a refinement with which we are not acquainted ; we perform our prayer in the style of traders.—I said to him : This is still more extraordinary. Has God then ordained a form of prayer for traders which is different from the style prescribed to the rest of mankind?

The conclusion of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's ode is well known. His comrade al-Numairi had in his presence, after praying in an irregular manner, prostrated himself for a long time. Ibn al-Mu'tazz improvised the verse that has been quoted, after which there follows :

Then in your prostration, so long does it last,
A hungry wayfarer would end his repast.

73. I was told the following by Muhammad b. 'Adi b. Zahr of Basrah, our neighbour there. I saw, he said, Abu Ishaq Yasin, a man who used to live near the public

(1) This banker was apparently a Muslim. Ordinarily the business was in the hands of Jews. Stories of misquotation of the Qur'an are fairly common ; see the *Ghurar al-Khasa'is* of Watwat, 1284, p. 228.

(2) Probably descendants of al-Muthana l' Harithah, an early Islamic general.

(3) The pretender whose brief tenure of the Caliphate is recorded by Miskawaihi at the commencement of the *Eclipse*. He was also a poet and collector of anecdotes.

mosque in Basrah, and towards the end of his life repeated traditions, arguing with a man in the mosque; the latter said to him: The Prophet said: Whoso has been good one day to his Lord, time shall effect no change in him.¹

74. I was told the following by my father. My first official appointment, he said, was that of qadi in 'Askar Mukram, Tustar, Jundaisabur, Sûs, and their dependencies, having been appointed by the qadi Abu Ja'far Ahmad b. Ishâq b. al-Buhlûl. I was then in my thirty-third year, as this took place in the year 311, and I was born in Dhu'l-Hijjah of the year 278. When Abu Ja'far handed me the deed of investiture, he charged me to fear God, and gave me various instructions with regard to the affairs of my office, and management of both worldly and spiritual concerns; further, his own stipend which he drew from the governor there, on whom it was a charge. After bidding him farewell I rose to depart, when he bade me be seated; for, he said, I have forgotten something of importance.—When I was seated, he proceeded: You are a young man, of excellent character, and copious learning, and are going to people who are malicious, and will be jealous of your eminence, and on the look out for your failings, if your judgment goes against them with justice. They will find no way to detract from you except by attributing to you youth and want of experience, and you may be certain that they will do this. If you tell the truth, they will have ascertained what they want, whereas lying will not pass. So you must not tell them your real age, but when you are asked about it, say: Under forty years. For were you twenty or less, you would still be speaking the truth in taking refuge and shelter in forty. For that is "maturity"² and the limit of middle age and experience. If you are afflicted with someone who will not stop, but asks you: How much under forty?—say: I do not remember, and persist in declining information, so that the conversation may come to an end, and the questioner may suppose that you have forgotten your actual age.

I went off, and it occurred that a single hair in my beard turned white during the journey, and when I entered Ahwaz I took pains to bring it forward with the comb to where it would attract notice, as I took pride in it. I was met by Muhammad b. Jafar b. Ma'dan the Witness, who was deputed by Abu Ja'far to look after pious foundations, to whom he had written, bidding him meet me and treat

(1) This seems to be the sense, but the construction is unusual.

(2) Sûrah xlv, 14.

me with respect. He came to the river-bank, bringing me a mount, which I rode to the dwelling that had been secured for me, and he paid me a visit everyday. When I wanted to depart to my province, he said to me : I am overcome by the admirable qualities of the qadi (God support him !) ; what is his age ?—Remembering the advice of Abu Ja'far, I replied : Under forty.—How much under ?—he asked.—I said : I do not remember.—He did not doubt that I had forgotten the actual year. So he left me alone. This¹ is the contrary of what we witness in these days ; I have seen in Baghdad two qadis, of the Hashimite family, public preachers, accredited Witnesses,² one of them more distinguished and noble than the other, a man who held high offices, whereas the other had been given high offices by the Caliph,³ and had thought himself worthy to be qadi of qadis, and had indeed canvassed for that office, though unsuccessfully—both of whom dyed their beards openly with black dye. One of them indeed gave up the practice some years before his death, he being the less exalted of the two, whereas the other who is still alive keeps on dyeing his beard.—We pray God for kindly concealment ;⁴ for though there are traditions in favour of dyeing the hair, still it is only excusable in soldiers, clerks, and persons who do not aspire to be judges or witnesses. Aspirants to these offices have no excuse.⁵

75. I was told the following by the jurist Abu'l-Qâsim 'Abd al-Rahîm b. Ja'far al-Sirâfi, known as Ibn al-Sammak. I was, he said, in the presence of Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Ali b. Shahawaihi, qadi in Arrajan. There appeared before him two persons, one of whom claimed a thousand dirhems of the other ; the qadi asked the defendant about it and he denied the claim. He then asked the plaintiff whether he had any evidence.—He said, No; but make him swear.⁶ The qâdi then asked the defendant whether he would swear.—He said : The plaintiff brought me before your predecessor in the office of qadi, and he took from me an oath about these dirhems.—The qâdi then said to the plaintiff : What do you say to this ?—He said, Yes, he did

(1) *i.e.* a qâdi trying to look old.

(2) One usually supposes that a Judge would be higher than a Witness in rank.

(3) What is suggested is that his appointments would be less important than those made by the Prince of Princes.

(4) Apparently of our advancing age.

(5) For clearly such dyeing involves the falsification of evidence.

(6) By the rule of 'Umar the plaintiff should produce evidence, whereas an oath may be demanded of the defendant.

swear, but falsely.—The qâdi thereupon bade him be off, as he had no claim against the defendant.—

Turning then to me and to Abu'l-Wa'd, a jurist of our school (*i.e.*, that of Abu Hanîfah) and a number of jurists who were seated there, all of them Hanefites, he said : Tell me, supposing this claimant of a thousand were to assert that the defendant had offered to swear, but that he, the plaintiff, had not accepted the offer, that then we had wished to take the defendant's oath, and the defendant had asserted that he had already sworn to the effect required, and each of the parties adhered to his statement, how could we settle the dispute between them ?—We all of us reflected for a long time, after which there was a discussion which led to no certain result, nor were we clear about the opinion which we should give. So I said to him : Perhaps the qâdi will be good enough to give us his view.—He said : We were told by the qâdi Abû Tâhir al-Dabbâs that the qâdi Abû Hazim, having to deal with this very question, advised the magistrate to take in the first place the oath of the person from whom the thousand was claimed to the effect that the plaintiff had not previously caused him to swear about the same matter before another magistrate.

76. One of the retainers of Abu'l-Hasan al-Karkhi was asked for evidence that palm-wine made with St. John's wort,¹ and exceedingly intoxicating, is a lawful beverage. He said : I have found that when God Almighty promised us paradise and described it to us, He made lawful for us in this world things of the same class as those which He promised us in paradise. He permitted us to enjoy² them, that we might know thereby the superiority of what He has promised us in paradise, the permanence of that, and the transitoriness of this. Having then promised us wine in paradise, and forbidden it in this world, forasmuch as there was no means of knowing its excellence, so as to encourage us to the works which would cause us to enter paradise and drink it there, it was necessary that He should make lawful for us in this world something of the same kind like this, whereby we might infer its deliciousness. And palm-wine was chosen for this purpose.

Being asked something like this on another occasion he said : God Almighty has created gilliflowers other than of the yellow species ; God creates nothing which is

(1) The seeds of this plant were ground and put into the date-wine. Dozy gives references for this.

(2) The word in the text is unintelligible.

useless, and the species other than the yellow have no use except to flavour palm-wine.¹

He used to produce this as a serious argument with people whom he regarded as weak, and as a jest with people of learning.

Traditionalists assert that there is no genuine tradition of the Prophet either permitting palm-wine or forbidding it. Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Jubba'i in a famous inquiry which he dictated, on the lawfulness of palm-wine, took the view that things are naturally to be regarded as lawful, until it is established that they are forbidden. Since the reason^{Witness} does not suggest that it is unlawful, and the plea for it^{the other} lawful has not been refuted, it follows that it is^{it} by nature lawful. He proceeded to support this by other arguments which he adduced, and by traversing the arguments of those who made it unlawful and proving them to be fallacious. He then brought up other against himself, whence he extricated himself in a manner which it would take long to narrate, and which would be outside our present scope.

77. I was present in the chamber of Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi after a riot had taken place in Baghdad during his vizierate. The disturbance was serious, and he had arrested a number of bandits and knife-men,² put them into covered boats, and sent them down to Bairudh,³ where he imprisoned them. The rioters made light of this affair, and waxed bold, while the story-tellers in the mosques⁴ and the leaders of the Sufis declaimed. The vizier, fearing a recrudescence of the riots, arrested and imprisoned a number of them, and summoned a meeting of Abu al-Sa'ib, qadi of qadis at the time, and a number of qadis, Witnesses, and jurists, one of them being myself, to examine them, with police officials to secure us against violence should the case go against them. It happened that the first person to be examined was a leading Sufi known as Abu Ishaq b. Tha'it, who lived at the Damascus Gate, one of the *rabbani* in the opinion of his followers.⁵ The vizier said to him : I am told that in your prayer you

(1) Ibn al-Baitar mentions the yellow variety as the only variety which is of use in medicine. He says nothing about the use of the other varieties.

(2) On the analogy of "gun-men".

(3) Region between Ahwaz and al-Tib (Yaqut).

(4) There is an account of their activities in the work of Mez, translated by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh in this magazine.

(5) In Surah iii. 73 there is the precept *Be rabbani* "divine" : with the Sufis it was used to indicate a high degree of spiritual attainment, see *Kashf al-Mahjub* transl. Nicholson, p. 33.

say *O my One in reality, O my contiguous neighbour*, and who does not know that it is not permissible to apply to God the epithet contiguous in reality, and whoever applies this epithet to God is an infidel, since contiguity is an epithet of bodies, and whoever ascribes to God a body is an infidel. And does a man whose knowledge is at this stage declaim in public? And tell me what is the meaning of what I am told you utter: *Thou hast taken me from me and not left me upon me, and lo, I am without an I*. We have discovered that you rant and lead men to suppose that you are "divines", incite them by your follies to wrong courses and stir up the sultan's capital against him. The scourge, slave!—People, however, pleaded for the man till he was spared, but the vizier issued an order that he might not speak in public or form a circle in the mosque.

78. My teacher in Basrah used to receive visits from a teacher whose original *kunya*h was Abu'l-Hasan, in lieu of which he assumed the *kunya*h Abu'l-Bayân. I heard my teacher remonstrate with him on that account, and say: My friend, you have changed your *kunya*h, which is a popular one and that of the Prince of Believers.¹—He said: Abu Ja'far, how many people have you seen in your lifetime whose *kunya*h was Abu'l-Hasan?—He said: Innumerable.—And have you seen any Abu'l-Bayân except me?—No.—Then take this as one of its advantages—that I win celebrity by it, and have no one to share it. Another advantage is that I do not require a surname, and that people's attention is thereby withdrawn from my other failings.²

One day I saw him with my teacher in my school, at a time when the latter was taking us in poetry. It was his practice to make the lads stand in a row, and ask them to recite. He had done this on the particular evening, when Abu'l-Bayân appeared, and said to him: Abû Ja'far, what sort of recitation is this?—He asked how it ought to be.—I have, said the visitor, a method of managing lads, in which I make no indulgence, which I will describe to you, if you wish.—Our teacher bade him do so. He said: Tell your lads to obey my orders, so that I may show you.—Abû Ja'far bade them notice what Abu'l-Bayân told them to do and do it. Abu'l-Bayân proceeded to address them as follows: I say unto you, lads, and to such youths as

(1) *i.e.*, Ali b. Abi Tâlib, in the opinion of the Shi'ah, the only Prince of Believers.

(2) As with the Romans personal names were frequently taken from bodily peculiarities, *Strabo*, *Naso*, *Crassus*, so with the Arabs distinctive names had a tendency to be derived from this source.

are near you in age, up to adults, listen and keep in mind, and if any one disobey after the matter has been explained to him, on him I shall bring down severe chastisement. Make your ranks serried, with your feet contiguous, lift up your tablets, turn your gaze towards me, keep your minds fixed on that which you recite, lift up your voices, and utter like one lad

Stay weep we at thought of one loved and her home.¹

This line he sang at the top of his voice ; the lads could not restrain their laughter, in which my teacher joined.—Abu'l-Bayân said : Abu Ja'far, may dust and stones fill your mouth and cover your head, and may woe and trouble surround you ! Is this the respect which you want to teach them ? Curse and disappointment are your due ! You are ruining your own resources. Is your laughter a humiliation to me, or is it not rather a disgrace to you in the eyes of these scamps ? I call God to witness that I shall not speak to you again until you apologize.—Abu Ja'far gave a gentle and apologetic reply, and presently Abu'l-Bayân was conciliated. He used to compose poetry which he constantly recited to Abu Ja'far ; I remember none of it.

Had we not frequently repeated the words which I have recorded to each other when we were boys at school, they would not have remained in my memory. When I had grown up, I wrote them down somewhere, and forgot about them. Afterwards I copied them here, where they have remained until now.

When I was at school, I heard how he had come to my teacher, to whom he committed his own son. My teacher asked him why he had removed him from his former master. He said : Because I passed by him one day when his boys were abusing each other, and all he did by way of stopping them was to bid them hold their tongues, himself using various obscene expressions. In consequence, he said, I have removed him.

79. The following was told me by 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. al-Harith. My father, he said, used to write the verses of the Qur'ân which serve as spells according to a prescription which had come into his hands.² One of these charms was for a woman who feared abortion, which would be prevented if she tied the charm to her waist. We tried this for a long series of years, and it never failed. He

(1) Opening line of the first *Mu'allaqah*.

(2) Some examples of such spells have been published by the translator in *Islamica* iv, 1930.

used to write *In the Name of Allah the Rahman, the Merciful. Verily God upholds the heavens and the earth lest they cease, etc.* (Surah, xxxv, 39). *Neither did they assign to Allah His true worth, etc.* (vi, 91). *And the trumpet shall be blown and there shall be smitten all that are in the heavens and the earth except whom God will to the end of the Surah* (xxxix, 68). *And A simile, a fair word like a fair tree, etc.* (xiv, 29). He used also to write the spell for recovering a runaway slave, which I have never known to fail. You should take a piece of parchment and write on it : *In the Name of Allah the Rahman, the Merciful. And the Man of the Fish, when he went off in anger, and thought that we should have no power over him down to We save the Believers* (xxi, 87). *Or like layers of darkness on a stormy sea, covered by waves down to the end of the passage he hath no light* (xxiv, 40). *And he cast lots and was one of the losers, and the sea-monster swallowed him, he being culpable* (xxxvii, 141). *Overtake him by the signs of Allah, the Lord of the heavens and the earth shall bring him back, and make what is between them narrower for A. B. (the runaway) than a lamb's hide, that we may get him in our power, for he is of Thy bounty and Thy gift.* The parchment should be buried under the threshold of a door.

He used also (he added) to write a charm on a paper for nose-bleeding, and attach it to the forehead of the sufferer. *In the Name of Allah the Rahman, the Merciful. And there was said : O earth, swallow thy water, and O heaven, clear down to the people that do evil* (xi, 46). *And when thou mentionest thy Lord in the Qur'an alone, they turn their backs, disgusted* (xvii, 49). He used also to write a charm against ulcer on a leaf of beet, which was then put on the ulcer : *Whatever good befalls thee is from Allah, etc.* (iv, 81).

80. I was told the following by Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi Muhammad al-Silhi, clerk. I saw, he said, in Egypt a physician who had acquired fame there, named al-Qati'i. He used to earn every month a thousand dinars from stipends assigned him by generals of the army, and the ruler of the country, and fees from ordinary patients. A portion of his dwelling he had turned into a sort of hospital to house poor patients, whom he would treat, supplying what they needed in the way of drugs, food, and attendance, and spending most of his earnings on this. A lad belonging to one of the leading men in Egypt had a cataleptic fit (Abu'l-Hasan mentioned the man's name, but it has slipped my memory) ; I was present, and the medical staff including al-Qati'i were fetched. All except al-Qati'i agreed that the lad was dead, and the relations were

preparing to wash and bury the corpse. Al-Qatî'i said : Suffer me to treat him. If he recovers, all will be well. If he does not, nothing worse will have befallen him than death, which these people all suppose him to have suffered. —The lad's people left al-Qatî'i alone with him, and he asked for a powerful slave and scourges. These were produced, and al-Qatî'i ordered the lad to be stretched out, and ten violent blows to be administered to him. He then felt the lad's pulse, and administered ten more severe strokes. Again he felt the lad's pulse, and administered ten more blows. Then, after feeling his pulse, he said to the physicians : Does a dead man's pulse beat ?—They said No.—He made them feel the pulse, and when they had done so they said : The pulse is beating faster.—He administered ten more blows, when the pulse became vigorous ; after another ten the supposed corpse began to move, and after another ten he cried aloud ; the beating was stopped, and the patient sat up, feeling his body and groaning with pain, his strength coming back to him.—Al-Qatî'i asked him how he felt. He said he felt hungry.—Al-Qatî'i ordered food to be given him at once ; some was brought, which he ate, and his strength returned to him. We rose and by this time the lad was quite well.—The physicians asked al-Qatî'i how he knew this. —He replied : Once I was travelling in a caravan, in which there were some Bedouin serving as our escort. One of them fell off his horse and fainted. The people said he was dead, but a shaikh started beating him a number of severe blows which he did not stop till the man recovered. From that I learned that the beating produced the heat necessary to overcome the fit, and I regarded the case of this patient as analogous.

81. I was told the following by Abu Muhammad Yahya b. Muhammad b. Fahd al-Azdi, who had heard it from Abu Ali al-Husain b. Muhammad al-Ansârî, clerk. In my youth, he said, I used to stamp deeds in the presence of Hamd Dalawaihi, who at that time was clerk to al-Mu'taman Salamah,¹ Chamberlain of Qahir.² One day he was visited by Abu Ali al-Husain b. al-Qâsim³ b. 'Ubaidallah and Abu Ja'far al-Karkhi,⁴ who came to pay their respects. He kept them, in order to enjoy their conversation, seating them on a sofa in the chief place of a domed chamber, while he himself sat below them on a pile of cushions in a room connected by a door with the

(1) Probably the same as Abu'l-Qasim Salamah al-Tuluni, who acted in the same capacity for the Caliph Muttaqi. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

(2) Caliph 320-322.

(3) See Index to the *Eclipse*.

(4) Vizier and ridiculed for his short stature.

domed chamber. He seated his son and me with him in the former, thus showing that he regarded the two visitors as too grand to associate with lads like us. He meant thus to hear their conversation, and to enjoy the music, for contiguous with the domed chamber was another room wherein he had installed the musicians, a curtain having been stretched over the doorway. They started drinking, while we were listening to the music and to what they were saying, without raising our voices lest they should hear. In the middle of the drinking-bout some fresh fruit was brought in, which the host took; turning to the two visitors he said: It would be fair that I should divide this into three shares for the three of us, only I bestow my share on you, Sirs. So please divide between yourselves. Al-Husain b. al-Qâsim took the fruit, and said: Abû Ja'far, Sir, are you willing that I should take two-thirds of this and give you one-third?—Abû Ja'far asked why?—He said: Because you and your brother were born twins, so you are only half complete, whereas I am complete, having been born by myself. If your brother were present, he, you, and I should each have a third: he being absent you have no right to more than one-third.—Abû Ja'far said: This is marvellous. You are a man whose grandfather was a Christian, who believed that God was one of three. Then came your father, who became a dualist, dropping one step. Then you arose, and should by analogy have dropped one more step, but instead you have dropped two, and become an atheist, believing nothing at all! We have not reproached you with that, and do you reproach us with twinhood, which is not our fault, whereas the other is a real fault?—Al-Husain b. al-Qâsim grew angry, and started to reply. But Dalawaihi rose and said: I oblige myself to the treble divorce¹ and to bestow all my property in alms, if you, Sir, make any reply, or you, Abû Ja'far, Sir, utter another word. For this will proceed from a jest to a brawl, and permanent rancour and animosity. Your dignity, Sirs, is above such things.—The two kept silence, being at a loss; and the host kept on soothing them, allaying them, and reconciling them to each other till they made friends.²

(1) *i.e.* one which it is difficult to recall.

(2) This al-Husain was supposed to hold the opinions of Ibn Abi Azakir, which were sufficiently unorthodox to be branded as atheistic. He was afterwards banished by his brother, al-Karkhi's namesake, when vizier, in spite of the intercession of their mother, and of his own promise.

(To be continued.)

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PERSPECTIVE AND THE MOGHULS

I

“The Primitive prefers reality to the appearance of reality. Rather than resign himself to the malformations of perspective which do not interest his virgin eye he conforms the image of things to the notion of them which he has.”

(MAURICE DENIS).

“The artist is in a double relation with nature : he is at once her master and her slave. He is her slave in this sense, that he has to act through earthly means to make himself understood ; he is her master in this sense, that he subdues these earthly means and makes them serve his high intentions.”

(GOETHE).

It is queer how differently a picture may impress one on different occasions. We may come to admire a picture which we used to deride—and acquire a taste for a style which was anathema to us once upon a time, and this without snobbish subservience to the opinions of our high-brow critics. Mark Twain has somewhere written of an instance of this—a case of two young Americans who went to Paris in order to acquire “the seeing eye”. After many months studying art—and this and that style—they were getting hopeless of acquiring the taste that betokens the true æsthete. However they paid a disconsolate visit to the Louvre one day, and to their astonishment were captivated by Leonardo’s “Monna Lisa”, which when they first saw it had seemed to them extremely ugly. The moment of realisation that “Monna Lisa” was beautiful assured them that their mission in Europe had been accomplished ; they understood that they had actually got the “seeing eye” ; and they started homewards at once.

The question of appreciation of art is largely a question of perspective. The science of Perspective is a

comparatively modern fetish ;* the denial of it is the still more modern and inevitable corollary, for of course the times must have their critics, and ours is a negative age. That chatty commentator on the Renaissance, Vasari, was quite as excited over Paolo Uccello's "discovery" of perspective as we could possibly be over our modern repudiation of it.

Now in a manner of speaking there is no such thing as perspective really ; Paolo Uccello's much advertised "discovery" was a compromise ; and perspective can always be "cooked" in a picture as every art student knows. Some foolish seeker after truth discovered to his horror that there are no fewer than three separate points of sight in Reuben's "Rape of the Sabines", forgetting that it would not matter in the least if there were twenty. Accuracy, that is the accuracy of ascertained things, is the easiest and least interesting acquirement in art. It is the sheet anchor of the engineer, the photographer, and the criminal court witness ; but the artist whose work is described as accurate, is almost as hopeless a case as the artist who is commended for the neatness of his painting. The gift of imagination includes as much accuracy as is requisite in art, as the greater includes the less. But then one cannot learn to be imaginative ; nor should perspective be restricted to its linear manifestations only.

The Moghul painters made a very partial use of linear perspective ; and their patriotic imitators to-day have been known to draw incorrectly on purpose. One may smile to see the careful manipulation of the top of a turret until it suggests the topsy-turvy vision of a sea-sick passenger on board ship,—for this is not Indian Art, but the mere aping of the past, and such mannerisms are as easy as they are futile. The absence of the laws of linear perspective from the work of certain modern Indian artists, can only be studied affectation ; but certainly indicates their genuine lack of perspective in its widest sense.

II

It has been said that "linear perspective is a study that deals with the appearance of objects as regards their size and the direction of their lines seen at varying distances and from any point of view". Now, although the Moghul painter did not worry much about this science of linear perspective, and consequently did not always

* The pillared thrones in the Ajanta paintings are in perspective ; and antedated Paolo Uccello's "discovery" by many centuries.

draw the appearance of objects as they should have looked from the casual spectator's station point, yet he had, being an artist, a very definite feeling for perspective. That is to say he presented his subject in the right way, provided we accept his station point for our own point of view. The primitive form of art was the two-dimensional picture, and the discovery in Europe of the third dimension in painting gave us what is still usually understood as Art, in Europe. And yet since the era of poor Paolo Uccello, how many artists have tried to return to the simple grandeur of the two-dimensional picture! Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of Beatrice d'Este is a beautiful example, out of many. Whistler's portraits of his Mother, and Thomas Carlyle, and indeed his best works are remarkable for this simple acceptance of the Oriental theory of two dimensions, even though not always restricted to representing the profile only. The moment you get depth or perspective in a picture you bring into play a whole host of new possibilities, but also new difficulties.

The Moghul artist represented his subject with a careful eye to its effectiveness, and his preference for portraits in profile was not because he could not draw his sitter from a three-quarter view. In a well-known picture (which has previously been discussed by the writer in "Islamic Culture",) that representing Jehangir at Ajmere,—the monarch is shown (as usual) in profile, and so are the courtiers behind him; but the units of the crowd in the foreground are drawn in three-quarter and full view, and with easy mastery and breadth. Probably the artist could refresh his memory by direct reference to his humble models, whereas his august sitters (if indeed the Emperor and his suite often sat for their pictures) had to be drawn in an aspect that, with the minimum of subtleties, gave the maximum of effect. The Royal features thus became a convention, like the King's head on a stamp or a coin, although, of course, the manner of treatment varied according to the skill of the artist. In the finest two-dimensional paintings by Moghul or Rajput artists the perspective is felt rather than drawn. In two instances of this, both depicting maidens upon a terrace among flowers, the point of sight is placed as low as the base line on which the women stand; yet the empty spaces washed with sunset or with cerulean tints, seem high and distant, and though in both these paintings the figures, flowers, and trees are all seen in a simplified *silhouette* one does not feel conscious of any absence of depth in these pictures, or of substance in the exquisite forms.

III

When viewing the subject of Moghul Painting we should remember that we are viewing something in perspective,—down the long retrospect of three centuries, in fact. This must not be forgotten, for no nation's art has maintained an equipoise for hundreds of years; it must either advance or decline. The admirers of Moghul Painting who think that by adopting its limitations they can recapture the soul of Indian Art, are pursuing a chimaera, as their work always shows. The modern Indian artist, like a strong swimmer, must trust himself boldly to the open sea; he cannot cling for support to the life-buoy of a successful past convention, or he will effect nothing. For when we place this subject in its true perspective we have to reconstruct an environment very different to anything that exists to-day, —an environment of colours, designs, and pageantry. That has gone, but the pictures will speak and tell us about themselves. May not this Princess with her languid airs and graces, surrounded by ladies, be more than merely the somewhat flat rendering of a highly artificial school of painting? May we not appreciate the somewhat stiff and stilted piece —investing it with depths of life, and colour, and romance? May it not tell us its story? We shall cease to criticise, and to analyse; we shall place the picture in the right perspective in our minds, recall the glowing period of Aurangzeb, and—let the picture speak.....

It was under a canopy of white velvet embroidered with pearls and diamonds, and enriched with hanging pomegranates of solid gold that the Princess (the Sister of the Emperor) received her guests. An embossed bowl stood on a tripod beside her, from which she spangled the ladies as they approached with silver stars, and gold dust, that sparkled with exceeding lustre in the blue-black tresses of the Timourian Princesses. The coverings of the cushions on which they seated themselves had come from the looms of Samarcand, and the carpet spread before them was a rare piece from Ispahan. On its rich piled surface were placed in succession a hundred and one dishes of rarest porcelain. They sipped their *sherbab* from jade goblets; strains of hidden music pulsated in the air; young girls waved feathered *punkhas*, or went to and fro sprinkling the room with rose-water and the costly perfumes of Arabia.

In all India there was no more excellent hostess than the Emperor's Sister. As became a great Lady she did

not disdain to attend in person to the wants of her guests. They broke the viands into fragments which they dipped into the silver cups and conveyed to their lips. This was simpler and prettier than using forks and spoons. Throughout the meal the artless fingers of the guests supplied the place of our complicated western contrivances, and to watch their dexterity was to realise at once what real princesses these were ! In eating they used the right hand ; in drinking, the left, taking great care not to soil their fingers above the first joint, which would have shown a want of breeding ; and from childhood they had been taught the advantage of keeping their fingers close together so that nothing might fall from between them ; for such carelessness might reveal to the vigilant glance of a coldly critical mother-in-law, a spendthrift nature, and bring down a severe rebuke on the head of the offender. They were careful too that the dainty finger tips should never aspire to actual contact with their lips ; their hands (some of them tattooed with tiny azure stars) were as fair and fragile as the lotus petals that glimmer on the Dahl lake. When dessert came at last, peeled and bisected, no one thought of appropriating more than a single morsel ; to seize upon a whole orange would have been deemed unbecoming.

The hostess did not herself carry, from guest to guest, the finger bowl of honour, but conducted them to the golden cisterns which were ranged in tiers upon a huge table of black marble. The ladies drew the water by means of little taps, and washed their hands in the silver ewers that caught it as it fell ; after which ceremony they followed their hostess with matchless grace as she led the way to the sumptuous withdrawing room. Her hospitable actions were by no means over yet. As they reclined on the gold-brocaded cushions, the important process of garlanding was carried out, the Princess selecting the wreaths from baskets carried by two young girls, (her near relations) and bestowing upon every guest a necklet and wristlet of roses and jasmine. And now, like the ripple of the homing tide, conversation, which had been sparing during the banquet, began, and the small talk, which would have been out of place before, was indulged in, punctuated by peals of ringing laughter, and swelling quickly into the chatter of a score of eager tongues all set free at once. Full justice was done to the newest topics of the court,—the latest wedding, the jewels worn by the bride, the most recent dacoity, the arrival of a cunning pedlar from Arabia with expensive silks,—all

had their turn, while the hostess carrying an "*Attar-dan*" of gold, garnished with minute bells, and crowned by a peacock with emerald eyes, went round, perfuming the ladies with the delightful essence of the *Kus-Kus*. She accomplished this by raising the peacock lid, inserting a little gilded stick into the narrow mouth of the receptacle, and touching with it each jewelled wrist as it was lifted by its lovely owner. At last, ushered by their grim-looking African guardians, or by servants reared in the family whose fealty could not be doubted and whose personal service was looked on as a concession to necessity, the ladies (having resumed their veils) were escorted through wide halls and winding corridors to the entrance of the Palace, where retainers, with blazing torches and flashing scimitars, guarded the curtained litters that were to carry them to their respective palaces. They had each been presented before parting with a pearl, and a packet of Myrrh and *Pot Pourri*, and had salaamed to the very earth before the Sister of the Emperor, on receiving the gifts.

She, however, when the last of the guests had gone, instead of at once seeking the rest to which her hospitable labours had entitled her, passed through the arched window of her room to a little balcony which overhung her own Rose Garden. The moon was still powerful, and outlined with its beams as with the point of a phosphorescent brush, her tall and graceful form as she leant upon the white marble balustrade and looked down into the fragrant chasm. From within the room the multicoloured rays of a gorgeous swinging lamp reached to where she stood, painting her cheek and the hand which pressed it with tints of ruby and *lapis-lazuli*. The glance of the Princess wandered from the garden to the jasmine creeper that clambered upwards until it seemed to stretch its delicate tendrils like clinging fingers trying to clutch the casement ledge. Had her thoughts any link with the song which a slave girl, gliding silently to the open lattice, had begun to intone rather than sing, as though accustomed to do so without waiting for the order of her mistress, tuning the strings of the *Vina* to the haunting Moghul air? So the night waned, until the roaming stars slid from the awakening river back to their posts in the heavens.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

ROUND THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PERSIAN ART

THE Roman poet Horace, in a well-known ode, called to his boy to serve his dinner with all simplicity, avoiding costly adjuncts and those out of season, for he hated, so he said, "Persian trappings". In those days Persia was the focus of courtly luxury, learnt, according to Herodotus, from the conquered Lydians, for the Persians were originally poor folk, unused to the sight of riches, as that historian relates in his moral tales of Cræsus. With the conquest of western Asia to the Ægean Sea and of Bactria, famed for its fertility and wealth of gold, their riches grew enormously and led to a luxury of display which we find still reflected in the Roman poet's ode.

The taste for gorgeous things, once acquired, has never left them, and through all succeeding ages they have reared wonderful craftsmen and delicate artists, as this exhibition amply showed. The aborigines of the country were of an artistic stock, a branch, if recent ethonologists are correct, of the wide-spread race prominent in antiquity on the shores of the Mediterranean and always fertile in things of art; Persia is often spoken of as if wholly Aryan, but in fact the Iranian branch of the Aryans were the horsed Nomads who, coming from northward, conquered the aborigines here as in India, forming the aristocracy of the country and bringing to it the alert energy of the adventurous wanderer.

The Aryans, having no art of their own, were nevertheless always quick to adopt and develop it in the countries where they settled, the chief example being the branch which conquered the land now called Greece and there generated that supreme art which has dominated the Western world and largely influenced the Eastern ever since its culmination at Athens in the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. Thus the Persians took from Assyria and from Egypt their arts of architecture and its companion, sculpture; in the Tower of Xerxes, at Persepolis, and the Palace

of Cyrus huge winged man-bulls guard the gateways as at Nineveh, while a winged genius wears a wholly Egyptian crown and the borders of the archer's dress at Susa are decorated with a looped pattern of the Egyptian lotus alternating with its bud. Sculpture, mostly in high relief, everywhere follows Assyrian models, a well-known example being the carvings of the triumphs of Darius on the living rock at Behistun. Even more indicatory are the sculptures in the palace of Darius at Persepolis and its pylon-like buildings in the Egyptian style, with the reed-cornice peculiar to that country; the cornices lasted, indeed, through all dynastic vicissitudes till as late as the reign of Ardashir I, who founded the Sasanian dynasty in 226 A.D. Egyptian influence also appears in religious symbolism; the sacred symbol of the Persian kingdom, a winged disk with a human bust arising from it, representing Ormuzd, was derived from the Egyptian winged disk of the sun, and the head of the Egyptian godling Bes is often seen on Persian cylinder-gems, as it is in two objects of the Oxus Treasure now in the British Museum: the catalogue of that treasure, a rich store of relevant learning, and Sarre's handbook, "*Die Kunst des alten Persien*", abound in further instances, if such are needed, of these foreign influences. To clinch the matter, we need only refer to the report of Diodorus Siculus that Cambyzes, on sacking Egypt, was so struck with its art that he transported many skilled artisans from there to raise up palaces in his own country, an example followed in later times by the Sasanian Shapur I, conqueror at Edessa, who carried off Greek craftsmen with the same intent, and by Timur, when he captured Baghdad, for the benefit of his own city of Samarqand; again in the early sixteenth century, the Turks, conquering Egypt, were so moved by the beauty of its buildings that they embarked numbers of craftsmen, of many different races, that they might create the like beauty in Stamboul—but, alas, they never arrived there.

It must be noted that the Persians always added their own contribution in æsthetics to the objects of their art, just as the Etruscans did in their bronze figures, derived from the Greek but endowed by themselves with a more fluid expression of pose and movement, freer, if less correct, than the more hieratic products of the Greek genius. The Persian reliefs display greater liveliness than their Assyrian models, a keener sense of vivacity, a quality which was due not only to their racial genius, but also, as we may suppose, to the nature of the country, a high plateau, mountainous and, except on the maritime borders,

exceedingly dry; begetting, as history shows, a characteristic nimbleness of mind : at the court of the Caliphs of Baghdad the foremost poets and grammarians were usually of Persian origin, as were the translators of ancient Greek literature, to whom, we may recall, Europe owed her earlier knowledge of Aristotle ; the jovial philosopher-physician, Avicenna, whose Canon was studied in some European universities till even the seventeenth century, was a Persian. It is also significant that the Kassite kings, Aryans of a more rationalistic strain than the Babylonian Semites whom they conquered, did not take over from them their old presumptuous claim that the king was a god.

In one direction the Persians seem to have accepted foreign art with too great thoroughness, namely in their metal-work. Professor Herzfeld, a great authority on ancient Persia, suggests that Armenian artisans, in the district of Van, copied metal objects from those of Mesopotamia and supplied them to the Medes, the immediate predecessors of the Persians and of the same Aryan stock ; this is a likely account, if we may judge by the derivative and uninspired character of most old Persian metal products, bearing in mind, however, that it is quite possible that the best examples have not survived, metal being always a valued prey for the looter. Furthermore, a class of objects in bronze has recently come from cemeteries in Luristan, in the western hills of the Persian plateau, that may throw a new light on the metal work of the Medes. Many are of rough make, but some, especially the heads of ceremonial staffs, display keen vision for heraldic designs and the lithe beauty of animal life, together with fine powers of execution. They have been compared with the art called Scythian, notable for its particular treatment of animals, but if we take that name in its strict sense, they differ from it much ; they do not show in the representation of animals the full modelling of the Scythian type, with its guiding ridges which have led some critics to compare it with ' chip-carvings ', nor others of its characteristic features, such as the remarkable stylization of antlers and limbs, the writhing contortion of animals and the powdering of figures on their bodies, the bird's-head finials—sometimes tipping the antlers of an elk—and so forth. Their treatment of the ibex is spirited indeed but not more so than in the arts of Greece and Assyria; always enamoured of the fierce tenseness of that creature of the heights ; they bear strong traces of Mesopotamian influence,—their plain axe-heads are on the model of the

early Sumerian, the winged man-bull, of common occurrence, is wholly in the Assyrian tradition and the strong man, demi-god or king, holding off two demon-figures, confronted, is a very Babylonian composition. The same features are to be seen in relics dug up in Cappadocia not of Scythians but their predecessors, the Cimmerians, a fact which supports the attribution to the seventh century B. C., which has been given by some authorities to the objects from Luristan. Others, however, place them in the fifteenth century B. C., and if that is the correct date they may be considered products of the Kassites who, coming from the east of Babylonia, conquered and held it for several centuries in the second millennium B. C. They were a branch of the Aryan race which in those remote times was making conquests all through the western half of Asia as far as India, adventurous horsemen imposing their rule on settled peoples who lacked that great instrument of battle, the horse. A few of the graves in Luristan are reported to have held bodies of horses, killed and buried with their masters in the Scythian manner, and the relics consist largely of horse-gear, indicating a race of riders such as the Kassites were—it was they who brought the animal into Babylonia and they even made of its head a sacred symbol. These rude wanderers, conquering a rich agricultural country, would naturally adopt its art, as other Aryans did; Luristan, in the high country east of Assyria, might well be the region from which the Kassites, who seem to have come down in stages from Asia Minor, started on their conquest of the river-plains, and further discoveries may yet show that these are indeed the relics of the Kassites in their earlier home in Persia; their weapons are all of bronze, but minute quantities of iron are found as pins for attachments; iron was known, and much valued, in Asia Minor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B. C., coming from the Chalybes in the north of that district, and it was quite possible for these people, at the date surmised, to have small quantities of it. If, however, the later dating proves correct, the objects in question must be attributed to the Medes, who were Aryan horsemen like the Kassites and immediately preceded the Persians in Iran—unless, indeed, the raiding Cimmerians reached as far south as this and founded a settlement which yielded later to the Medes.

The Persians, too, were great horsemen and that character is reflected in the favourite subjects of their art, triumphs of war and hunting; even in the engraved cylinder-gems, an art-form derived from the Babylonian

cylinder-seals, such scenes were substituted for the religious ones of their prototypes, a most popular representation, of Babylonian origin, being the hero subduing two beasts or monsters, often winged, confronted, one on each side of him, as in the Luristan bronzes. Xenophon may have perpetrated, in his *Cyropædia*, a romantic myth on the early life of Cyrus, but he has left us a striking account of the pursuits and ambitions of the Iranian noblemen, their training to horsemanship and the chase, their zeal for war and feuds, their generosity—and, on occasion, their pettinesses—as chiefs of a bold and hearty aristocracy. Have we not here the general scheme of other conquering peoples of Aryan descent, such as the Norman barons and the ancient Greeks, with whom it may be discerned in the story of Troy and of the Peisistratids, of Kylon, the Alcmaeonidæ and the like, and in the bitter feuds and jealousies which largely underlay the tragedy of Athenian history in the fifth century B. C. The accounts of Xenophon and Herodotus agree in describing Persian characteristics, but the latter, unwearied admirer of those people, had added the famous finishing touch about their education, confined, according to him, to learning to ride, to shoot and to speak the truth—the last a Zoroastrian ideal too little followed out, perhaps, to have been noticed by the practical Xenophon.

The art of the Persians was wholly one for the Court, a character retained under all succeeding dynasties till the latter part of the Safavids. The Sasanians, in the early part of the Christian era, like their predecessors, chose for their subjects the exploits of kings and nobles and sometimes of their fair dames, such as Shirin and Azada; their traditions were carefully garnered in the centuries immediately following the Muslim conquest of Iran and were immortalized in the *Shah-nama* of Firdousi, at the end of the tenth century, since when the incidents there related have ever formed the chief theme of the poets and painters of Iran, predominating in the miniatures of later times with which we shall presently have to deal.

After the conquest of the Achæmenids by Alexander, Greek influence naturally pervaded the country, strongly supported by his policy of planting it with Greek cities; the art underwent much modification, the effects of which are to be seen in the examples of Sasanian art that have survived to our time, and ancient Greece has had a great share, if now somewhat veiled, in the formation of later Persian art. The Scythian Arsacids who displaced the

Greek dynasty continued to favour its art and methods, but the Sasanian rulers, descended, as they claimed, from a royal Achaemenid, initiated a policy of strong nationalism, reestablishing the native-born religion of Zoroaster, a reaction from the foreign rule against which they had revolted. In architecture they dropped the trabeal of their predecessors, adopting the Roman arch and vault, but they improved on their exemplars in the dome, for, first of all builders, they learnt how to construct it scientifically on the walls of a square chamber. In textiles they developed a rare excellence, in both technique and design, resulting in a beauty and dignity which have influenced weaving designs wherever that craft has excelled from China to Italy and France. A special feature was the enclosing in roundels of various figures—men, beasts, birds, monsters—often in pairs, confronted, sometimes horsemen fighting or heroes in glorious combat with savage beasts, all in the old Mesopotamian style; the repeats were managed with great ingenuity to give a feeling of spatial continuity in the complicated patterns that such figures involved. The roundel seems to have been developed from patterns brought by Syrian weavers who were carried into Persia by Shapur II, in the latter part of the fourth century, after his victories over the Romans; its origin was probably from the late Hellenistic of Alexandria, where circular loops, becoming wreaths, are common in figured stuffs of the early Christian period: Byzantine weavers also had roundel-patterns of the same derivation; the products of the imperial looms were of extraordinary quality and doubtless acted as a stimulus to their Sasanian rivals.

Sasanian metal-work, as seen in the massive objects of silver and gold in this exhibition and elsewhere, falls much behind the textiles: it follows the usual path in being mostly derivative, chiefly from late classical art; the designs, specially those connected with hunting, were often of energetic conception and show, in the dishes, the characteristic mastery of the roundel-form; the execution, in the best examples, is carefully finished, but stiff and dull lacking imagination: yet the simple undecorated beauty of mere form was well within their powers and was nobly attested in the exhibition by the massive gold dish from Russia of oval, boat-like form, much like certain Chinese vessels in silver of the T'ang dynasty, which with its bold and swelling gadroons, might well have smitten with envy the goldsmiths of Nuremberg at the height of the Renaissance.

Here we may end our excursion into archæology, occasioned by the exhibits in Gallery I, illustrating the earlier stages of Persian art and the more distant origins of the glowing splendour that, budding in médiæval Persia, produced so magnificent a blossoming in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

A new direction was given to the stream of art by the Arab conquest, about 640 A.D. The Muslim conquerors brought with them their beautiful script which superseded the Pehlevi of the defeated Sasanians, and they enriched the language with many of their words and turns of speech ; the new language and writing grew up together and gave to the pictorial art of Islamic Persia its conspicuously calligraphic character, the process of formation culminating with Firdausi in the latter part of the tenth century. The beauty of the script was very evident in the master-pieces shown in the exhibition, with its fluidity and strength of line combined with delicate grace and an exquisite sense of proportion. This kind of beauty had clearly a special and intimate appeal for the Persian genius for decoration ; seizing on it they became pre-eminently calligraphic artists, as the Chinese had done, centuries before, and in this respect their paintings provide many points of comparison, the most evident being their two-dimensional character ; but while the Persians seem never to have looked beyond this convention, the Chinese did not completely accept its limitations, for they had a true bird's-eye perspective, with its high horizon-line, and not seldom displayed the rare and precious power of encompassing three dimensions in one subtle line. In the complete acceptance by the Persians of this convention we may then discern the origins of a trait common to all their art, a lack of profundity, of real appeal to the emotions. It is evidently a sensuous art, delighting with its glittering wealth of colour and its delicacy of form suggestive of the glow and perfume of a rose ; it has been rightly termed a garden art, and surely none could be more fitted for the leisure hours of kings and nobles, be-gardened themselves in the gorgeous brocades of silk and gold of which so rich a collection was exhibited. Not for them the deeper probings of a Rembrandt, a Goya or a Michael Angelo ; the gem-like colouring, the brilliant surface and amazing technical skill fulfilled their needs.

Like a well-planned garden, their art is self-contained, each part fitting the rest, script and painting and arabesque, embroidery and brocade, and from these alone we might

deduce the Persians' love of gardens. Two of their great classics, poems by Saadi, are called "The Garden" (*Bostan*) and "The Rose-garden" (*Gulistan*), garden scenes abound in their miniatures and there are but few to which flowers do not contribute their note of gaiety. A large share in the formation of their taste may perhaps be attributed to the character of the country, mountainous for the most part and sterile, with level stretches here and there, cultivable and the more precious for the contrast with the surrounding bareness; in such a country it is natural that gardens should be specially enjoyed. The old garden-architecture of the court may still be seen in the Generalife of Granada, with its rectangular water-tank, stone-edged, its narrow beds of flowers, its perfumed shrubs and formal trees, all closed in walls, and further varieties are illustrated by the 'garden-carpets' of which some were here exhibited. The pattern, based of course on artificial irrigation, seems to have been formed on the ancient Egyptian model, as represented in wall-paintings of tombs, which show the same rectangular pond with palm-trees planted round it in formal regularity, also within high walls. Here the Egyptian, like the Persian, loved to repose, shaded in the great heat and cooled by the water; the Egyptians too were great flower-lovers, at feasts they provided bouquets in heaps and on all social occasions held flowers in their hands, smelling them or handing them to each other to smell: Thothmes III, conqueror in Syria, brought back from the wars numbers of exotic plants and bade his sculptors carve their forms on the walls of a chamber in his Theban temple. Lesser folk also had their green retreat for relaxation, of a kind common everywhere in the Near East and of which good typical examples are or were—the famous 'gardens' in the near suburbs of Damascus; they are in fact orchards of fruit-trees, intersected with running water or artificial rills and planted with rose-bushes in the open interspaces and, in a haphazard way, with straggling beds of flowers; the gardens of the courts were but specialized developments from this general scheme.

But now we ask ourselves whence sprang this gay flower of art in Islamic Persia and how came it, inseparable as it is from the delineation of living things, to avoid the ban of its religion in that matter. To begin our enquiry with the first part of the question, we shall find the sources very mixed, coming from many regions, west and east; of these the most important was certainly Byzantine art, founded essentially on the Hellenistic but blended with

many Eastern elements : it had spread far into western Asia, overlaying the older arts in the various districts to which it reached ; in the first three centuries of Islam it had not yet fully developed the narrow formalism which characterised its later stages and for which its name generally stands, and it was still in its freer stage when it first impinged on Islam, as we may see in the one example surviving, at Qosair Amra, in the Syrian desert, east of the northern end of the Dead Sea. Here at the end of the eighth century A.D., an Omayyad prince built a pleasure-house, calling in Byzantine painters to decorate its walls with frescoes ; they were of very Hellenistic character, with several nude figures (in the bath-chambers), an Eros, female figures allegorising History, Philosophy and Poetry, with their names inscribed in Greek, representations of trades, hunting scenes, dance and music and much else for the diversion of the prince and his friends. In a niche of the great hall facing the entrance, probably where he received his guests, was the portrait of a king, in pure Byzantine style, seated on a throne and, as Sir Thomas Arnold has remarked, much like the Byzantine representations of the Deity—a striking example of awkwardness in the adaptation of an exoteric art-form. Besides the Greek element there is a considerable oriental one, specially visible in the pictures of gazelles and other animals, drawn with a line of masterly firmness and instinct with a feeling of grace and ease that distinguishes them, in some subtle way, from the work of the Greeks no less masterly in their own mode..

The school to which this art belonged was the Syro-Hellenic, arising from the mingling of the ubiquitous Greeks with the native population with whom they threw in their lot, adopting their dress and habits. Earlier forms of the art in its religious aspect, are to be seen in the frescoes of Palmyra (Tadmor), once a great centre of commerce, and in a church at Dura (Salihiyeh, the classical Europus) on the Euphrates, dating, according to the great authority, Franz Cumont, before 270 A.D. (This school, as he points out, had a great share in the formation of Byzantine religious art).

The frescoes at Qosair Amra provide the earliest surviving example of pictorial art in Islam ; the next, about a century later, is at Samarra, some miles north of Baghdad, once a capital of the Caliphate, but soon abandoned and left to fall into ruin ; remains of frescoes have been found there and have been skilfully put together by

Professor Herzfeld. They came from the walls of a bath of the Roman kind and as some of the painted rooms of Qosair Amra also served that purpose, the idea has arisen that the painting of walls for the palaces of Muslim grandees was confined to baths, but the great reception hall of Qosair Amra is sufficient proof to the contrary: bath-chambers were, however, reserved for paintings of a freer character, amounting even, in later times, to licentiousness, and they were sometimes painted with living creatures when other rooms conformed to the Islamic interdiction.

The frescoes at Samarra contain naturally a considerable proportion of elements absent in the more western school and derived from the Sasanian, yet the Hellenistic is still strong, sometimes tinged with the Byzantine. The variety of the constituent elements makes the study of these relics most interesting and the amateur who would understand visually the foundations of later Persian art should master the details given by Herzfeld in his book "*Die Malereien von Samarra*". Turning to the more salient of them, we find the paintings of heads, with their large lustrous eyes, following a type midway between the Byzantine and the medieval Persian and thus indicating the connection of the latter with the former; Herzfeld thinks that their connection is closer with Sasanian art, but this also was much influenced by the orientalised Hellenic—very naturally, in view of the large number of Greeks who settled in Iraq and Iran in Hellenistic times. Unfortunately, though it is known that Sasanian walls were adorned with paintings, no relics of them have survived, but we may be certain that the principal themes were of the antique Persian type, as seen in the designs on their silver-ware, portraying heroes and deeds of war and the chase—in fact, some Arabic authors have referred to them as such; in these designs, too, the Hellenistic element is very visible, as we can see from the examples, mostly from Russia, published by Sarre in "*Die Kunst des alten Persien*", several of which were lent for this exhibition. At Samarra the animals depicted display the free naturalism and grace of those of Qosair Amra and of the later Persian work, true to the artistic tradition of Western Asia; the floriated decorations are not so free as those of Qosair Amra, which are closer to the original Hellenistic, but tend rather towards the heavier type of the illustrations of the Mesopotamian MSS. of the early thirteenth century. A Hellenistic feature is evident in the cornucopiæ and in the treatment of the half-nude women

with shawls draped over their arms, perhaps in a kind of dance, who seem to show that the ancient pagan idea of the great Mother-goddess of Western Asia still lingered in the place, for though she was usually represented as wholly naked, she was sometimes shown on the engraved cylinders of North Syria, especially the later ones, as semi-nude, with the ends of a shawl looped over her arms as in these frescoes—in ancient Persia, and even with the Sāsaniāns, she was a deity of national importance, under the name of Anāhit. These figures, and others, are shown between the columns of an arcade, which was a common mode of representation with the Sāsaniāns, adopted even for their cylinder-amulets, and is of course of Roman origin. A feature referable to ancient Persian art is the frieze of camels modelled in white plaster on a blue ground, a cheap imitation of the magnificent enamelled tiles with figures in relief of archers, lions and griffins which enlivened the palace walls of Susa—themselves copying earlier Babylonian models. Camels are depicted with great spirit and essential truth, as they were at Persepolis and before that at Nineveh of the Assyrians whose art engendered that of the old Persians : the camel is perhaps the most difficult animal to translate into vivid line and the power shown by Persian artists in that respect is indeed remarkable. (An interesting detail is the treatment of the furry parts of the beast round its neck and fore-legs which are brought into strongly decorative use by the artist of Samarra as by Bihzād and others of his time and later). The camel is of the two-humped Bactrian variety, while Sasanian seal-engravings exhibit the one-humped Arabian—a significant indication of developments in foreign connections.

It should be noted that the Hellenistic elements pervading early Persian art were derived through Syrian sources and not directly, a point emphasised by M. Blochet in his books, with special reference to the Mesopotamian illustrations of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries ; the paintings at Samarra make no exception ; we find in them, for instance, the same treatment of drapery, as in the Mesopotamian examples, the folds are represented very stylistically, in broad looped curves of colour with soft edges, and following a decorative pattern of their own which paid but little heed to the details of patterning in actual folds. This development seems to have been purely local ; it is far removed, on the one hand, from the angular stiffness into which the true Byzantine grew and, on the other, from the dry but beautiful austerity of contemporary Chinese work and it remained a local characteristic till

the coming of the Mongols, when it was superseded by the firmer, sharper kind of treatment derived from the Chinese art whose influence then began to predominate.

Chinese influence was at work also at Samarra ; many fragments of porcelain have been discovered in the ruins, both celadon and white, of the late T'ang period. Trade was carried on at first in Chinese ships and later by the Arabs who soon became bold traders and sailors, establishing stations, or, in eighteenth century English, 'factories', in the ports of southern China—at Canton, perhaps, even before the dawn of Islam. Silk and porcelain were among the precious articles thus obtained, the latter highly prized not only for its beauty but also for the magical virtue that it was believed to possess, derived in some mysterious way from the peculiar earth of which it was made ; it is not surprising, then, to find the local potters imitating it. Trade was carried on also overland, by the very arduous mid-Asian route that had become possible with the western extension of the Chinese empire under the T'ang dynasty ; it supplied many articles of luxury to the rulers of the Eastern Caliphate and the toll that it paid on its way to Byzantium and other cities of wealth must have procured them great gain—so great, indeed, and so galling to the Romans, ever enemies to Persia, that the Emperor Justinian contrived to have silk-worm eggs smuggled out of China in a walking-stick, that his people might be independent of supplies from abroad. The articles traded in return were doubtless also of a costly nature, for, besides the greater profit derivable from them, their small bulk would lessen proportionately the cost of carriage ; thus we may suppose an export from Persia of such desirable luxuries as pearls from the Persian Gulf and incense from South Arabia, as well as the products of its own fine craftsmanship. Of the latter we may specially note woven silks, of which the raw material was drawn from China, for it is in this T'ang period that we find Chinese textiles copying designs of pure Sasanian style, roundels enclosing confronted animals with floral decorations adorning the ground ; an example is known as early as the middle of the eighth century, stored at Nara in the magnificent treasury of the Japanese emperor Shomu, an ardent amateur of Chinese art, and many fragments, of a century or so later, have been found in ruined places of Eastern Turkestan by Sven Hedin, von le Coq and Sir Aurel Stein.

The art of the T'ang dynasty was eager and absorptive, welcoming new materials from many regions through the

countries opened to trade by the dynasty's conquests ; what it drew from Persia was not confined to textiles, but may be traced even in free painting, as for example, in a panel in the treasury of Nara decorated with two deer, confronted, beneath a formal tree, following a very Persian scheme, inspired, doubtless, by woven patterns. The painting is remarkable for a deep feeling for grace and delicacy, a gift of the Far East : keen perception of vigour in animal life and exact observation of its manifestations have always been displayed by artists of the antique Near East, by the Persians as by their Assyrian predecessors, but they had not achieved the subtle grace of Syrian animal-paintings which was reserved for the Persians of a later time, when Chinese influence was paramount.

At Samarra this influence is traceable in the more pronouncedly calligraphic nature of many of the frescoes, with their firmer and more flowing lines, though possibly the Arabic script had its share in thus guiding the artist's brush.

We have just been dealing not with Persia itself but with the capital from which it was governed ; what we have found there is important as showing the work of the various influences which had so great a part in the formation of the typical art of Persia. So far, also, no remains of equal age and importance have been explored in that too little excavated country, and the only general indication that we possess of the art-forms then in vogue is furnished by the pottery. To this we may now turn our attention, premising that the surviving remains are scanty and the indications afforded by them of the general art, of the period can be but faint. These remains which were exceedingly well represented in the exhibition, show that the original source of inspiration was in sculptured low-reliefs in stone ; they display an engraving technique of a kind that was then common in the regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and is best marked in the products of the Byzantine and Cypriote kilns, eventually finding its way into medieval Italy. In these regions it often follows a painter's tradition, the engraving representing the draughtsman's line-work, but in the Persian examples the effect achieved is rather that of fine architectural decoration adapted to the roundel form ; birds and animals figure largely in the designs and there is much strap-work corresponding to the intricate knot-work characteristic of the carved decorations on Islamic buildings and derived, it would seem, from complicated interminglings

of the classical meander pattern, or 'Greek fret'. The potters' technique and control of materials were excellent, derived originally, it is probable, from Greco-Egyptian craftsmen, and they show equal mastery over glazes, blue being predominant, whether dark cobalt or the very ancient turquoise tint derived from copper; the Greco-Egyptian models have often as a chief feature a decoration in low relief, monochrome or in varied colours, in which animals usually hold a principal place. This style was developed of course from its predecessors in ancient Egypt which themselves were copies of low reliefs on the walls of their religious buildings; the lineage was well illustrated by the ancient Egyptian objects in coloured faience exhibited at the Burlington Fine arts Club in 1922 and may be seen in Pls. XLIV, XLVI, and XLVII of the Catalogue, of which the first shows the architecturally derived reliefs, the second the Ptolemaic extension, introducing various colours and borrowing designs from ancient Persian sources while the third, a platter of the Roman period, in the Ptolemaic style, with a vigorous animal design perfectly related to the roundel-shape, could well be taken for a direct ancestor of the Sasanian and early Persian. The decoration in all these cases was achieved by moulds and not by the engraving technique of the Eastern Mediterranean regions; it is probably the use of the latter, as well as the Sasanian element in forming the Persian work that differentiates that work from its Ptolemaic predecessors, but we shall find that in a later age the Persians practised moulding much in the Ptolemaic style.

We may here give a glance at the contemporary art in Sogdiana, then a populous region of Central Asia, which also was represented in the exhibition for its bearings on Persian art and because that country was for several generations under the same rule as the Persians. Bokhara and Samarkand were great centres of Islamic culture; they were developing their own style, of which little is now known owing to the devastations of Chengiz Khan in the early thirteenth century, but it seems that the Islamic interdiction was there more strictly regarded than in Persia—an inference justified by the few objects in pottery of this period that have come to our knowledge; they follow a painting technique, founded on floral and similar designs, with bold positive colourings, such as are current even to this day at Bokhara—the tradition is followed, too, in the magnificent embroideries, with their great and solid floral shapes, for which that city is famed: the potters also made free use, for their decorations, of

the Arabic script, thereby starting an art-form which has ever since permeated all Islamic regions. (Spreading through Spain, it entered Christian Europe and may be traced in many a picture and embroidery of the early Renaissance, as little understood there as by later Islamic craftsmen who have so often copied inscriptions in ignorance of their content, usually mutilating them or recording strokes and signs that have but the most superficial likeness to true lettering).

The pottery found at Samarra itself showed little originality but followed generally, with a naïf clumsiness, the degraded Hellenistic style that we have traced there in other crafts. There is, however, one technical process of importance that seems to have been invented there, namely the use of copper and other metals to produce, by a special method of firing, a lustred surface, a technique originating, doubtless, in efforts to procure an inexpensive kind of gilding. The white background, formed usually of a tin enamel, was painted with powdered metal-salts in figures of animals and birds, and the empty spaces were filled with blobs and dashes which seem to be much degraded elements of late Hellenistic floriation; they developed later into the dappled background seen in pieces of the thirteenth century. (The technique has been considered to have originated in Egypt, but since the discoveries at Samarra this view has been abandoned by most authorities. It passed rapidly to Egypt and later to Spain, where it developed into the characteristic Hispano-Moresque). Besides the lustre-ware, another class is to be noted in the polychrome pottery moulded in very low relief, in which the decoration, again largely consisting of birds and animals, is somewhat alike, allowing for the differences of technique, to that on the Persian incised ware previously noticed. Unglazed ware was frequent, often stamped with the kind of design described above: arcades are present as an element of composition, and twisted scrolls or 'guilloches' such as the North Syrians of fifteen centuries earlier had favoured in their seal engravings.

The pottery just described covers the ninth and tenth centuries; in the two following ones we find a more specialized development in design and a more brilliant technique, in a class which has been brought, rather recently, to the notice of amateurs under the name of 'Gabri', a specification now abandoned as the result of researches fixing the date approximately as above. The designs are of

a Sasanian character, fitting appropriately into roundels, usually heraldic and displaying monstrous creatures, mostly winged animals of Assyrian tradition, often human-faced, from which the Persian miniaturists of a later age drew their conceptions of the 'Boraq' which took the Prophet to his vision of Paradise. The heraldic designs were often accompanied by floral scrolls, doubtless originating with the Hellenistic but very highly stylized and developing the characteristic Islamic floriation prevalent till now in all Muslim countries—purely decorative, in consonance with the rulings of Islam in matters of art: it has undergone its own changes and has differed, naturally, in its various provinces, Spanish, for example, and Indian, or Egyptian and Turkish, but is always readily recognizable. We do not find it in its early forms at Samarra or among the contemporary remains at Susa where debased Hellenistic still largely ruled, producing as a minor result the broken-down floriations of the lustreware mentioned above. The heraldic character of the so-called 'Gabri' designs is very marked, reminding us—of course with a difference—of the German drawings of the sixteenth century; they display great vigour and keenness of conception and are hardly less remarkable for their technique—clay, glaze and slip, colour, line and engraving being each used in perfect propriety and balance by simple methods under masterly control. The case of bowls and dishes shown in the principal room, decorated in bright green on a dark brown ground, almost black, provided a vision the brilliance and strength of which threw much around it into shade.

Other kinds of contemporary pottery display the same Sasanian elements, figures painted in colours or black on a creamy white background, with incised lines to reinforce the drawing; the colours are in the glaze, favourites being a brilliant cobalt blue or a turquoise tint—as with the Ptolemaic potters—often in monochrome with the design engraved in the body of the vessel under the glaze. More rarely there is an engraved design with polychrome glazes of which a magnificent example, from the famous Eumorfopoulos collection, was exhibited, attributed to the latter part of the period under review: this remarkable piece sums up the various characteristics and tendencies of its period and will repay special notice; the design represents a dancer on a platform, with a girl beating a drum on her right and another on her left clapping her hands in time, while in the foreground two animals of vague species face each other in the attitude of

dogs cowed. The folds of the girls' clothes are outlined in broad swirling lines, incised in the clay, very reminiscent, on one side, of the drapery folds on the frescoes of Samaria previously described and, on the other, of those seen in the Mesopotamian miniatures of the next century, the thirteenth. The swirling line is extended even to the animals, making patterns of curved stripes that have led them to be classified as hyenas, though probably the patterns have only a decorative signification, of which an exact parallel is to be seen in the picture of an elephant in a MS. in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Tabriz, 1295) reproduced by E. Blochet. "Musulman Painting", Pl. XLII: the background is engraved with floriated scrolls of a free character, executed with a firm hand, while those on the rim are of a sketchy calligraphic nature; the use of polychrome glazes in broad washes of two or three colours, in some cases independent of the engraved design, may have been learnt from China but was known to the potters of Egypt in the early Christian period; the scrolls are somewhat like Chinese but are in the direct line of development of the Islamic variety, while the long sleeves, which have been supposed to be in the Chinese style, are to be seen in other designs of purely Persian or Mesopotamian character, as, for example, in an ivory panel belonging to M. Kann, of about the same date, forming one of the well-known set at the Bargello of Florence, which was also exhibited here. Thus the dish under review serves well to illustrate the various elements at work in the art of its period, of which most have been already discussed with the exception of the style of the figure-painting which has been noted as akin to that of the Mesopotamian illustrations to books of the following centuries, but is more refined. The Mesopotamian paintings are comparatively rustic, designed simply for illustration; they are naïf in conception and broad in treatment, they sometimes suggest, in the drawing, faint memories of early English illustrations of religious subjects. Their prototype, as authorities in general agree, was to be found in Christian illustrations to religious writings, no mere luxury or toy for rich patrons but made for the support and consolation of members of poor congregations following a despised creed; their art is thus unlearned and simple, thereby gaining much in freedom and sincerity and winning our sympathy by its earnest human qualities—its foundations were of course late Hellenistic.

The Bargello ivory plaques mentioned above also deserve a special reference for they are witnesses to a high

artistic ability and technical skill of which time, in its ravages, has left us little evidence but, which we know must have existed in such a seat of luxury as the Caliph's court at Baghdad. They consist of finely executed floriations of Hellenistic derivation in which are set gay figures of dancers, musicians and drinking youths such as often form the subject of Persian miniatures; these figures wear very ornate dresses and bear in that respect, as in general, a great resemblance to the miniature figures enamelled on the pottery of Reyy in the next century; they contain also representations of winged monsters which might almost have come from Nimroud itself.

We are now on the threshold of a great development in Persian art when, leaving behind the worn-out traditions so apparent at Samarra, it assumes the aspect of profuse gaiety with which we always associate it and which, beginning under the Seljuks, culminated with the early Safavids.

Looking for the causes of this new movement, we cannot find them in any native happenings; art was, as always, very much the affair of kings and courts who, in Persia were all foreign till the coming of the Safavids; among them were the Turkish Seljuks whose zeal for art is best known from their splendid architecture. The early Turks are generally considered as barbarous land-pirates, successors to the Huns whose exploits, savage enough, were horribly magnified by timid and credulous scribes (describing them even as raging cannibals) and raised in the breasts of Christian Europe a panic terror which was long in dying down and even till quite recently had its reflection in a popular idea of the "terrible Turk" pasha and peasant alike, whose hand was ever ready for sword or knife. The Turks indeed were fierce and warlike, true products of the savage rivalries of the Mongols of Central Asia, forced by their own hunger or that of stronger congeners to fight their way where they could; in doing so they acquired such military strength that at the beginning of the seventh century they established a Central Asian empire able to attack with success the northern provinces of China, so that one emperor of that country was willing to buy their friendship with money, and another, later, by giving his daughter in marriage to their Khan; their dealings with China, whether friendly or otherwise, were frequent.

These fighting Turks lived, as all such have done, as lavishly as their time and circumstances allowed, with great display of wealth. Menander Protector, at the

end of the sixth century speaks of their rich hangings of silk, of drinking cups and great jars of gold and the golden couch and two-wheeled chariot of their chief, the silk hangings of his tent, skilfully wrought in many colours, the many waggons filled with silver utensils and figures of animals equal in art to the European. Sixty years later a Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan Tsang, relates that the Khan "occupied a great tent adorned with gold flowers of dazzling richness. The officers of the court sat in two long rows on mats before the Khan, brilliantly attired in embroidered silks, the Khan's guard standing behind them. Although here was but a barbarian prince under a tent of felt, one could not look on him without respect and admiration" (from "Cathay and the way thither", 2nd ed., by Yule-Cordier, Vol. I, pp 209 and 210). Other pilgrims' stories might be adduced but enough has been quoted to show that such chiefs as these were of ample dignity to send embassies to the Roman Emperor, as they did to Justin in 568 A.D., seeking his help against the Persians who had closed to them the road of the silk trade. Their savage predecessors, the White Huns, were little behind them in luxury; of them another Chinese pilgrim, Sung Yun, tells us, early in the sixth century, that their court was richly furnished and attended, with much show of gold and ivory and of the gems received as tribute—probably by trade—from distant lands; some of them had accepted Buddhism and they must have been acquainted with the arts that always accompanied that creed.

If we compare these Turkish princes with others living also in turbulent times—though with a difference—such as the Italians of the Renaissance or the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt, we can be sure that, with their love of luxury and display, they, like those others, fostered largely the arts that lay to their hands, thus signaling their regal power, generosity and taste; it is therefore no matter for surprise that when the Seljuk Turks conquered Persia and Hither Asia, finding themselves seated in conditions of stability unknown to them before, in countries long famous for their art, they gave free rein to the tastes that they had acquired and their encouragement of artists initiated in those countries a real renaissance. Sure proof of this conclusion is to be seen in the art of the countries outside Persia which came under their rule. Syria, with its centre at Damascus, that ancient and renowned focus of civilization, possessed craftsmen of the highest skill which, in one brilliant category, reached its culminating point in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the glass-makers

produced their famous lamps, goblets and dishes, resplendent in enamelled colours, which have never been surpassed in their kind. The designs on them are of a class which seems caractéristically Persian and yet the country had never been under Persian dominion, except for a short interval in the seventh century ; it was under Turkish rule and patronage when this quasi-Persian art flourished. A little later, in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, the Persian character of another phase of Syrian art is to be noted in the ceramic vessels, decorated chiefly in under-glaze blue, black and grey, with much foliation and figures of birds and animals, especially hares, radiated patterns being a common feature ; this class is often indistinguishable from the Persian type, usually attributed to Sultanabad, some of which were on show at this exhibition. Later still, in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Turks gave proof of their taste in other districts more purely Turkish, in the brilliant faience once called 'Rhodian', but now known to have been made in many Anatolian kilns : its use of formal semi-naturalistic groups of flowers, often resembling groups in the fine contemporary rugs of Herat, has never been equalled, for both composition and colour ; its line-work is as sharp and fine as the Persian ; feluccas are sometimes introduced as an element of decoration, with brilliantly bold effect. Damascus followed this fashion with equal skill and taste—if not higher, as some connoisseurs think—but in its own way, with a greater degree of stylization and more reserve, the colour scheme being cooler, with a greyish blue often prominent ; the difference is perhaps due to the restrictive influence of the quasi-Persian style that had directed the Syrian artists of the previous age. In the Caucasus, a somewhat similar make of faience has been found, taking its name from Kubadja, where it first became known ; it has an admixture of Persian, arising from its proximity, and welcomes representations of the human figure ; it is less naturalistic than the Anatolian and prefers a paler colour-scheme ; the line-work is equally good and, in general, as a decorative art, it stands high, as was proved by typical examples in the exhibition.

Returning to the period of the Damascus glassware, we find in Mosul, in the far north of Iraq, another striking instance of craftsmanship developed under Turkish rule, in the metal-work, with its adornments of the same quasi-Persian character : its noble, solid forms, the supreme skill and taste with which their surfaces were covered with intricate designs, chiselled out and often incrustated with silver,

and the perfect control of material make this work the epitome of all the best in the decorative art—putting aside colour—of the Muslim world. A quotation from G. Migeon (“Art Musulman”, 1st ed., vol. I, p. 168) will make this clear :—“Horsemen, often crowned with haloes, engage in the various forms of hunting dear to the Persians ; some, carrying a cheetah at their saddle-bow or a hawk on their fist, with greyhounds following, chase the bear, the lion or the antelope. Within panels princes are figured seated, with crossed legs, eastern fashion, on low thrones, decked with crowns or haloes, with pages at their sides, wine-cup in hand and dancers and musicians to add to their delights. Variety is secured by figures of the zodiac in small medallions. There are no finer subjects than the fights between men or birds or animals. Long rows of animals, lions, panthers, antelopes, greyhounds, birds and hares, amidst enwreathing foliations, divide the different zones of decoration while the intermediate spaces are often filled by ducks and water-birds in flight. The backgrounds are enriched with bold and supple arabesques or with a kind of T-shaped hook : inscriptions take their place, in narrow bands, with *neski* lettering.” (The “T-shaped hook” is in the form of a broad arrow).

According to some authorities, work similar to that of Mosul was, executed in the province of Khorasan, in the north-east of Persia. This district was always famous for its artistic products, especially carpets till recently attributed to Ispahan : it is also the district which was most occupied by Turks, being on their road from Central Asia to the West, and had been under their sway for more than a hundred years at the period with which we are now dealing.

The style of art practised at Mosul and Damascus appears simultaneously in northern Persia, at Rey, in the delicate articles of pottery painted with enamels in a mode manifestly forecasting that of the later miniatures. But Rey, though in Persia, had become the capital of the Seljuk sultans, replaced, it is true, in the twelfth century by the Khwarezm-shahs—but they too were Turks, and so we may well apply to this new style of art the convenient term Turco-Persian.

The Turks, then, were clearly generous patrons of art and doubtless brought with them to the countries where they settled skilled craftsmen and attracted others by their liberality, just as, under the Mamluk sultans, artists of many countries were, according to Ibn Eyyas, attracted

to Egypt. They had no art of their own and it follows that the elements of the new style that grew up under their fostering must have been brought with them from the regions whence they came, in Central Asia, to which, accordingly, we may now turn our attention.

To take first the general state of civilization : Buddhism had entered Turkestan out of India before the Christian era, and also Eastern Persia, which then comprised Afghanistan—where it produced the art of Gandhara—and we find the Chinese, in the second half of the first century A.D., sending a mission to Khotan to procure learned books and men to teach the truths of Buddha, whom they described as ‘ the golden man ’, from his gilded temple-statues ; they continued to draw their teachers from that region till the end of the third century, when they first allowed their own countrymen to be trained as priests. Thus Turkestan had its centres of light and learning, in touch with Chinese civilization as well as with Indian, and indeed the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsian, as early as the fourth century, gave a glowing account of Khotan and Kashgar. (Later, too, Khotan sustained its reputation by becoming famous as a repository of Islamic learning). To these we must add, though later, Bokhara and Samarkand which became, early in the Mohammedan era, centres of Islamic civilization.

These great cities of Turkestan and others of similar condition, on the road of Chinese trade, always open to the influence of the highly advanced civilization and refinement of China, drew likewise from there the great part of their art. At Bokhara painting was known as "the Chinese art" and a Chinese embassy sent there in 943 was accompanied by artist-painters who decorated for the Samanid prince a MS. of the Fables of Bidpai, which had recently been translated into Persian; the work was greatly acclaimed, probably as superior to the paintings of Eastern Turkestan which must have been then well known in Bokhara.

The art of Eastern Turkestan, of the ninth and following centuries which has been brought to light in considerable quantities by the various explorers previously mentioned, shows the great predominance of China which had occupied the country in the Han period and the earlier T'ang, although, as that art was mostly devoted to religious purposes, that is, to Buddhism, it has received much also from India which then, as earlier, had frequent commerce with Central Asia. The district was indeed a lively centre

of international trade, quite cosmopolitan, as is proved by the variety of languages and scripts which have been found there, Chinese, Tibetan, Turkish (two varieties), Indian (Sanskrit and two others) and even that mysterious branch of the Indo-European, Tocharian, with others not yet deciphered. The Indian element was of the well-known Greco-Buddhist style of Gandhara; some of its manifestations were so near to its first origin that they might almost pass for actual Greco-Syrian, and it was of course through this region that the Chinese, on their adoption of Buddhism, absorbed that style, so apparent in their plastic figures in the two centuries preceding T'ang. But at the period under consideration, the later T'ang, Chinese art had fused into itself the Indian elements and the religious paintings of Eastern Turkestan, especially on the banners, are of true Chinese character, executed in the rich and stately style of the temple frescoes, though in a somewhat provincial manner, with less reserve and tending more to the profuseness of the Tibetan art that followed them. The hieratic poses of the figures has caused a kind of verticality in the composition, as in Gothic religious sculpture, which we shall find reflected in the Persian miniatures of the best period. But the most prominent effect of these religious paintings on the miniatures of Persia is seen in the richness of colour that the latter borrowed from them, and the heightening with gold, so lavishly used in Buddhistic art. It has been suggested that these features may be attributed to primitive Italian paintings given by ambassadors sent to the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century by the Pope and the French king, to request their co-operation against the Saracens with whom the Mongols, not yet converted to Islam, were then fighting; but if we examine the reports of the two friars who headed these missions, John Pian of Carpini and William of Rubruquis, we shall find that the missions were small and miserably equipped and carried no rich gifts; Brother William took with him a psalter with 'golden pictures', given him by the French Queen, a lovely thing, no doubt, which roused the cupidity of the Khakan's lieutenant who took it from him, but that was hardly a sufficient cause for the great development that Persian art had then begun to undergo. These same Mongols were in constant touch with China, which Chingiz partly conquered in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and when Hulagu, his grandson, ruled in Persia, with Kublai, another grandson as emperor in China, intercourse between the two countries was free and

organized. The eldest brother of these two Khans, Mangu, was the Great Chief or Khakhan and it was of his court at Karakoram that the aforesaid Brother William gave so striking an account, with its columnar reception-hall, much like a church, and its massive automata and other apparatus in solid silver—a centre of truly ‘Persian’ luxury.

The strongest evidence of the domination of Chinese art in the Turkestan paintings is provided by the calligraphic quality of the drawing; of this we have already noticed traces, a century earlier, at Samarra, but only as an element confined to comparatively small areas of the designs, whereas here the whole of the drawing is sharp and crisp, of completely formed calligraphic style, such as was followed by the pottery painters of Reyy and, more conventionalized, by the miniaturists of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries. Handwriting was for the Chinese, as for orthodox Persians and Muslims in general, the nobler form of art; it was brought by them to a high degree of perfection and translated into exquisite drawing, which conquered the imagination of all art lovers of Central and, later, Western Asia, and was specially acceptable to the followers of Islam, brought up in reverent admiration of the strong and graceful Arabic script so closely connected with their religious teachings. The noble sweep of line which characterized the old Chinese frescoes is so imposing that the subtler qualities of their draughtsmanship might at first sight escape notice; it is perhaps more evident in works of non-religious character, liberated from hieratic control; for example, a few swift sketches in ink on paper have survived in Turkestan which show how lively the local Chinese draughtsmanship could be, vigorous and true, not unlike that of artists of the European renaissance—a quality observable, in its own degree, in the painted pottery of Reyy.

The Buddhistic element is prominent in the circular haloes crowning holy personages and this was adopted bodily into the Turco-Persian art, without any regard for its religious meaning; its use there is quite capricious, not applied to all human figures nor yet confined to any class: it affords a good example of the transference of an element of illustration from one art-region to another for decorative purposes only, its original functions being ignored or misunderstood—in some early miniatures haloes are depicted even round the heads of flying birds, perhaps a reminiscence of Christian pictures of the Holy

Dove. The Chinese used an almond-shaped nimbus, (*mandola*) highly decorated and flame-like, developing into a screen behind a sacred image, sometimes also retaining with the *mandola* the circular halo round the head. The flame-like halo noticed first about 1430, with the cloud scroll—See Blochet, pl. LXXXVIII) appears often round the heads of holy personages in Persian miniatures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Chinese influence was at its height, coming from its source direct; in this case its real meaning was known and its use regulated accordingly.

To sum up broadly, it may be said that Serindian art (to adapt Sir Aurel Stein's expressive name) of the ninth and tenth centuries appears superficially to balance between Chinese and New Persian, inclining sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, but in fact it is compounded of Chinese, late Hellenistic and Indian, with the first as its strongest factor; going west with the conquering Turks, it developed into the Turco-Persian and from that, later, with further direct additions from the Chinese, into the New Persian, which blossomed forth complete under the Timurids at the end of the fourteenth century. The chain is not complete chronologically, for between the Serindian finds and the miniature paintings of Reyv there is a gap of two centuries; yet the mutual likeness is remarkable and there can be no doubt that a link, not yet revealed, closely connected them.

The interval is a dark one; most of what it produced has been destroyed, lost in the complete ruin brought on all large cities that fell in the ruthless path of Chengiz and his Mongols. Much therefore is obscure, though it may be hoped that excavations in Persia, where much remains to be done in that way, will some day give us light.

Searching in this obscurity, we turn again to the Turks: if, as our conclusions seem to establish, they were the active agents in promoting the new art, they must have had some medium, easily transported, which could supply models for their artists; no more suitable one could be found than illuminated manuscripts emanating from Eastern Turkestan and following the Serindian style which had grown up there. Now we know that manuscripts answering this description were made by the Manichæans who, like the Christians, provided illustrations to their books for the benefit of their flocks; they spread into Central Asia and even found their way for a time, in

the seventh century, into China ; they came under the spell of its art, in the Serindian variety, as we know from the remains of their frescoes, brought to light by von le Coq in Eastern Turkestan, which are wholly painted in the lay style of that region, with perhaps a somewhat greater inclination than the average to the more purely Chinese. A further point of note with respect to their connection with Persian art is that they were richly adorned with gold, as we learn from literary sources of the tenth century.

There are, therefore, strong grounds for concluding that the new Turco-Persian art of Rey, Mosul and Damascus was founded on Manichæan miniature paintings and developed under the patronage of the Turks, and this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Manichæan art was held in extreme honour by the Persians of the later epoch who often refer to Manes himself as the supreme model of all painters. No copies of the Manichæan illuminations are so far known, but it is quite possible that some may yet be found, for von le Coq has reported the destruction of large quantities, not forty years ago, by ignorant peasants who held them as unholy : if a happy chance should bring others to our knowledge, we should doubtless find that they justified the Persians' honouring.

The distinction of fostering West Asiatic art may be claimed by the Turks, yet it is very probable that the instruments employed by them consisted largely of Persians, for great numbers of the latter, as we read in Maqrizi, fled to Asia Minor and Egypt before the Tartar invasions of the early thirteenth century and of these the skilled craftsmen would doubtless be among the first to escape, bringing great artistic enrichment to the lands where they settled, comparable on a different plane, with the benefits brought to England in a later age by the Huguenot craftsmen, who took refuge there from continental prosecutions of their religion.

A few lines must be given to the paintings on the Rey pottery of the miniature style which has been frequently referred to above. They are generally very small, the colour palette is extensive, obtained by enamels under a comparatively low temperature which admitted of easy control by the potters ; gilding was used in some profusion, much of it worn off in surviving specimens, and the total effect resembles that of illuminations of manuscripts—which, as we have seen, probably served as models

for this work. The draughtsmanship is free and vigorous, comparable in this, as previously noted, to the lay Serindian. The figures represented are the usual ones of Persian art, as recounted at some length in the quotation given above from M. Migeon ; those of women greatly predominating ; the world depicted is always one of courts and pleasure. The composition of the pieces, though it sometimes includes with success the confrontation familiar in Sasanian art, is often loose and very slightly co-ordinated ; the richer pieces suffer from over-ornamentation, a fault sometimes observable also in the shapes of the vessels. The dresses figured are generally of very ornate stuffs, multicoloured, a feature derived largely from the old Mesopotamian art, a fine and characteristic example being provided by the carved ivory plaque from the Bargello previously referred to. Richness of decoration was ever a notable feature in the fabrics of Mesopotamia and her neighbours and has been carefully recorded by Egyptian artists from the earliest times, most markedly, perhaps, in the faience figures of captives from that country which were inlaid as architectural decorations in a temple of Rameses III. Very similar were the stuffs worn by Assur-bani-pal and his courtiers, as shown in the low-reliefs from his palace ; the dresses of the archers in the famous frieze from the Persian palace of Susa are adorned with the same kind of rosettes, and also those of the knights and ladies depicted on the pottery of Reyv—but the textile patterns appearing there are not all of this kind ; among them are some of the more complicated Chinese character, to be dealt with below.

A feature of widest occurrence in the designs of this pottery, as on the glass of Syria and the metal vessels of Mosul, is the representation of musicians with girls and youths drinking, which form, indeed, almost a commonplace of the decorations of this period, spreading also into Egypt where they are found in carvings from the ruins of Old Cairo, introduced doubtless from Syria which had constant communication with Egypt and whose art, as we see from the many remains of decorated pottery dug up in Fostât, was extensively copied there ; this class of design figures on the previously mentioned early ivories in the Bargello and survived in strength all through the later periods of Persian art ; so fully did it occupy the minds of the metal-inlayers of Mosul in the late thirteenth century that they worked it into the most inappropriate places, as we may see in the large flask or cooler in the Eumorfopoulos collection, made for some great Christian

dignitary or church and covered with religious designs, including the Nativity and figures of saints, and adorned with texts from the Old Testament in magnificent Kufic script (see illustration in "Apollo", January, 1927, by Mrs. Devonshire). Such designs, originally forming part of scenes of courtly entertainment, were equally adapted to less exalted circles of society, such as that of wealthy merchants, and to this owe their great popularity; the finer metal-work was reserved for Sultans and their courtiers and was often inscribed with their names and titles, as were the ornate vessels, mostly in superb slip-ware, which were made in great quantities in medieval Egypt, for the use of their households.

It may seem strange that the new artistic impulse manifested in the works just dealt with did not as quickly affect the art of painting, for though traces of it are visible in a few works of the thirteenth century and still more in the fourteenth, it is not till the end of the latter that it found its full development in Persian miniatures. It is probable that at the end of the twelfth century the arts of enamelling on glass and glazed earthenware and of inlaying on brass had only just been brought to perfection and the minds of the artists, not bound by previous decorative conventions, were directed immediately to the fresh Serindian style while the painters, steeped in the traditions of several centuries' standing and not yet specially favoured by kings and courts, who would demand of them a more refined art, clung naturally to their old ways; but the change was to come to them also, before long, with royal patronage, and it is most interesting to follow up the different stages of development in the few characteristic examples of the transitional period that remain to us; these were well represented by the MSS. exhibited at Burlington House and in the British Museum, affording the student a unique and precious opportunity of making comparisons and deductions from actual examples.

In the thirteenth century painting is still largely in the Mesopotamian style; most of its remaining examples consist of illustrations to the "Assemblies" of Hariri, that ever-popular epic of the most brazen and entertaining of picaresque rogues, Abu Zaid of Seroug, of the Æsopic Fables of Bidpai, translated from India, and of the most popular physical works of Aristotle; such works were not so much for the delectation of courts as for the wealthier of the middle classes, quite content with the older forms of painting with which they were familiar, yet the new heaven may be seen clearly at work in them also, even in

the twelfth century, as, for example, in the illustrated MS. of the Fables of Bidpai now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris* and illustrated by E. Blochet in "Musliman Painting", pl. II *: this MS. was produced about the middle of the twelfth century at Ghazna which is now in Afghanistan but then in Eastern Persia and once an important capital, the seat of the sultans of whom the most famous was the grudging patron of the poet Firdousi; the paintings were executed in a style closely resembling that of the ceramics of Reyy and give further support to the theory advanced above that it was through Turkish conquerors that the Serindian style was first implanted in Persia. In pls. III to IX (Blochet) the illustrations to an Arabic MS. of Harîri's "Assemblies", dated about thirty years later, are very markedly in the old Mesopotamian style, though one (pl. IV) shows traces of the new influence: we may further note that the older manner of representing the human eye, full and round, as in Byzantine and Syrian paintings, has now given way to the Chinese manner, with eyes almond-shaped. In the next (pl. X), dated at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we find Serindian influence very marked and though the human figures are 'somewhat lumpish, in the Mesopotamian fashion, the style in general is real early Persian; this is a MS. of Firdousi's "Book of Kings", belonging to the courtly class and not to the popular Mesopotamian, it was a product, according to Blochet, of North-west Persia, the neighbourhood of Reyy, or of Seljuk Asia Minor, and would therefore be expected, in view of previous arguments to show, as it does, marked Serindian influence. In MS. of the first half of the thirteenth century traces of this influence are always clear, as in pls. XVII, XXII, XXV and especially XXXI (Blochet), while in some it is paramount, as in the illustrations to an Arabic translation of part of Galen's Treatise on Electuaries of which one is beautifully reproduced in "The Islamic Book" (pl. XXXI); the background is vermilion, brilliant colours are used for all the figures and yet the whole effect is harmonious; haloes

* This book will be generally used to exemplify the various phases dealt with here, as it is the most accessible of the larger books dealing with the subject: of these we may notice F.D. Martin; "The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India, etc.," London, 1912; "The Islamic Book", by Sir Thomas Arnold and Professor A. Grohmann, the Pegasus Press, 1929, and "Painting in Islam", by Sir T. Arnold, Oxford, 1928. For a short introduction, one of the most up-to-date is "Persian Painting", by Basil Gray, London, 1930. Several series of art-books, specially in Germany, have volumes including the subject; full bibliographies are found in the larger volumes mentioned.

are bestowed indiscriminately although the personages represented are but commoners—an evident misreading of Serindian work : at first sight we might almost think that this brilliant page came from 'Serindia' itself. In the second half of the century the general style was still unsettled, the paintings displaying sometimes more of one style, sometimes of the other, yet the ever-increasing influence of the Serindian is evident, a characteristic example of this being available in the Persian version of the *Fables of Bidpai*, of 1280 (pl. XI, Blochet), which, though executed at Baghdad, is markedly in the Serindian style.

About this time the characteristic Chinese cloud-scroll appears, as in the Tabriz MS. of a *Treatise on Animals*, dated 1295 (Blochet, pl. XLI), though the dervish with the begging-bowl who forms part of the composition is still in the Mesopotamian manner, though refined ; the warrior about to kill a dragon intent on devouring a maiden, in the manner of St. George, is depicted as a Mongol ; knights at this time and for fifty years later were often shown as clad in Mongolian armour. In the " *Book of the Kings* " at the Louvre, from Tabriz, dated about 1310 (Blochet, pls. XLIV-XLVII), the touches of Mesopotamian character are few and hardly perceptible while Chinese refinement governs the delicate line-work of the drawing and the use of the cloud-scroll is not merely prominent but (pls. XLI and XLIV) obtrusive. These new elements are of pure Chinese derivation and not of the provincial Serindian variety, but the influence of the latter is still very strong, especially in illustrations of the more homely class of books noted above ; of these a good example is provided in a MS. of Harîri's " *Assemblies* " dated 1334 in the National Library of Vienna (" *The Islamic Book* ", pl. XLIII) ; the painting is exceedingly rich, true to the Buddhistic model on which its class was formed, the whole presenting a massive splendour like that of Byzantine representations of the Deity or of emperors ; touches of the Mesopotamian style are nevertheless still discernible, while the growth of the New Persian style is evidenced by the great intricacy of the decorative details, specially noticeable in the patterns of the dresses and in the ornate borders added architecturally round the paintings.

The pure Chinese element was soon to prevail, leading quickly to the complete New Persian style ; both countries, as well as Turkestan, had fallen under the domination of the same Mongol family, intercommunication had become, for the times, easy and frequent and the Mongol princes,

eager, as ever, in the patronage of art, turned to the highest form of it that lay within the circle of their power; the Chinese element, thus favoured, gained its first prominence in the art of Persia, growing steadily in the second half of the thirteenth century; it is manifested in the elaborate decoration of the robes noticed above ("The Islamic Book", pl. XLIII), which first appears in the painted pottery of Rey; it is of floral character, often on a basis of long intertwining vines of the kind which had been highly developed in China in the T'ang dynasty, if not earlier, and became, in Persia, most prominent in the great carpets of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. The earlier patterns, of Mesopotamian derivation, were of a kind suited to the process of weaving, but not so these later ones which spread over large surfaces of the stuff and seem derived from some other art, perhaps embroidery.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century there has been preserved to us, by good fortune, at least one notable example of courtly patronage exercised at Tabriz by the Thomas Wolsey of his day, Rashîd-ud-dîn, who set up establishments for the fostering of learning in general and, in particular, the knowledge of contemporary history as set forth in his "History of the World" and "History of the Mongols". He employed artists to illustrate copies of these works destined by him to be distributed to the chief centres of Muslim learning; a copy of the "History of the World" has survived, part being now in the Library of Edinburgh University and part in that of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, while a copy of the "History of the Mongols" is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, both well illustrated by Blochet, pls. XLVIII—LXV. The miniatures are the work of different hands and the points of difference are instructive: those of the "History of the World" are characteristic examples of the transitional period, much in them being in the old Mesopotamian style, but more in the newer mode of Chinese derivation which has also strongly impressed the whole with its fine calligraphic draughtsmanship but the miniatures in the "History of the Mongols" are almost wholly in the new style, with very few remains of the Mesopotamian; it is perhaps an exceptionally advanced case, or, more probably, as some authorities think, a later copy, for during the greater part of that century the paintings still surviving show many Mesopotamian features and it is not till the fresh Mongolian invasion, under Timur the Lame, that the New Persian style was definitely established, to the exclusion of the earlier.

Timur was a great patron of the arts, zealous especially for the beautifying of his capital, Samarqand, which is eloquent of his efforts even in its modern decay : Persian painting in his time had reached its first perfection, a characteristic expression of courtly art ; he does not appear himself to have specially patronized it, but his son, Shah Rûkh, did so, attracting the best artists to Herat, which he had made his capital and which became for many years a great centre of art. Miniatures of Timur's time are exceedingly rare but two MSS. containing them are preserved in the British Museum, one of poems by Khawâju Kirmânî and the other of the "Garshâsp-nameh", a page of the former being reproduced by Blochet (pl. LXXII) and others by Martin. The colouring is solid and very brilliant, the blue of the skies almost dazzling, gardens and orchards take their gay part in some of the scenes, the line-work is firm and convincing, calligraphic and often of extraordinary fineness ; there are many details suggestive of direct Chinese influence yet there is little of the suppleness of Chinese drawing ; the whole effect is of great brilliancy to which all else is subordinated—excepting perhaps the natural Persian tenderness towards flowers and certain aspects of animal life. A feature prominent throughout the Timurid period is the verticality of the figures, very marked in the two MSS. in the British Museum just noticed, derived doubtless from wall-frescoes in Buddhist temples or, perhaps, more directly, from cognate religious paintings on banners or votive pictures. Another feature common to both classes is their brilliant colouring and these two qualities, together, make it clear that the influence of Chinese art on Persian was effected by the religious works of the former rather than by the lay ones, with their freer liveliness and lower tone of colour-scheme. The Chinese have always valued strong and supple line as the highest manifestation of art and in this, too, their influence on Persian artists has been paramount : pure line-drawing was specially favoured by the latter in the seventeenth century, to be treated of below, but we should note also that it was attempted even in the Mongol period, an excellent example existing in a MS. of the Poems of Mu'izzî, dated 1314, in the library of the India Office, London, of which two drawings are reproduced in "The Islamic Book" (pl. XLII) ; the poet is seen in both with his patron, the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar ; he is bearded and wears a turban while the Sultan and his followers, with shaven chins, wear Suljuk costumes, very like Chinese ; the drawing is quite alien from the Mesopotamian style of the period

and seems to be wholly founded on Chinese—(the very eyes have the slant peculiar to them); it is simple and somewhat archaic, pleasing in its sincerity. Another example of almost pure drawing, nearly a hundred years later, is in a MS., shown at the exhibition, of the poems of the Sultan Ahmed Jalâyir, dated 1402, made famous by the splendid reproductions brought out by Dr. F. R. Martin (Vienna, 1926). The artist's draughtsmanship is so sure and strong that he was content to do without the added attraction of vivid colour, he gets his effects with a few light touches of colour and gold—had they been laid on solidly, in the manner of that time, they would have detracted much from the effect of the drawing—so excellent that it was considered by Dr. Martin's enthusiastic expert friends as superior even to Dürer's. The century that divides this MS. from that of Murizzi's Poems witnessed a great development in draughtsmanship; the Chinese foundation remains always evident in the treatment of trees and landscape and in a hundred little touches, but the archaic naivety of the earlier MS. has been abandoned and a freedom and fluidity gained comparable to that of masters of the European high renaissance. Even more sympathetic, if perhaps not so masterly, is the draughtsmanship displayed in a MS. from Herat of the late fifteenth century, now in the Louvre (Blochet, pl. CIV); a Turcoman, mounted, is drawing his bow on a standing heron, the horse a very Rosinante, the rider keen and angular, both treated with as much sympathy as Cervantes showed to his Don Quixote: the next plate (CV) reproduces a portrait of a dervish, of the same origin and date, and equally remarkable, with all the sensitive qualities of a Chinese portrait—high praise indeed. The Chinese basis is most apparent in these as well as in less striking works of the great period of the art, a basis well recognized by the Persians themselves who, since the days of Firdousi, never ceased to proclaim the Chinese as the highest masters of painting.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

(To be continued).

THE KHAN KHANAN AND HIS PAINTERS, ILLUMINATORS AND CALLIGRAPHERS

WE know so little about the life-history of the artists of the period of Akbar and Jahângîr—nay, of the Mughal artists in general—that even a scrap of paper, which may throw light on the biography of these artists, is of value to a student of Mughal art. Writers on Mughal painting have ordinarily made use of only such material as has been available to them in printed Texts and Translations, but, it must be admitted, that there is still a mass of material in Persian manuscripts which, if examined and published, will no doubt throw much light on the subject. There is another point which also deserves consideration. It has been supposed so long that all the Mughal artists were attached to the court of the Emperor only,—but the fact is that some of the Mughal grandees also had well-equipped studios in which talented artists embellished and illuminated for them manuscripts of rare grace and beauty. Among such grandees was the Khân Khânân ('Abdur Rahîm) the great general of Akbar and a son of the famous Bayrâm Khân (the Regent), who had gathered round him a galaxy of some of the most talented artists of the age. In our historical works the Khân Khânân appears in the rôle of a great commander and a capable administrator but, in fact, he was equally great as a poet, a scholar and a *connoisseur*. He was a generous patron of savants, poets, painters and penmen. Almost all the great poets of Akbar were formerly attached to his court. In fact, they served their term of apprenticeship under him, before joining the service of the Emperor.

The Khân Khânân's library has been described as a 'Wonder of the Age'. It was a meeting-place of the best scholars and men of letters of the age. His biographer, 'Abdul Bâqî Nahâwandî, who has written the excellent *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi** (or the history of 'Abdur Rahîm,

* A very fine copy of the book, comprising 756 folios, and bearing additions and emendations in the author's own hand, is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. D. 268). The book is being edited by Shams-ul-'Ulamâ Dr. M. Hidâyat Husain, Khân Bahâdur, in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* and is nearing completion. Another copy, containing the *Khatima* (or conclusion) only, is also preserved in the same library (No. D. 269). I have used both the MSS, in preparing notes.

Khân Khânân), tells us that the Khân Khânân's library was visited by nearly a hundred scholars daily, who met there 'to have their doubts settled, their difficulties solved and their frontier of knowledge enlarged and extended'. The library was in the charge of a Superintendent, who was himself a scholar. His function was twofold: first, the custody of the manuscripts and, secondly, the supervision of the work of the calligraphists, painters, gilders and book-binders, who were engaged in copying and illuminating the manuscripts. The *Ma'athir* gives us the names of five persons who at some time or other, acted as librarians of the Khân Khânân, namely, Shaikh 'Abdus Salâm (fol. 749b), Mawlânâ Baqâ'î (fol. 625b), Mîr Bâqî of Transoxiana (fol. 753a), Mawlânâ Ibrâhîm (fol. 745b) and Shujâ'â (fol. 752a), besides Mawlânâ Kâmî, Ghanî Hamadânî and a few others who were also employed there.

Besides ancient manuscripts, the library contained a very large collection of autograph copies of the works of contemporary poets. But, alas, none of those autograph copies is known to exist to-day; and, of the older manuscripts, only a dozen have been traced so far.¹ All these copies are the finest specimens of the penman's and the illuminator's art,² and some even contain excellent miniatures in the finest Persian and Mughal styles. The interest which the Khân Khânân took in the manuscripts of his library is proved by the fact that all the extant copies of his library bear his autograph notes also. I may mention here, in passing, that a beautiful copy of the *Tadhkirat-ul Auliya*, or the 'Memoirs of the Saints', which formerly belonged to the library of the Khân Khânân and bears his autograph note on the fly-leaf, has recently been added to my humble collection of Persian manuscripts.

I have already said that the Khân Khânân was a very good *connoisseur*. An instance only will prove my point. The author of *Kalimat-ush-Shu'ara* narrates the following story of a painter who came to the Khân Khânân, with a picture and received a reward of five thousand rupees from him. He says:—

"When the Khân Khânân was going to the court of the Emperor, a painter came to him and handed over to him

(1) See Shams-ul-'Ulamâ Hâfidh Nazîr Ahmad's article in the *Ma'arif* (Vol. 14, No. 5, pp. 415-430).

(2) In the fifth Regnal year (1610, A.D.), of Jahângîr the Khân Khânân presented a beautiful, illustrated copy of Jâmi's *Yusuf Zulaikha* which was transcribed by the famous calligraphist Mîr 'Alî. The MS. was appraised at 1,000 Mohurs. (See *Memoirs*, Rogers and Beveridge, i, p. 168). According to K.B. 'Abdul Muqtadir, the MS. is now preserved in the Bankipore Library, (*Catalogue*, ii, pp. 76-80).

one of his pictures. The scene depicted therein was of a lady who was taking her bath and that a maid-servant was rubbing the sole of her foot with a pumice-stone. The Khân Khânân looked at the picture for a moment and then, putting it in his palanquin went away to pay homage to the Emperor. When he returned, the painter reappeared. He ordered that a sum of rupees five thousand be paid to him. The painter said, 'My picture is hardly worth more than five rupees, but there is one artistic skill which I have employed in it. If your Honour has marked that, then I shall be glad to accept your reward, for then I shall have the satisfaction that your Honour has really appreciated my work'. The Khân Khânân said, 'Your skill lies in that you have expressed in the lady's face the feeling which is produced by the rubbing of the sole with a pumice-stone'. The painter was much delighted and he went round the *palki* of that *connoisseur*.¹

This much for painting. The interest which the Khân Khânân took in calligraphy may be proved from the following two instances. When 'Abdul Bâqî Nahâwandî first came to his court and presented to him a 'Poem', which was transcribed by the celebrated calligraphist, Mîr 'Imâd of Qazwîn, the Khân Khânân was so pleased with him that he at once appointed him to a high post and later commissioned him to compile the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*.² Again, when Khwâja Mûhammad of Gîlân sent to the Khân Khânân a Persian Poem, which was copied by the well-known calligraphist Amîr Mu'izzuddîn Muhammad of Kâshân, he sent him a *lac of rupees*.³

The author of the *Ma'a hir-ul-Umara* has truly remarked that 'the Khân Khânân's court, which was the centre of the 'masters' of all branches of art and letters, was reminiscent of the days of Sultân Husain Mîrzâ and Mîr 'Alî Shîr of Herât'. Like these two great bibliophiles—probably the greatest that Persia has ever known—the Khân Khânân also had (as appears from the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*), a regular staff of painters, gilders, illuminators and calligraphists. The *Ma'athir* gives us the names of *five* painters, *two* gilders and illuminators and *three* calligraphists only but, besides them, there must have been many more artists of lesser fame who were also engaged in illustrating and illuminating the manuscripts of the Khân Khânân.

(1) *K imat-ush-Shu'ara* (my MS. copy), fol. 22b.

(2) *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, (A.S.B. MS., D, 269), fol. 360.

(3) *Ibid*, (D, 268), fol. 549b.

Among the painters, we get the names of Miyân Nadîm, Bahbûd, Mushfiq, Mâdhu and Ibrâhîm ; and among the gilders and illuminators we find Mullâ Muhammed Amîn and Mullâ Muhammad Husain ; and among the calligraphists we have Mullâ Abdur Rahîm, *Ambarin Qalam*, Mullâ Muhammad Mu'min, Mawlânâ Muhammad Darwish and Mullâ Muhammad Bâqir. The only specimen of the art of some of the above-named painters is in a copy of the *Khamsa*, or the 'Five Poems', of Amir Khusraw of Delhi, which is preserved in the *Staatsbibliothec*, Berlin (MS. Orient. Fol. 1278). Dr. Goetz, who has examined the manuscript, says, "According to an extensive note inserted in 1617 by the Khân Khânân 'Abdur Rahîm Khân (one of the highest grandees of the Emperor Akbar and son of his guardian Bairâm Khan) it was purchased by the latter in Gujarat, and is said to have been a masterpiece jointly executed by the calligrapher Sultân 'Alî and the most renowned of Muslim painters, Bihzâd. Its miniatures which are framed by charming illuminated borders, are, nevertheless, actually signed by three less known, painters of Akbar's reign, Qâsim, Nadîm and Mish Kish. Originally it had no illustrations ; subsequently many miniatures of very different origin were pasted over the text and were adapted to its size by various disfiguring additions. Among these, however, is a quantity of bad miniatures, but nevertheless some very fine paintings of the Akbari School."¹

Of the above three painters, Nadîm and Mushfiq² (and not Mish Kish, as stated by Dr. Goetz) are mentioned in the *Ma'athir* ; while the third, Qâsim is not referred to in the book. There is, however, one Muhammad Qâsim whose illustrations can be seen in the British Museum copy of the *Shahnama*,³ Add. 5600. He may be identical with the aforesaid Qâsim who illustrated the *Khamsa* for the Khân Khânân but, unless further evidence is forthcoming, no final decision can be made. It is also difficult to identify the Mâdhu of the *Ma'athir* with the Mâdhu mentioned by Abu'l Fazl in the '*A'in*', as has been done by Blochmänn,⁴

(1) *Eastern Art* (Annual), Vol. II, 1930, article on "Indian miniatures in the German Museums and Private Collections".

(2) The signature of Mushfiq is quite clear. See the reproduction in Arnold and Grohmann's *The Islamic Book*, Plate. 87.

(3) Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, Vol. ii. p. 537a. A miniature, bearing Qâsim's signature has been reproduced by Arnold and Binyon in the *Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, Plate viii.

(4) '*A'in-i-Akbari*, (Blochmänn), Vol. i, p. 10841.

Martin¹ and Brown.² The last named author mentions three Mâdhus of Akbar's period: Mâdhu Khânazâd, Mâdhu Kalân (or senior) and Mâdhu Khurd (or Junior). He has identified the first, *i.e.*, Mâdhu Khânazâd, with the Mâdhu of the *Ma'athir*. But I fear he has overlooked the fact that Mâdhu Khânazâd's pictures are to be found in the British Museum copy of the *Darabnama*, which, as he himself says, was completed about 1575, while the Mâdhu of the *Ma'athir* was still working in the library of the Khân Khânân in 1617 A.D. Did he really resign his service under the Emperor and join that of the Khân Khânân? Probably not, for had this been a fact the author of the *Ma'athir* must have referred to this in his book. In view of these considerations, I am inclined to keep his identity separate from that of the Mâdhu of the *'A'in* and also from the two other Mâdhus whose names appear in the "Akbar Manuscripts".

Let me here refer to the Khân Khânân's interest in 'paper'. It is on record that he was keenly interested in 'Aks (or tracing) paper and that Mullâ Muhammad Amîn and Mullâ Muhammad Husain invented 'Aks paper of 'seven colours'. *Abri* paper was also invented under his patronage.³

Now, I append an English translation of the notices of painters, gilders and calligraphists, which are given in the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*. I should like to make it clear, however, that my translation is not always literal as, in that case, some of the passages would have hardly been intelligible to the English reader.

A. PAINTERS..

1. Miyân Nadîm (fol. 753a). He was one of the *Khasa Khail* and a slave of this Commander-in-Chief. He was the brother of Miyân Fahîm⁴ whose account we have

(1) *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, p. 130.

(2) *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 197.

(3) It is stated in *Farhang-i-'Anand Raj*, (p. 1024) that "Abri is a coloured paper". Shiblî Nu'mânî, a renowned Indian scholar who for the first time drew attention to the importance of *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, says that "*Abri* paper was used in binding manuscripts" (*Maqalat*, p. 149), but this assertion does not seem to be correct.

(4) Miyân Fahîm was the son of Barbunâjî, a Râthor Râjpût of Saruhî, who was killed in an engagement with the Khân Khânân. Fahîm (whose original Hindu name is not known to us) fell a prisoner into the hands of the Khân Khânân, who took a fancy for him and brought him up as a son. Fahîm gave his life for his master, while fighting Mahâbat Khân who had interned the Khân Khânân. He was pious and brave (see *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, fol. 748b,—and *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, Vol. i, p. 712).

already given. The service which the latter rendered to India, in general, and to the Khân Khânân, in particular, is too well-known to need repetition here. He (*i.e.*, Nadîm) was so skilled in drawing and painting that, since the days of Mânî and Bihzâd, none has been born who can rival him. He acquired this proficiency in the library, and in the service, of this Commander-in-Chief. In fact, the exalted Khân Khânân himself instructed and raised him to this high level. Thus, under the training of the Khân Khânân, he became a peerless master in his art. He breathed his last in the service of his master. He led a comfortable and care-free life, as he was handsomely paid by the Khân Khânân.

2. Bahbûd (foll. 753*a*, *b*). He was a *Khasa Khail* of the Khân Khânân. Formerly he was a slave of Mîrzâ Bâqir, the illustrious son of *Qiblat-ul-Kutîab*, Mîr 'Alî, the famous calligraphist. The aforesaid Mîrzâ (Bâqir) was skilled in calligraphy and wrote such beautiful *Nasta'liq*, after the style of his father, that his writings find a place in the Albums of the *connoisseurs*, and excite much admiration. When he came to India and joined the service of the Khân Khânân, he handed over Bahbûd, who is unrivalled in painting and *Nasta'liq* calligraphy, to the Khân Khânân. He is still alive and passes his time in the Library. He is engaged in adorning, embellishing and copying the manuscripts of the Khân Khânân. In fact, he is peerless in these two arts, in his age. The writer has seen specimens of his painting and calligraphy and is of opinion that undoubtedly he is a 'Marvel of the Age'.

3. Mawlânâ Mushfiq (fol. 753*b*). He is also one of the *Khasa Khails*. He is an unrivalled painter of his age. He has passed his life, from an early age down to the present day, in the library (of the Khân Khânân). Here, he acquired proficiency and obtained this exalted position under the care and in the training of this Chief. He has no rival or equal (in his art). He leads a life of comfort, under the patronage of the Khân Khânân. He works in the library.

4. Mâdhu (fol. 753*b*). He is a Hindu painter. In portraiture, drawing, painting and arabesque-design (*tarrahi*) he is the Mânî and the Bihzâd of his age. He has illustrated most of the manuscripts of this court; he has drawn several court-scenes and painted excellent miniatures. He is employed in the library and holds, besides an allowance, *Jagirs* also. The writer has met

him and has also seen his pictures in the presence of this Commander-in-Chief. Verily, he is peerless (in his art).

5. Mawlânâ Ibrâhîm, *Naqqash* (fol. 754b). He was unrivalled in 'calligraphy, gilding, book-binding and was skilled as engraver on precious stones. He was much skilled in various arts, and was proficient and unsurpassed in other branches as well. He met the Commander-in-Chief at Ahmadnagar, in the Decān, and entered his service there. He held the post of a librarian for a number of years. There are many specimens of his painting and gilding in this 'school of wise men' *i.e.*, the library. It may be said, without the least exaggeration, that each one of his excellences would have been an embellishment and an adornment for the people of the world. At times, he composed verses also. He had a good aptitude for poetry and was unrivalled among the exponents of this art in India. For reasons, which are not known to the writer, he was deprived of the honour of the service of the Khân Khânân. He travelled, during the remaining period of his life, throughout India, in search of a master and patron like the Khân Khânân, but he did not get any. He was always sorry, and regretted his mistake. At last the messenger of Death rolled the carpet of his existence (*i.e.*, he died)..... (Verses quoted).

B. GILDERS AND ILLUMINATORS.

1. Mullâ Muhammad Amîn, (fol. 752 b), the *jadwal*-maker. He is one of the famous gilders of Khurâsân. For a long time, he was employed in the library attached to the shrine of Imâm Rizâ, the eighth Imâm, at Mashhad, and was engaged in embellishing the manuscripts of that exalted shrine. When the Uzbeks became masters of Khurâsân and they plundered, pillaged and destroyed many of its districts, and more particularly Mashhad, the aforesaid Mawlânâ came, with his sons and grandsons, to India. He took shelter in the library of the Commander-in-Chief and here he removed from his face—through the kindness of the Khân Khânân—the dust of the woes and the sufferings of Khurâsân. He was appointed on a salary of Rs. 4,000 and his sons also were appointed on high salaries. He was unrivalled in his age in gilding, *jadwal*-work and 'aks (*i.e.*, tracing) work. He has adorned and embellished most of the manuscripts of this library. As the Khân Khânân was particularly interested in 'aks paper, he invented 'aks paper of seven colours. He made such improvements in 'aks that none of the ancient or modern

masters can even approach him. He obtained so many favours and rewards from his master, during his long service at his court, that it is hardly possible to enumerate them all. He had a fine taste for poetry. He is the inventor of *Abri* paper also. (Verses quoted).

2. Mullâ Muhammad Husain (fol. 753a) of Herât, was the brother of Mullâ Muhammad Amîn. He was an excellent *sahhaf*, or book-binder. In 'aks work, he even excelled Mullâ Muhammad Amîn. He has been serving in this library since thirty-five years. No one has surpassed him in *dirham burd*¹ 'Aks work of seven colours. He has no peer in this art. Besides his salary, he has been given *jagir* also. To-day, he is the pivot of the library.

C. CALLIGRAPHISTS.

1. Mullâ 'Abdur Rahîm, *Ambarin Qalam* (fol. 752b) of Herât. He is one of the celebrated calligraphists of the age, and writes a very fine *Nasta'liq* hand. In his early age when he came from Khurâsân to India, he attached himself to the court of this Commander-in-Chief. He made such improvement in calligraphy, under the able guidance of his master, that the fame of his penmanship spread all over India. Most of the manuscripts in the Sarkâr (of the Khân Khânân) were in the handwriting of this 'Wonder of the Age'. He remained in the service of the Khân Khânân for a number of years and was always engaged in acquiring proficiency (in his art). The Khân Khânân, then, presented him before the Vicegerent of God (*i.e.*, Emperor Akbar) and had him appointed in the Royal Court. At present no one excels him, except Mullâ Muhammad Husain of Kashmîr. He received many favours and rewards from the Khân Khânân, during his service under him, and to-day also he prays for his (*i.e.*, the Khân Khânân's) good fortune and prosperity.²

2. Mullâ Muhammad Mu'min (fol. 753a). He is the brother of Mullâ Muhammad Husain of Herât. These two brothers have not, since their arrival in India, gone to any other court or library, except that of this Commander-in-Chief. He wrote very beautiful *Nasta'liq*. He was the master of his age in *jali* (bold) calligraphy. There

(1) I have been unable to understand the exact significance of *dirham burd*. Several Persian scholars, whom I consulted, were also unable to enlighten me on the point.

(2) An account of the life of this calligraphist and a list of the extant specimens of his calligraphy will be found in my *Specimens of Muslim Calligraphy in the Ghose Collections, Calcutta*, pp. 11, 12.

are many bulky volumes in this library which have been transcribed by him. He received an allowance befitting his status. So long as he was alive, he was engaged in the service of the Commander-in-Chief and left it only when he passed away from this transitory world.

3. Mawlânâ Darwîsh (753*b* margin) of Turbat. He was the illustrious son of Mullâ 'Abdus Samad of Turbat. He is known as Darwîsh 'Abdus Samad. He wrote a beautiful *Ta'liq* hand. In fact, he had acquired such proficiency in his art that *connoisseurs* placed the specimens of his calligraphy in their Albums, mistaking them to be the work of the celebrated Mullâ Darwîsh. The Mullâ worked for a long time as a scribe in the *Daru'l Insha* of the Eighth Imâm at Mashhad. But the desire of kissing the threshold of this Commander-in-Chief, brought him to India. He acted as a Munshî in this Court, for a number of years. He combined in him the qualities of a good penman with that of a man of refined taste. So long as he was in the service of the Khân Khânân, he was always honoured with rewards, but, when he became old and infirm, he sought the permission of the Commander-in-Chief and retired to Kâshân—the abode of the Faithful. But he left his son, Khwâja Muhammad Qâsim, at the Court. He was employed on the same work.

The writer met the Mawlânâ at Kâshân, where he was living in comfort, with the money which he had received from this Ka'ba of generosity (*i.e.*, the Khân Khânân), and was engaged in praying for (the welfare of) his expatron. He breathed his last at Kâshân. So long as he was alive, he always prayed for the Khân Khânân.

4. Shujâ'â (fol. 752*a*). He belonged to Shîrâz. He wrote very fine *Naskh* and *Thulth* hands, and was the master of his age in that art. At the time when this Commander-in-Chief was engaged in the conquest of Sind, he came from Shîrâz to India, in 999 A.H., in company of Aqâ Muhammad Shîrâzî, (who is at present the Mîr Bakshî of this Commander-in-Chief) and of Hâfidh Tâj Shîrâzî. He got his appointment at the court on the recommendation of Mawlânâ Shakibî of Isfâhân. Shujâ'â was soon raised to the exalted position of the Superintendent of the library—a library which is the meeting-place of savants, scholars and poets. While in the service, he became such a confidant of the Commander-in-Chief that his associates and companions became jealous of him. He obtained the title of Shujâ' Bahâdur. Now-a-days many talented scholars of this country are

convinced of his excellence and ability. So long as he lived in India, he was attached to this Court. He departed to the next world while still in the service of the Khân Khânân. May God pardon his shortcomings!

5. Mawlânâ Muhammad Bâqir (fol. 610b). He is the younger brother of Mawlânâ Maqsûd, a mercer of Kâshân. In *Nasta'liq* calligraphy he not only excelled all his contemporaries in that noble art, but even surpassed the ancient masters of calligraphy. In calligraphy he was a pupil of that skilled 'Master of the Age' and the 'Wonder of the time' Amîr Mu'iz-ud-Dîn, the famous penman of Kâshân. In calligraphy he imitated the style of the ancient masters so perfectly that specimens of his penmanship found a place in the Albums of the experts of calligraphy. He was imprisoned for a year by Shâh 'Abbâs. When Shâh 'Abbâs came from Qazwîn to Kâshân, he was released from the prison on the intercession of the writer of these lines. After visiting the Ka'ba and Najaf, he returned to Kâshân. Next, he came to India and entered the service of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh (987-1035/1579-1626) at Bijâpûr. As that exalted ruler is keenly interested in *Naskh* and *Thulth* calligraphy, he gave him encouragement and raised his position and status befitting his attainments. He came to 'Adil Shâh in 1006 A.H. and since then, he has been employed there during the last twenty years. In these days, he has, on account of my friendship with him (*i.e.*, the writer), joined the band of the panegyrists of this Commander-in-Chief.

M. MAHFUZUL HAQ.



A Miniature bearing the Signature of Mushfiq, a Painter of the Khan

ABU'L-‘ATAHIYA, “AL-JARRAR”

THE POET WHO SOLD EARTHEN-POTS.

THE celebrated poet, Abu Isha‘l Isma‘l-ibn-al-Qasim-ibn-Suwaid-ibn-Kaisân al-A‘îni was a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Anâza,¹ and was surnamed Abû'l-Atâhîya. He was born at A‘în at-Tamr, a village situated in the province of the Hijâz near to the holy city of Medina. He was brought up at Kûfa, but when 18 years of age went to Baghdad, settled there and engaged in the business of selling earthenware pots, hence the surname of *al-Jarrar* (“the pot, or jar-seller”) by which he is frequently known.³

The violent passion of love borne by Abû'l-Atahîya for ‘Utbah, a slave-girl belonging to the Khalif Muhammad al-Mehdi,⁴ is well-known, and frequently alluded to by Arabian historians and biographers. It was to celebrate her charms that he composed the greater part of his amatory poems, many samples whereof have been preserved.

(1) Tradition assigns the origin of this tribe to have been the children and servants of the Sheykh an-Nazr, who ruled over the Hijâz from the year 142 of the Common era, for a period of thirty-three years, until his death which happened in 175, C.E. He was the son of Kinânah, and a lineal ancestor of the Holy Prophet, Muhammad (o.w.b.e. p.a.e.b. !)

(2) Some writers, however, place the locality of this village in the regions which are irrigated by the Euphrates. Yakut al-Hamâni, in his *Mushtarik*, states that the village is located near Anbar.

(3) Earthen jars, in Arabic *jirrar* (sing. *jarra*): the French word *jarre*, the Spanish *jarro*, or *jarra*, the Italian, *giara*, and the English *jar* would appear to be derived from this source.

In Arabic, a jûg is denominated *kuz* and *kase*, drinking cup, *kasah*; cup, *Kadah*, pl. *akdah*. Compare Persian *kadah*, *kasah*=cup.

(4) The Khalîfah, Muhammad al-Mahdi, who succeeded his father Abou-Jaafar al Mansour, reigned during the years 158 to 169 of the Hegira (775-785 of the Common era, and was succeeded by his son Musa al-Hâdi).

One of these runs thus :—

“ I wrote to ‘Utbah and said Oh Love ! think,
 And assuredly know that on the brink
 Of Jehennam I stand, trembling and lone,
 And all on account of your heart of stone ;
 My eyes swim in tears, like fountain they gush,
 In them, I’m immers’d, so fiercely they rush ;
 So great my affection, that I am in pain,
 Unless you consent, my woes will remain,
 This pain is for you, my love, my desire,
 No waters, how deep, can quench my soul’s fire !
 Tired, at last, of my piteous wail,
 That of a suppliant doomed to fail,
 Doleful as wretch of each coin bereft,
 And mournful as one, whom all hope had left,
 Her cold heart was touch’d, she anxiously said,
 ‘Does any one know, or dumb as the dead,
 Have you secret kept, of what you have told
 In verses to me of your love so bold ?’
 Now what could I say ? I must own the truth,
 Yet I felt shamefac’d, just like one uncouth,
 To own thus, that I instead of conceal,
 In madness, to all, my love did reveal,
 To love is no crime, whatever betide,
 The raptures of love, sure, no one can hide,
 But I had done more, alas ! to my shame,
 I had revealed my beloved’s name !
 ‘You wretch’, she exclaim’d, then saying no more,
 The casement she clos’d and banged the door.
 And thus I am left, disconsolate, lone.
 Oh, ‘Utbah, belov’d ! your heart is of stone.”

At the same time, the poet wrote also to the Khalīfah, Muhammad al-Mahdi, the following lines, wherein he intimated his desire to obtain the damsel ‘Utbah from him:—

“ There is one thing on earth I madly desire,
 That quickens my pulse, sets my soul all afire,
 The fulfilment whereof on Allah depends,
 And upon Al-Mahdi, with all it portends ;
 Yet my heart is gloomy and full of despair,
 And so to you, Kaliph, I thus make my pray’r.
 On earth, the maintainer of Allah’s commands,
 The Emir of Islam and far distant lands,
 The world and its riches, thou reckon but dross.
 Thy word is the law, no one would dare to cross.
 Renown’d for thy Justice, thy subjects all thrive
 In appealing to thee, my hopes then revive

Oh to me give 'Utbah ! to take her for wife,
And thus quench my desire and give me new life !

It is related by that eminent philologer and grammarian, Abû'l-'Abbâs Muhammad, generally known as Al-Muharrad,* in his work, *Kamil* (perfect), that Abû'l-Atâhiya, having obtained permission to offer a present to the Khalifah on the festivals of The New Year and the autumnal equinox, brought him, on one of these anniversaries, a huge vase of porcelain, containing a perfumed *libas* (garment) of delicate texture, on the border whereof he had inscribed the verses quoted above. On receiving this the Khalifah, Muhammad al-Mahdi, had some intention of bestowing 'Utbah, upon the poet, but she recoiled with repugnance, and exclaimed :

" O Commander of the Faithful, I am a woman ! Respect my rights as an inmate of your harem and a female in your service, and treat me as such. Will you banish me from the felicity of residing in a palace with the ladies of your household and give me up to a nasty man who sells jars and gains his livelihood by scribbling verses ?"

This appeal was not lost upon the Khalifah, and he was induced to spare the fair suppliant such an affliction, so he ordered the vase to be filled with money and given back to the poet.

When Abû'l-Atâhiya received this, he said to the two accountants charged to pay him, " It was gold pieces which the Khalifah ordered to be paid to me ! "—They replied, " So much we shall not give to you ; but if you choose, you may have it filled with silver pieces."

Then they waited until he declared his choice. For some time the poet could not make up his mind, and he hesitated for a full year before coming to a decision whether to accept the money tendered in silver or to refuse the gift absolutely, finally, however, accepting the amount proffered.

One historian, in the following lines thus poetically describes the poet's dilemma :—

" He hesitated long, at least, so we've been told,
Whether to accept a gift in less than gold,

* Abû'l-'Abbâs Muhammad, generally known as al-Muharrad composed a number of works on literary subjects, such as *Kamil* (perfect), *Ar-Rauda* (the meadow), *al-Muktadif* (rough draft), etc. He studied under Abû-'Othmân al-Mazini, and Abû-Hâtim as-Sijistâni. Many eminent masters received lessons from him, among whom Niftawaih, was one of the most distinguished. Al-Muharrad died in Baghdad in the 286th year of the Hegira (899 of the Common era).

And thought, mayhap, if I the silver thus refuse,
The Khalif will, with maiden's hand, reward my muse.
Then thought again, "If I do show myself ill-bred,
I'll lose, perchance, maid, money, and also my head."

'Utbah, on learning that the poet had accepted the money, said :—"Were this man truly in love, as he pretends to be, he would not have spent a whole year of his time in balancing the difference between pieces of gold and silver. It is evident that he has totally ceased to think of me. He has ceased to be a lover, and has become a balancer and possibly a miser !"

The following is a literal translation of one of the eulogistic passages in a poem he sent to the Governor of Tabaristân :—

Oh, exalted one !

I am completely sheltered from all the vicissitudes of Fortune, when under thy august protection !

Like a ship safely moored in the harbour, so am I, when I am attached with cords of veneration and love to the Emîr !

Behold the shelter against evil !

The shelter from the rain of adversity !¹

The (shield) against all foes and slanderers !

O Emîr ! Were it possible for men to pay fitting honour to thee, then they had given the tender skin of their cheeks to make sandals for thy feet !

Our camels complain of cruelty and hardship under the burdens with which they are laden, yet they cross desert wastes and torrid sands, with alacrity, to reach thee !

When they bear us to thee, they feel lightly laden ;—

But when they depart, with us, from the radiance of thy presence, then, indeed, their burden is heavy !²

These verses were addressed by the poet to 'Omar-ibn-al-'Ala, who was governor of Tabaristân in the 167th year of the Hegira³ (783-4, of the Common era).

(1) *Malta* specially signifies "a place of shelter from the rain".

(2) The sentence "By reason of the weight of the presents thou hast bestowed upon us", by some is believed to be implied here, others, however, think that the implication is that when the poet is compelled to leave the presence of the Emîr his heart becomes so heavy from sadness, that the camel feels it as a weighty burden.

(3) Tabaristân is celebrated as the birth-place of Abu-Jaafar Muhammad-ibn-Jarir al-Tabari (838-923 of the Common era), author of the first universal history in Arabia. He studied at Baghdad and in Syria and Egypt. His great historical work is the *Annals*, a history of the

The recipient was so delighted therewith that he rewarded the poet with 70,000 dirhems, and clothed him with so many robes of honour, that he was unable to rise.

This liberality having excited what the English poet, Samuel Daniel (1562-1619) described as that "pale hag, infernal fury, pleasure's smart, envious observer, suspicious, fearful jealousy"* of the other poets, 'Omar-ibn-al-'Ala called them all before them, and thus addressed the assembly :—"It is strange that you poets should be so

world from the creation to 302, A. Hegira (914, C.E.). This was published in 15 vols., under the editorship of de Goeje, at Leyden, 1879—1901. Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* (Leyden, 1879) is a translation of portions of the *Annals*. Tabari's extensive commentary on the Quran stands superior to all other commentaries (edited by Kern, 31 vols. Cairo, 1902-03). Consult Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (2 vols. Weimar, 1898-1902), and Hausleiter, *Register zum Qoran-Kommentar des Tabari* (Strassburg, 1912). The sluggish river, Tab, from which the province took its name, helped to form the Arabistan delta, one of the most extensive and fertile alluvial plains in Persia.

* The verse from which the above quotation is taken occurs in Daniel's poem the "Complaynt of Rosamond", published in 1592, and runs thus :

"Pale hag, infernal fury, pleasure's smart;
Envious observer, prying in ev'ry part;
Suspicious, fearful, gazing still about thee,
O would to God that love could be without thee."

Samuel Daniel was highly praised by his contemporaries. Lodge describes him "as choice in word and invention"; Carew as the "English Lucian". Drummond of Hawthornden speaks of him "for sweetness of rhyming second to none". The author of the "Returne from Parnassus" (pub. 1601) says :—

"Honey-dropping Daniel doth wage
War with the proudest big Italian
That melts his heart in sugar'd sonnetting."

In modern times Hazlitt, Lamb, and Coleridge have all written enthusiastically of Daniel. "Read Daniel the admirable Daniel", said Coleridge, in his *Civil Wars* and *Triumphs of Hymen*. The style and language are just such as any very pure and manly writer of the present day—Wordsworth, for example—would use; it seems quite modern in comparison with the style of Shakespeare." (*Table-Talk*). Some of Daniel's sonnets, all whereof are formed by three elegiac verse of alternate rhyme concluding with a couplet, are notable for sweetness of rhythm and purity of language. Daniel himself confidently asserted that posterity would do him justice :

"I know I shall be read among the rest
So long as men speak English, and so long
As verse and virtue shall be in request,
Or grace to honest industry belong."

There is a tradition that in 1599, on Spencer's death, Daniel succeeded him as poet laureate. There is no official evidence for this statement, but there is no doubt that early in the reign of James I, he was often at Court, and well received there.

jealous of each other. When one of you comes to us with a Qasidah composed in our praise, he employs fifty verses to celebrate the charms of his mistress, and he does not begin to mention us until the sweetness of his praise is exhausted, and the brilliancy of his verses has faded : but Abû'l-'Atâhiya celebrates his beloved in a few verses and then exclaims : “ *O exalted one ! I am completely sheltered from all the vicissitudes of Fortune.* ”—(The Wâli here repeated the lines quoted previously)—“ Why then are you jealous ? ”

The poets received this well-deserved rebuke in silence, salaamed to the Governor and departed.

‘Omar-ibn-al-A’la having waited for a short time before bestowing on Abû'l-'Atâhiya a mark of his generosity in recompense for this eulogium, the poet, becoming impatient, wrote to the Wâli the following lines complaining of the delay :—

“ O ‘Omar ! Mighty man, whose deeds inspire
The poet’s soul and all his feelings fire,
An evil eye, sure now, o’er me has pass’d,
And all my hopes to disappointment cast
And evil influence on thee has shed,
That generosity has died or fled.
Where is the charm, or where can there be found,
In *hamâyil*, in air, in fire, or ground,
Whose pow’r so strong the evil can dispel,
Avert that eye and its effect expel ?
Verse after verse will I pen line by line,
In language sweet, with thoughts that seem divine,
Until the shâyâtân, with its evil eye,
Grows tir’d and weary, and from thee doth fly ;
If all this fail and ill thou still remain,
There, yet, is one, that’s never us’d in vain,
Falaq wa Nas ten thousand times I’ll say,
And, Insha-Allah ! that shâyâtân will slay,
‘Omar, restor’d, will once more be himself,
And order that the poet have the pelf.”*

*Hamâyil=an amulet : *Shaytan*—Satan, the devil, a demon. *Falaq wa Nas*=“ The Daybreak ” and “ Men ”. The names of the two last sûrahs in the Qur’ân. These sûrahs are used in what is termed *Da’wah* literally, “ a call, an invocation (i.e., of God’s help) or exorcism ”. The recital of these sûrahs in *Da’wah* should be preceded by the repetition of the following sentences :—

Subhanaka ! la ilaha illa anta ! Rabba kulli-shay’in ! wa warisahu ! wa raziqahu ! wa rahimahu !

“ Glory be to Thee ! There is no deity but Thee ! The Lord of all ! and the Inheritor thereof ! and the Provider therefor ! and the Merciful thereon !

The celebrated poet Abû'l-Walîd Ashja'-ibn-'Amr as-Sulamî¹, generally known as Ashja' as-Sulamî, narrates the following anecdote: The Khalîfah Al-Mahdi having graciously given permission to the public to enter his presence, we went in, and he told us to sit down, and it so happened that Bashshâr-ibn-Burd² sat down beside me. The Khalîfah then kept silence, and the public also were silent. Then from the stillness there came the sound of a clear and sweet-toned voice. Bashshâr heard it and he whispered to me, *Man hu?* ('Who is that?') I replied: "Abû'l-'Atâhîya."—"Do you think" said he, "that he will dare to recite in this assembly?" "I think he will", said I. Then Al-Mahdi gave him the command to recite, and he commenced thus:—

"What is the matter? *Ma hu al ma'na?*

"What is the reason she keeps me so far?

"My mistress is cold, I woo her in vain,

"She is so haughty, holds me in disdain."³

Here Bashshâr nudged me with his elbow, and said: "Did you ever see a more audacious fellow, to have the audacity to dare to pronounce such a verse in such a place as this and before the Khalîfah?"

The poet then came to these lines:—

"The Khalîfah advanced to him, with pomp and pride,
For this post he was the one, there was none beside
Alone for him was it fit, he alone for it.
His will the law to which all cheerfully submit;
If any other one for such post did aspire,
The sea, with horror, would go dry, and vomit fire;
The earth would tremble and the solid mountains shake,
The sun grow pale and dim and all the planets quake;
If e'en our inmost thoughts, from him, a moment stray
'Twould be a sin, thus flagrantly, to disobey.
For such a fearful sin, heavy and hard as stone,
What would Allah require as good deeds to atone?

(1) Abû'l-Walîd Ashja'-ibn-'Amr as-Sulamî was born at Rakka in Mesopotamia. Having terminated his studies in the Arabian *belles-lettres*, he went to Baghdad and gained admission into the society of the Barmakids, one of whom, Ja'far-ibn-Yahya, favoured him with his peculiar patronage and introduced him to the Khalîfah, Hârûn al-Rashîd. The date of his death is uncertain. Some verses of Ashja''s are to be found in the *Hamasa*, and his life, with copious extracts from his poetry, is given in the *Bughyat al-Talab*.

(2) Bashshâr-ibn-Burd was a blind man and a poet of celebrity. He was blind from his birth, and his eyeballs, which were prominent, were covered with red flesh. He held the highest rank among the eminent poets in the first period of Islam.

(3) *Ma hu al ma'na?* = What is the meaning?

Here Bashshâr said : “ *Hanaza*, Ashja’ ! (Look, Ashja’!) and see if the Kahlîfah does not spring delighted from his cushion ? ” I looked and it was so, for the Khalîfah appeared charmed with the recital, and it is a known fact the Abû'l-‘Atâhiya was the only man who retired from the assembly with a recompense.”

Arabian critics divide poets into several classes : the *Jahili* or those who lived in the “ Days of Ignorance ”, before the advent on earth and the preaching of the True Faith of Islam by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (on whom and his descendants be everlasting peace !) ; the *Mukhadram*, the poets who lived before and after that epoch, and the *Muwattad*, who come next in order, their birth having taken place after the Holy Prophet had proclaimed his mission.

Abû'l-‘Atâhiya composed many verses on ascetic subjects ; he was one of the principal among those poets who flourished in the first ages of Islam, and he ranked in the same class as Bashshâr-ibn-Burd, Abu Nawas, and that group. He composed a great deal of poetry.

It is related that he once met Abu Nawas and asked him how many verses he composed in a day, to which the other replied “ One or two ”. “ But I ”, said Abû'l-‘Atâhiya, “ can make one or two hundred in a day ”. “ Yes ”, replied Abu Nawas, “ because you make verses like this :

“ Oh ‘Utbah ! What is the matter with thee and me ?
Oh that I had never seen thee !
My heart then would be tranquil
That now is an angry sea.”

Now if I choose, I could make one or two thousand of such. But I compose verses like this.” (Here he recited a couplet in Arabic, which is so obscene that it would be a gross offence against decency to translate it *verbatim* into English. The nearest approach to it which will bear publication, is the following line in Latin :—

A manu mulieris in vest imento hominis, cui duo
sunt amatores, pædico et scortator.”)

If you, Abû'l-‘Atâhiya, tried to compose a verse such as that, *al umr* (a life-time) would fail you.”

Abû'l-‘Atâhiya replied : “ *Bilhakh* ! (In truth) neither in *Zaman assabik*, *wakt al hadir*, *aw zaman al mustakhil*, (Time past, time present or in any future time) could or would I bring my mind to compose such a line as that.” Having said this he walked away.

It is only fair, however, to Abu Nawas, to say that the line he recited, notwithstanding its gross licentiousness, may also have a very witty and satirical meaning.

Many of the poetical effusions of Abû'l-'Atâhiya are elegantly expressed such as the following :—

“ I loved thee, and my passion was so excessive and so
fiery,
That my companions, when they approached me,
smelled
Off my clothes the fire that consumed me !”

Among the verses which he composed on 'Utbah, the slave in the harem of al-Mahdi, are the following :—

“ Akhwân ! I am dying, 'Tis love that is causing my
death !
Announce to the tomb, the approach of one yielding
his breath,
Get ready the *kafan*, Oh ! grant to me, quickly, this
boon,
For on the *tabut* my *jifat* will be stretched very soon.
Reproach me not for 'dying, blame me not for sub-
mitting,
For the love that consumes me, there's nothing more
fitting ;
Sallam halaho ! myself I yield up, let death be my
bride,
My life is a blank ! less, otherwise, 'Utbah doth decide.”*

Another of these pieces runs :—

“ Give me one look, Oh 'Utbah ! just one glance of grace,
Let your eyes flash, that I may gaze upon thy face
Thy raven tresses, from me now so close concealed,
Oh ! 'Utbah, say when, to me, they will be revealed !
Each hair of thine, as glossy silk doth ever shine,
Oh ! 'Utbah, say when I may call those tresses mine !
Thy tresses draw me, bind me, as a powerful rope,
They hold me in despair, yet ever give me hope ;
Thou rulest me, my potent mistress, sure, thou art,
Thou hast my soul, this thine, now give to me thy
heart !”

* *Akhwan* = brothers (plural of *akh* = brother) ; *kafan* = shroud ; *tabut* = bier ; *jifat* = corpse ; *sallam halaho* = to yield up one's self. The burden of this poem is “ I am so miserable, I am preparing for death, which end is rendered inevitable by the cruelty of my mistress”.

The following piece was also written by him on 'Utbah :—

“ For 'Utbah my eyes shed floods of tears ;

Who has ever seen, before a victim weep like me from
excessive love for his assassin ?

I have held forth my hand to implore a favour,

What give you then to him who solicits ?

If you refuse him, grant him a kind word instead

If you this year withhold your love from him,

Encourage him to expect it 'in the next !”

The philologist Said relates in his *Kitab-al-Fusus* (*Book of Mottoes on Texts*), that Abû'l-'Atâhiya, on one occasion, visited the blind poet, Bashshâr-ibn-Burd, and said to him :—“ I admire those charming verses of yours wherein you give an excuse for shedding tears :—

“ How often has shame induced me to conceal my tears from a friend, who could perceive them, however, and blame my weakness, and then my answer was : ‘ I am not weeping, but I struck my eye with a cloak as I was going to put it on’ .”

To which Bashshâr replied : “ It was from your sea, O Shaikh ! that I drew that idea, and from your quarry that I hewed the stone and shaped it out ; the arrow was yours, but I polished the shaft and sharpened the point ; did you not anticipate me when you composed those lines :—

“ They said ‘ Thou weepest ’, and I answered ‘ No ; the man of firm mind never weeps under affliction ; but a sharp splinter of wood has struck the pupil of my eye.’

Why then do both shed tears ? Did a splinter wound them both ?

‘ The right eye weeps in *jazibah* (sympathy), because his brother on the left is wounded to tears’, was my reply.”

Said remarks, on this, that both of these poets had been anticipated in this idea by Darwal-Abou-Moulaiea, popularly known as al-Hotaya, who said :—

“ When a tear flows from my eye, I say :

A mote is there, which makes it weep to-day.”

The name of Hotaya, under which this poet has become celebrated, is a nickname which was bestowed on him because of the shortness of his robe. His real name was Djarwal Abou-Moulaiea. He was an illegitimate child and his genealogy is uncertain. He is generally accredited as being the son of a certain Aus of the tribe of Abs. Hotaya was a convert from Paganism to the Holy Faith of Islam. He was a poet of supreme merit, but he was

avaricious, ill-looking, wicked, impious, and impudent, prone to demand money under threats, and very ready to satirise and to hold up to ridicule those who gave him neither encouragement nor money, and thus became disliked and dreaded. Yet of all the Arabian poets Hotaya is the one which lays himself open the least to criticism for the purity of his style and the elegance of his language. To this day, a verse of Hotayá is cited as containing a beautiful thought, perfectly expressed.

"He who acts right is sure to find a recompense

Between God and mankind goodness is never lost."

Hotaya became at enmity with Zibrican the son of Budr, in consequence of a matter which would be too long to relate, and Hotaya in a poem severely satirised Zibrican. The offended man complained of the poet's conduct to the Khalif Omar, who to punish Hotaya ordered him to be arrested and put into a dungeon. Hotaya remained there many days, and then addressed to the Khalifah a poem of so touching a nature, couched in such flowing language that the anger of Omar was appeased, and he ordered the poet to be released from the dungeon and brought into his presence, when the Khalifah said to him :—

"In future be careful whom you satirise."

"It is by satire that I have been able to live until this day", replied Hotaya.

"Take care", again said Omar, "that your satire is not levelled against those of a good family, one that is better than others."

"This defence", replied the poet, "is in itself a satire of men in general more piquant than any I am able to make, for by implication it conveys the meaning that all men are equally wicked."

"If I did not fear to establish a baleful usage", said Omar, irritated by these replies, "I would cut out your tongue. Go ! Thou art now at the disposition of the one whom thou hast insulted. Zibrican take this fellow and do with him what thou wilt."

Zibrican twined his turban round the neck of Hotaya, and made as if to strangle him. Some high personages of the tribe of Bakr-wail remonstrated at this action and said to Zibrican, "Show thy nobility by pardoning this fellow !"

"Hakka (verily), no one gains merit by killing a dog", said Zibrican, "take this *kalb haqir* (vulgar cur) out of my sight !"

Khâlid, one of the personages, then hurriedly removed the poet from the room, and for some time Hotaya lived among one of the Beduin tribes and did not enter Medina.

On the accession of Muavia, Hotaya decided to make an effort to again secure the favour of the court, he, accordingly, composed an eulogistic poem in honour of Said-ben-Nassi, Governor of Medina, under Muavia.¹ Some little time afterwards, Ayar, the son of Hotaya, one day, met Khâlid a son of Said-ben-Nassi, and said to him : " My father is dead after having received from your father twenty thousand pieces of silver, in recompense for five poems, which he composed in honour of your exalted parent. Yet all this that your father generously gave has been spent during my father's life-time in the maintenance of him in his old age, and of what your father gave not a *darab* (coin) was left when he died, yet his poems still live". " What you say is true", replied Khâlid. " Your father's poems yet live and will so do, so long as the Arabic language endures. It is our family that has the right to be thankful."

Subsequently, as a result of this conversation, a place under the Government was found for Ayar-ibn-Hotaya.

" 'Tis thus the poet's verses, tho' he be turn'd to clay
Live ever on, and still their fragrant beauties ere
display."

Abû'l-'Atâhîya composed, in addition to the numerous amorous poems addressed to 'Utbah, many short poems, one of these, which only runs to four lines, has been universally admired, it has been called *Dumu* (Tears) and can be thus rendered into English verse :—

Dumû (Tears).

" What precious drops are those, which down the cheek
do flow,
How silently they roll on, evidence of woe,
Bright they as *almaz* be, yet salt they as the sea,
Emblem they of sorrow, yet comforting they be."²

When advanced in years, under the influence of a certain Mullah, who persuaded him that inasmuch as in the Quran it was specially declared that the Prophet Muhammad (o. w. b. e. p. a. c. b.) was not a poet, the inference was that religious men should not write poetry, Abû'l-'Atâhîya

(1) Muavia reigned during the years 40 to 60 of the Hegra corresponding to 661-680 of the Common era.

(2) *Dumu*=tears, plural of *damah*=a tear. *Almaz*=a diamond.

renounced poetry, and he related the following circumstance resulting from that determination :—

"As I persisted in my refusal to compose verses, the Khalif, al-Mahdi, ordered me to be incarcerated in prison.¹ On entering this dismal place, I shuddered at the sight of an object which appalled me, and I looked about for a place of refuge, when I found the cause of my *hawl mukul* (great terror) to be an elderly man of respectable appearance, with goodness marked on every line of his countenance. I, therefore, went over to him and sat down without saluting, for I was troubled in mind, and confused and absorbed in thought. I remained thus for some time, when the man pronounced these verses :—

"I accustomed myself to the touch of misfortune, till it became familiar to me, and my resignation under grief conducted me to patience.

My despair in mankind has made me confident that the bounty of Allah will come from some quarter which I know not."

I admired these verses, and was consoled by them; my reason also returned to me, and I said :—"May Allah exalt you ! Will you have the kindness to repeat those lines." To this he answered : "*Ya Ismail manhus !* (Oh Ismail, thou unfortunate one !) How little politeness you possess ! How weak your mind ! How faint your *jaraat* (courage) ! On entering this place, you did not salute me as one True Believer should do to another, neither did you ask me the question which one just arrived addresses to him who has sojourned for some time ; but when you heard two verses of poetry, (which is the sole good and *fadl* (accomplishment), and means of livelihood granted thee by Allah), you begin by asking me to recite, as if we were acquaintances, and united by the bonds of friendship sufficiently old to render reserve unnecessary ; neither did you mention what has happened to yourself, nor make an excuse for your *ghalazat* (incivility) at first." To this I replied : "Be kind enough to excuse me for being so *kaba* (unpolite), for less than what I undergo would suffice to disorder the senses." "And for what reason", said he, "have you renounced poetry, which was the cause of the high honour in which those people² held you, and

(1) The Arabic is to be put into the *prison for crimes*. This place of confinement was probably so termed to distinguish it from the *Maibak*, or state prison of Baghdad.

(2) "*Those people*". This was a disrespectful manner of alluding to the Abbaside family, the speaker being a partisan of the descendants of the Khalif Hazrat-i-Ali (o.w.b.p. !).

the means whereby you acquired their favour? You must continue to compose verses, if you wish to obtain your liberty. As for me, I shall be soon called forth and questioned respecting Isa-ibn-Zaid, son of the blessed prophet;¹ and if I discover to them where he is, I shall have to answer for his blood before Allah, and the Holy Prophet will be my accuser; and if I refuse I shall be put to death; so it is I, rather than you, who should be *maghum* (dejected), and yet you see my firmness, resignation, and self-command." These reproaches put me to shame, and I said to him: "May Allah deliver you!" He replied: "I shall not join a refusal to my reprimand; listen to the verses". He then recited them to me several times, until I got them off by heart, and he and I having been then called forth, I said to him: "May Allah exalt you! Who are you?" He answered: "I am Hadir, the friend of Isa-ibn-zaid". We were then conducted into the presence of al-Mahdi, and as we stood before him, he said to the man, Hadir, "Where is Isa-ibn-Zaid?" The other answered: "How should I know where is Isa-ibn-Zaid? You pursued him, and he fled from you into some country, and you put me in prison. How then could I hear of him?" "Where", said al-Mahdi, "was he concealed? Where did you last see him? In whose house did you meet him?"—"I did not meet him", answered Hadir, "since his concealment, and I know nothing of him." "*Khasam billah!* (I swear by Allah!)", said al-Mahdi, "if you do not direct us where to find him, I shall order your head to be stricken off on the spot". "Do as you please", replied Hadir, "I shall not direct you where to discover the son of the Holy Apostle of Allah; as I should then have to answer for his blood in the presence of Allah and his Holy Prophet: were he even concealed between my clothes and my *jild* (skin), I should not discover him to you". "Strike off his head!" said al-Mahdi; and it was so done.

The Khalif then called me forward and said: "Now Abû'l-Atâhiya, choose either to make verses or to be sent after him". "I shall make verses", I replied. "Permit him to go", said al-Mahdi; and I went forth free.

That eminent scholar, poet and historian, Abu Ali At-Tanukhi, the Kadi,² the author of the following works,

(1) "Son" (*Ibn*) is here used to imply "descendant".

(2) His full name was Abu Ali al-Muhassin-ibn-Abi'l-Kasim Ali-ibn-Muhammad-ibn-Abi'l-Fahm Dawud-ibn-Ibrahim-ibn-Tamin at-Tanukhi. He was born at Basra, on the eve of *yawm al-ahhad* (Sunday), the 26th Rabi'a-al-awwal, 327, Hegira (January 939) and died at Baghdad on the eve of *yawm assalasa* (Tuesday), the 25th Muharram, 384, Hegira (March, 994).

Al-Farj baad as-Shidda ("Solace after Suffering"); *Kitab nashwan al-Muhadira* ("The excitement of conversation"), and *Kitab al-Mustajadmin Felat al-Ajwad* ("The noblest of the deeds of the generous"), and a thick *Diwan* of poetry, mentions a third verse as recited by Hadir, besides the two given in the preceding narration; it runs thus:—

"Were I not resigned to bear with the afflictions which Fortune forces me to undergo, my complaints against Fortune had long continued."

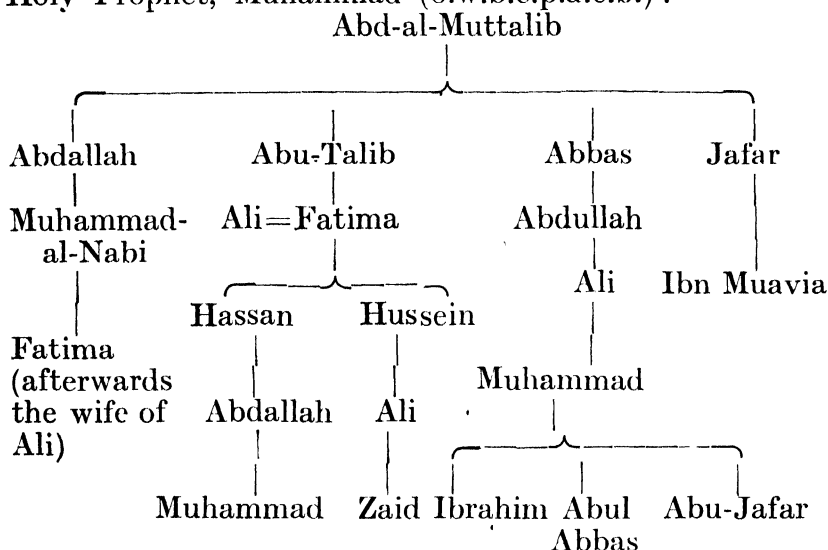
Mons. MacGuckin de Slane,* in his notes to his translation of Ibn-Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, makes the following observations with regard to this anecdote:—

"In the above narration, as given by Ibn Khallikan in his 'Biographical Dictionary', and related by Abu Ali At-Tanukhi and other biographers, the inclusion of the name 'Isa-Ibn-Zaid, son of Muhammad, is certainly a mistake, as no such person is recorded by the historians (other than those mentioned above), as having lived under the reign of al-Mahdi; and Zaid-ibn-Haritha, the adopted son of the Holy Prophet, could not have had a son living at the time of al-Mahdi's accession to the Khilafat (Hegira, 158), since he was slain at the battle of Muta, in the eighth year of the Hegira. It is true that among the descendants of Hazrat-i-Ali and his noble wife, Hazrat-i-Fatima, the daughter of the Holy Prophet by his noble wife Khadijah, there was a Zaid a descendant of theirs, who had two sons, Yahya and al-Hasan, the latter of whom was governor of Medina for al-Mansur, and died, Hegira, 168. It is scarcely, however, possible to suppose that Ibn Khallikan, who was a very exact biographer, was mistaken in the name, and intended to say al-Hasan-ibn-Zaid; for Abu'l-Mahasin states, in his "History of Egypt", that Al-Hasan-ibn-Zaid, who was noted for his piety, had been deprived of his place by al-Mansur, and was then imprisoned by his orders and deprived of his property; but that al-Mahdi, on his accession to the Khilafat, set him at liberty, restored him his wealth, reinstated him in his place, and continued invariably to treat him with the greatest favour. Al-Hasan ibn-Zaid died in the 168th year of the Hegira (784-5 of the Common era). The author of the Genealogy

* He was a member of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Turin, etc. His work was published in 1842 in five volumes, being printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland and sold by Benjamin Duprat, Bookseller to the Bibliotheque Royale, 7, Rue du Cloitre St. Benoit, and Allen and Co., 7 Leadenhall Street, London.

of the descendants of Ali, states that the death of al-Hasan took place at Haġir, a village situated between Mekka and Medina."

This view of the learned translator of Ibn-Khallikan's Biography, however, does not agree with the following genealogical tree, which shows the relation of the She-ite or Ali-ite family, to that of the Abbassides, as descended respectively from Abbas and Abu-Tâlib, uncles of the Holy Prophet, Muhammad (o.w.b.c.p.a.e.b.) :—



Abul-Abbas (*Saffah* = "The Blood-thirsty"), (Reigned from 132-136 of the Hegira = 749-754 of the Common era), and Abu-Jafar Mansur (136-158, Hegira = 754-75, Common era) were the first two Abbaside Khalifs. Ali-ibn Abdallah-ibn-Abbas, father of Muhammad, having given offence to the Khalif Abd-al-Mulik (son of Merwan the first), by marrying a wife divorced by him, and being on that account insulted at court, had retired to Homeima, a village on the borders of Arabia, where the alleged transfer of the Hancfite's rights is alleged to have taken place.

In considering the probability of the accuracy of the above anecdote, the character of the Khalif al-Mahdi and the other events which happened during his ten years' reign (158-169, Hegira = 775-785, C. E.) must be taken into consideration. By nature al-Mahdi was mild and generous and inaugurated his accession to the throne by opening the prison doors to all but the worst and most dangerous class of felons; but there was another side to his character, and his reign was marked occasionally by outbursts of hideous cruelty. The case of the Wazir, Yakoub

is an illustration thereof. He had been suspected as being an adherent of the house of Ali, and as such imprisoned by the Khalif Abu-Jafar. On his accession to the throne al-Mahdi released him and he became the favourite of that Khalif, the boon-companion of his nightly revels, and a minister of almost unbounded power and authority throughout the Empire. His prosperity, at last, raised many enemies, who secretly informed the Khalif that Yakoub was still devoted to the Ali-ite cause. In order to test his loyalty, al-Mahdi had recourse to stratagem. He invited the unsuspecting Wazir to spend the evening in a beautiful garden, within the palace grounds. Yakoub found the Khalif seated in a lovely arbour in the company of a *jariyat* (slave-girl) of surpassing charms. The minister was overpowered by the enchanting scene. "Ah!" said the Khalif, "This is verily a paradise of delights; and I will give all to thee, and this beautiful damsel with it, if thou wilt rid me of that scheming Shia", naming a person whom he desired to be arrested and put to death. The Wazir accepted the mission and offer with transport and joy and became, immediately, the proprietor of the *bustan* (garden) and the maiden. He caused the unfortunate partisan of the Ali-ite faction to be arrested and brought before him; but the prisoner pleaded his cause so eloquently that Yakoub's heart was softened, and he bade the accused to fly the place, putting the means of escape in his hands. The slave-girl, who was secreted behind a curtain, heard the whole matter, and acquainted al-Mahdi therewith. When Yakoub assured the Khalif that he had carried out his promise and that the accused had been put to death, the truth came to light and the Khalif deprived Yakoub of all his offices and wealth and ordered him to be cast into a pitch-dark dungeon, wherein he remained so long that he completely lost his sight. The unfortunate man relates in his "Memoirs" that after he had remained in utter darkness for he knew not how many years, he was brought forth from the *hubs* (dungeon) and conducted into the presence and told to make obeisance to the Khalif. Having so done, the Khalif asked him, "Knowest thou who I am?" "Surely it is al-Mahdi!" he replied. "Ah!" said the Khalif, "he has long ago been dead." "Then, thou must be Musa al-Hadi, his son", said Yakoub. "He also is dead!"—"Then thou must be his noble and generous brother Haroun al-Raschid", was the reply. "That I am", answered that monarch. "Such being the case, Oh Khalif! Grant me liberty from my confinement and give me permission to

go and live in Mecca-sherif, where although I am *a'mā'* (blind) *ta'in bil sinn* (an old man) and *da'if* (feeble), I may have the *sa'adat* (felicity) of ending my days in the city, where the Holy Prophet of God preached the eternal truths of Islam."

The Haroun al-Raschid acceded to this request, and settled an annuity upon Yakoub for the remainder of his life.

Feeling compassion for the old man, Haroun al-Raschid ordered Manka, an Indian physician, who lived at Baghdad, and enjoyed a high reputation in the healing art, to visit and examine his eyes, in order to ascertain if anything could be done to either cure or ameliorate his blindness. The Indian physician made the examination but pronounced the blindness to be beyond medical aid and incurable.

Many curious and interesting anecdotes are related about Manka and the astonishing cures he was able to effect by apparently very simple means. He appears to have almost entirely confined himself to herbal remedies, many whereof being derived from plants grown in India and the neighbouring island of Ceylon. Among the principal of these products, stated to have been employed by Manka, is cinnamon, often written *akimono* in Persian medical works*. Other herbal remedies used by Manka, included *Salikah* (cassia), *Kubabeh* (cubeb), *Zinjabil* (ginger), *Zafran* (saffron), and *ba-adooness* (parsley).

Manka is reputed to have cured a certain Mahomed Obeid-Ullah, an official in the Court of Haroun al-Raschid, who was afflicted with *istiska* (dropsy), by a decoction composed of parsley-root, quassia-wood and *bazr-kuttan* (flax-seed), boiled in water, to which was added pulverised ginger and *asal* (honey).

It is said that Manka's first cure in the treatment of a patient was to administer a purgative, in order to cleanse the bowels from any foreign or irritating matter.

It has frequently excited surprise that the Arabs, so long a nation of warriors, should so rapidly, after their conversion to Islam, have become both the patrons, and cultivators, of science. The Arabian School of Medicine originated in the munificent patronage of the sciences by the Khalifs of Baghdad, and translations were made from

* The Cingalese name is *cacyn-nama* (sweet-wood), the Malayan, *kaimanis*. Arabic *dar-sasni*, evidently derived from the Hindi, *dar-chinee*, whereof *daroosita* is said to be the Sanskrit. It may be inferred from the name that the Hindoos first became acquainted with cinnamon from China. Cochin-China and the Southern provinces of that country, to-day, yield a cinnamon, by many considered equal to that of Ceylon.

the Greek authors on philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, during the Khaliphate of Al-Mansour. These translations seem first to have been made into Syriac and afterwards into the Arabic language, by Christian physicians of the School of Alexandria, who were then resident in Baghdad. These foreign physicians were held in high estimation in the Court of Haroun al-Raschid, in consequence of their having cured both himself of apoplexy, and an Egyptian slave-girl (said to be a Coptic maiden of great beauty) of a dangerous illness, which had baffled the skill of many of the other medical practitioners. It was, however, chiefly under the Khaliphate of Haroun's second son, Al-Mamoon, that Grecian Science and medicine was made known to the Mid-Eastern countries. Indian physicians, however, were to be found at the courts of several of the Khalifs, whose reigns preceded those of Haroun-al-Raschid.

It is said that Yakoub was immured in that dreadful dungeon for seven years. Yakoub lived for a score of years after his release, and during that period dictated his *Tazkirah* (Memoirs), from which the above account is taken.

On his release from prison, Abû'l-'Atâhiya was reproached by the fanatical Mullah, under whose influence he had renounced poetry, for having obtained his freedom at such a price. "Better to have lost your life than your honour!" said the Mullah. "I have not sacrificed my honour", replied Abû'l-'Atâhiya. "Did not the Holy Prophet himself, take his mantle from off his own shoulders and bestow it upon a poet, who had composed a *Qasida* in his honour? True, it is stated in the uncreated and eternal book (the Quran) that Muhammad was not a poet, but that was to declare that he was higher and greater than any stringer together of verses, and that he was the messenger of the one and only God, to reveal His Holy Will and Law to mankind. Allah has graciously bestowed upon me, the poor seller of earthenware pots, the *farasat* (talent, ability) to make verses and it would be a sin for me to cease to use those talents which Allah hath given to me!"

Abû'l-'Atâhiya then recited the following poem, which is generally known under the name of "The Talents".

Al-Kabiliyat=The Talents.

"To me, Allah, *al Karim*, did certain talents give,
To exercise those talents, sure, 'twas thus I came
to live ;

To let those talents rest unus'd and perish in the dust,
 Sure 'tis a sin 'gainst Allah to betray such sacred trust,
 Away such false impression, as dark before the light,
 I'll live as Allah willeth, and verses still I'll write."¹

Abû'l-'Atâhîya was born in the 13th year of the Hegira (747-8—Common era), and died at Baghdad on *Yawm-al-asnayin* (Monday), the 3rd or 8th of the month of Jomada as-sani, 211, Hegira, (September 826, C.E.), during the Khalifate of Abdullah al-Mamoun.² His tomb is on the bank of the river Isa, a branch of the Euphrates, which flows into the Tigris at Baghdad.

When on the point of death Abu'l-'Atâhîya expressed the desire that Mukharik, one of the first singers of the time³ should come, and seated by his bedside, sing the following verses, which form part of a poem composed by himself :—

“ When my existence has expired and flown,
 'Tis few who will sigh and still less who will groan,
 The women who weep and exhibit their grief,
 Will make lamentations, all short, curt and brief ;
 My comrade and friend, will of me cease to think,
 My love, he'll forget, and his mem'ry will shrink,
 He'll look for another, and when one he find,
 My name and my love will quick fade from his mind.”

By his last *wasiyat* (will)⁴ he ordered these words to be inscribed on his tomb :—

“ Life which ends in death is a life soon embittered.”

(1) *al-Karim* = “ The Generous ”. “ The Munificent ”. One of the 99 precious names and attributes of Allah.

Talent, talents (mental ability, faculty), are expressed, in Arabic by the following words :—*Qabiliyat*, *farasat*, *idrak*, *aql*.

(2) Some chroniclers place his death two years later, namely in the 213th year of the Hegira.

(3) Mukharik once sung in the presence of the Khalif, Haroun al-Raschid, who was so delighted thereat, that he caused the curtains usually placed between himself and the musicians to be removed, and ordered the vocalist to draw near and seat himself on the throne, by his side. Mukharik was subsequently attached permanently to the service of the Khalif, al-Mamoun and accompanied him to Damascus. He died in the year 230 (Hegira) = 844-5 (Common era) at Sarra-man-Zaa. He was surnamed Abu'l-Hina. Many anecdotes about him and his gifted vocal powers are to be found in the *Nujum az-Zahira* of Abu'l-Mahasin.

(4) *Wasiyat* (pl. *wasay*) = a will, a testament ; *Amal wasiyat* = To make a will or testament.

INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE

(Continued from our last issue.)

WE now turn to the treatment meted out by the Muslims to the conquered peoples after their settlement in France, as well as to their administrative system both civil, financial and religious. We will not deal in this place with the inrush of the main Saracenic army which was accompanied by violence and excesses of all kinds, so that for the present we will leave out of account not only the earliest invasions of the south of France but also the long Muslim occupation of Provence, Dauphinè, Piedmont, Savoy and Switzerland. As a matter of fact, if we mention certain fortified positions we shall notice that this occupation was always of an uncertain nature, and in none of those parts did the Muslims occupy the whole district. While certain groups among them made themselves masters of the mountain passes and the rivers of the land and extracted money from the travellers in those regions, the more peaceful cultivated fertile tracts and sometimes even consented to pay rent to the rightful owners of the country. In the parts of Provence round the stronghold of Fraxinet, however, the Muslims carried on a policy of total destruction. We cannot do better than compare the Saracenic bands of this period with the army of freebooters which ransacked the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples in the thirties of the last century.

Here we should like to make a few observations as regards the system of government set up by the Muslims in the Languedoc when they became the peaceful rulers of that province of France between 724 and 758 in the days of Charles-Martel and Pepin the Short. As a matter of fact we have little information bearing on this troublous epoch but we know that after the internecine feuds which sprang up among the victors immediately after their conquest of the country, *i.e.*, from the year 737, the Christian Goths of Languedoc had regained part of their autonomy and were allowed to have their own counts,

provosts and national law.¹ On the other hand, a contemporary writer, Isidore of Beja, tells us (under 734) that Uqbal, Governor of Spain, always allowed each conquered nation complete freedom to have its own laws, and there is an order dating back to the same period given by a Muslim governor of Coimbra which shows that the Christians of Portugal were subject to a similar system of administration. The following is an extract from this order :

“ The Christians of Coimbra shall have the liberty to be governed by their own count who will rule over them in a proper manner according to their ancient customs. He will put an end to all their differences but shall not be able to put anyone to death without the previous consent of the Muslim magistrate ; in the case of capital offences he will try the accused before the said magistrate, read out the Christian law on the point before the court, and shall order the accused to pay the penalty of death only if the Muslim magistrate wills it. Small towns will have their own judges who will govern them equitably and will try to prevent quarrels. If a Christian commits an offence against a Musulman, the magistrate shall apply the Muslim law ; if a Christian attempts to outrage the modesty of an unmarried Muslim girl, he will have to embrace Islam and marry the girl, otherwise he shall pay the highest penalty of the law, but if the girl is married he shall in any case be put to death.”²

These remarks well demonstrate the system of government in vogue in Muslim Languedoc and elsewhere.

When we pass from political to religious administration we at once begin to labour under a lack of positive information on the subject. We can, however, build up a set

(1) The only difference was that the Counts were deprived of all military jurisdiction. What happened in the Languedoc and other Christian countries under the Muslim rule was only a repetition of the usual practice after the fall of the Roman Empire. When the Goths, the Vandals and the Franks invaded the Roman Empire, the conquered peoples retained their own Counts and provosts, and when the Goths and Vandals were in turn subjugated by other races, they also claimed the same privileges. *Vide* M. de Sismondi : *Histoire de la chute de l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1835, Vol. I.

(2) The Coimbra ordinance was preserved in the Lorban Abbey and has been preserved in the *Monarchia Lusytana*, Lisbon, 1609 in 4to., part II, pp. 283, 287, etc. As this ordinance is very interesting on linguistic accounts M. Raynouard has also published it in his *Poesies originales des Troubadours* Paris, 1816, Vol. I, p. 11, and has added to it some remarkable observations.

of logical conclusions arrived at after proper inferences from the policy of the Musulmans in other lands.

The mass of the population of Narbonne and the neighbouring towns remained Christian, and their number must have been very large indeed, for in later years they were able to force the Muslim army of occupation out of their town. As a matter of fact, the Muslims always respected the religion of the natives, and had left their chapels and churches in the charge of proper Christian clergy.

This, however, seemed to be the limit of the concessions accorded to the Christians. It would be a mistake to think that the Muslims treated Narbonne and other frontier towns in the same way as they had treated Cordova and other cities in the centre of the empire. They had destroyed a few churches at Cordova and deprived others of their secular possessions, but it is a fact that they left most of the churches under the immediate authority of the Christian bishops or higher clergy. Moreover monasteries of both sexes were left intact and were regularly attached to their respective places of worship. Further they allowed the European Christians the privilege of ringing the church-bells, a privilege which was denied to the Christians both of Africa and Asia.¹

Nothing like this existed in Narbonne or the surrounding cities, where there were neither bishops nor convents. We must, however, remember in this connection that the confusion in most of the churches of southern France was not the result of the Muslim occupation of those provinces, but had existed in fact for nearly fifty years and was mentioned by St. Boniface, bishop of Mayence to Pope Zachary in 742.² As a matter of fact it was the direct result of civil war among the successors of Clovis for the mastery of the throne. But at the same time it should be mentioned that this state of utter confusion was not met with in the northern provinces of Spain till the influx of the Saracens and did not finally end till their final departure from the land.³

(1) Vide *Indiculus Luminosus* (a work originally written about 852) in *Espana Sagrada*, Vol. XI, p. 229.

(2) Vide *Historiens de France*, Vol. IV. p. 94.

(3) When the Muslims arrived at Jaca in Aragon about the year 712, the bishop of the place retired to the Pyrenees and this town remained without a bishop till three hundred years afterwards and did not come back till the Muslims finally evacuated the country in 1096. Vide *Teatro historico de las iglesias del reyno de Aragon*, Pampeluna, 1792, in 4to, Vol. V. p. 102 : also *vide* pp. 130, 233 and 376.

We read in the anonymous life of Louis the Gentle¹ that when the Frenchmen drove the Muslims out of Barcelona in 802, Louis immediately went to the Church of the Holy Cross to offer his thanks to the Almighty for such an important achievement. This church is to-day the cathedral of the town, and the writer de Marca has concluded from the above passage that the Christians of Barcelona had kept their most important religious edifice, their bishop and clergy, unmolested right through the domination of the Muslims. But in the corresponding passage of Ermoldus Nigellus (a work which has already been quoted), which was not published till a long time after Marca's death, it is mentioned that the church was duly purified before Louis set his foot on it, so that we are justified in concluding that it must have been converted into a mosque by the Muslims, or according to the profane words of the poet, 'it must have been converted into a place for the cult of the demon!'²

It is the opinion of the author of the present work that the Muslims aimed at removing the bishops and higher clergy from their posts in the frontier towns and restraining their communications with the outside world as much as possible. This surmise is further evidenced by the great importance which Charlemagne attached to such a relationship and by his special care to bring it about.

We can argue from the Spanish analogy, and with certain reservations judge the relations which must have existed between the Christians of France and their Muslim overlords.

The exact number of the churches where the Christians were allowed to offer their prayers was determined at the time of the conquest and any addition to that number was entirely forbidden. The Prophet himself is reported to have said: "Do not allow the infidels to construct new synagogues, churches and temples, but allow them to repair the old edifices and even to rebuild them so long as they are not built on a new piece of land".³

(1) Dom Bouquet's *Historiens de France*, Vol. VI, p. 92.

(2) Poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, verse No. 533, reads thus: *Mundaviteque locos, ubi daemonis, alma colebant*. Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. p. 28.

(3) Some legists conclude that in rebuilding a church the same earth, stones and materials should be used. *Vide Mouradgea d'Ohsson: Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. V, pp. 109 and 112. [We have failed to find any tradition of the Prophet to this effect which can be said to be undoubtedly correct. There are, no doubt, passages in the

* No Christian was allowed to take part in public processions and the sacred rites were permitted to be performed only within closed doors. Moreover, if a Christian wished to become a Muslim, no one was permitted to place any obstacle in his way.¹

We have already noticed that the Christians of Andalusian towns in general and of Cordova in particular were generally treated well, while on the other side they had a certain regard for the feelings of the Muslims, so that they circumcised their children and abstained from pork.² Nevertheless, if we believe the testimony of a Christian of Cordova who, however, wrote in 850, *i.e.*, during the period of persecutions,³ a sense of intense hate existed between the followers of the two religions, especially with regard to the outward practices of Christianity. This writer says: "None of us dare speak out his beliefs openly. Whenever any sacred duty compels the clergy to appear in public, the Muslims ridicule them the moment they see the clergymen in their uniform, and not content with insulting them they even throw stones at them. Moreover they begin to curse the Christian religion whenever they hear the bells of a church steeple."⁴ Lastly we know that a number of Muslims thought that they became impure if a Christian were to approach them.

On the other hand, according to the evidence of St. Eulogius, who was himself prosecuted in 850,⁵ whenever a muezzin called the Muslims to prayers from the minaret of a mosque, they thought that they heard the voice of the Antichrist himself and immediately made the sign of the cross.

As regards the taxes levied by the Muslims, we have already noticed that the governor As-Samh was the first who, in 720, put the financial system of the newly acquired

Hidayah to this effect but of course it cannot be said to be an authority like the "Correct Six" in which there is no mention of a tradition like this—Tr.]

(1) The order about the Christians of Coimbra, moreover, informs us that every Portuguese church contributed to the public treasury a sum of twenty-five silver pieces, every monastery fifty silver pieces and every cathedral one hundred silver pieces.

(2) *Vide supra*, part III, middle.

(3) [That is to say, when the Christians of Spain were mad after the martyr's death and left no stone unturned to try to blaspheme the Prophet of Islam. Tr.]

(4) Alvare: *Indiculus luminosus*, in the collection already cited.

(5) *Apologie pour les martyrs*, in the collection named *Hispania illustrata*, by Andre Schott, Frankfurt, 1608, Vol. IV., p. 313.

regions in order and extended his system from Spain to the Languedoc, where there had been the greatest possible confusion both in the matter of taxes and the pay of the soldiers.¹ As-Samh distributed the confiscated lands among the poor soldiers, while the land which was left over was let on rent which went to the public treasury.

The property which was distributed among the victors was taxed at the tenth part of the produce, while what was left in the possession of the Christians paid a fifth, *i.e.*, exactly double the first category.² In order to conciliate the Christians it was at first decided that those who submitted to the Muslims voluntarily would be treated like the Muslims themselves in the matter of taxation, but this privilege was not maintained.

Apart from the 20 per cent. tribute, which must have struck the Christians hard, they had further to pay a kind of capitation tax or personal impost the amount of which varied with the status of the individual concerned. This was levied on all adult Christian males who had some fixed income either from landed property or else from their own industry. This was called *Jezieh* or *compensation*,³ and was considered by the Muslims as a return for the privileges accorded to the Christians and the liberty given to them to follow their own principles. Of course such Christians as became Muslims were exempted from paying this tax.⁴

Lastly the Christians paid a tax on articles of merchandise and on movables which varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the Musulmans to a varying amount from the Christians according to the time and place of the levy. It was called *Zakat* or *purification tax* and was considered to be the price for the permission to use the goods concerned. The Muslims thought that goods acquired in a wrongful manner did not bring good luck with them and they

(1) *Vide supra*, part I.

(2) The order about the Christians of Coimbra also reads that the Christians paid double the proportion levied on the Musulmans. [Here the learned author forgets that the Muslims had to pay *Zakât* and *Sadqa* as well—Tr.]

(3) [The *Jezieh* was levied in lieu of military service from which the non-Muslims were exempted. As it was essentially a military tax, such persons as women, children, ecclesiastics, the unfit and the old were not required to pay it. It is a gross mistake to call it a "capitation tax"—Tr.]

(4) For details cf. Ibn-ul-Qutia, Muslims: also Conde: *Historia*, Vol. I. Earliest conquests of the Muslims in Spain. The accounts of the taxes levied, as left to us by the Arab authors, are very incomplete

were constantly on guard against the chances of trade by sacrificing a part of their wealth in the 'cause of charity. The Zakât paid into the public treasury by the Muslims is regarded as a voluntary sacrifice and should be paid to the poor, while that levied on the Christians was pooled to help the poor as well as to ransom prisoners of war.¹

The reader perhaps wants to know the appellation by which the Arabs designated the Christians with whom they had so long been in contact either in time of peace or war. The Christians who came under the domination of the Muslims were called *Mu'ahid*² or *allies*, and *Ahl-uz-zimmah*³ or *the protected*. As a matter of fact, the moment that the Christians obtained the privilege of security of life and free exercise of their religion and agreed to pay the usual tribute, that very moment a reciprocal obligation began to exist between the two parties whereby the victors in their turn promised the vanquished that they would protect them against all outside encroachment. In addition to this the Muslims also called the Christians in general and those who did not accept their domination in particular '*elej*⁴ or *professing another religion*, and '*ajamy*⁵ or *belonging to a separate race*. They also dubbed them *mushrik*⁶ or *polytheists* as they thought that the Christians, by recognising the Trinity of the God-head, in effect believed in three gods.⁷

(1) Cf. Mouradgèa d'Ohsson : *Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. II, p. 403, and Vol. V, p. 15. Also Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I. pp. 270 and 601.

[This paragraph is very obscure. The Zakât is *not* a voluntary sacrifice but is levied on all Muslims who come within the category of Ahl-i-Nisâb : it was *not* levied on the Christians : it was *not* paid over to the poor—Tr.]

(2) معا هد

(3) اهل الذمة

(4) عليم

(5) عجمى

(6) مشرك

(7) Vide our *Monumens Arabes du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Vol. II, p. 8. We have not met the word Mozarabe as applied to the Christians living under the rule of the Muslims in the Arabic authorities even once. It is said that the word was used for the Spanish Christians who lived under the rule of the Muslims, although some Christian authors have ventured to trace the epithet to the Arabic language. The name given to those Muslims who consented to be ruled by the Christians as the latter gained ground, was *Mudejare*, and we come across

As the victors and the natives of the country spoke two different languages, the question arises as to the method by which they communicated with one another. While the Arabs had no taste for learning a foreign language, their Christian subjects were far too ignorant and barbarous to think of learning the language of their masters. The first to do so was Hartmote, an abbot of the monastery of St. Gall who in 880 added to his studies of Greek and Hebrew a knowledge of the Arabic language.¹ It was not till the era of the Crusades, when the torch of learning began to illuminate the whole world, that the forefathers of the present-day Europeans began to take interest in the language and religious beliefs of a people which had so long ruled a great part of their continent. In order to study Islam and the Musulmans they generally went to Spain where the Muslims specialized in the Arabic as well as in the Latin lore and where every convenience was offered to them. It was at Toledo in 1142 that the Venerable Peter, abbot of Cluny, began to translate the Qurân for the first time in Latin, after which he attempted to refute the doctrine of Islam, thus treading a path trod later by many a Christian follower.²

There is, however, no doubt that there was quite a large number of persons in France who spoke the Arabic language. We have already seen that the early conquerors took some scions of noble families as hostages and sent them right into the heart of the Empire,³ and some of them must have later on gone back to their native land. Moreover there must have been some Christian prisoners and slaves who had regained their liberty, and we definitely know that there were Saracen serfs spread on all the four corners of the land.

In addition to these there were pilgrims and merchants who, even during the dark days of the invasions travelled through Egypt, Syria and other lands of Islam. Such, for instance, was the Englishman St. Guilebaud who, about 730 went by way of France and Italy to Syria where he

an analogous word, مدح, in the writings of certain Ottoman writers but the etymology of the word is still obscure. *Re. the Mudejares, vide Marmol, 1573 edition, Vol. I, p. 154.*

(1) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. V, p. 611.

(2) *Vide Le Roman de Mahomet et le livre de la loi au Sarrazin*, published by MM. Reinaud et Francisque Michel : Paris, Sylvestre, 1831, Preface.

(3) *Vide supra*, part I.

arrived four years later. Such pilgrims and merchants could have furnished us with some of the most interesting information about the politics and resources of contemporary Muslim princes and the general character of the Islamic nations: for example it would have been of the greatest importance for us to know what was happening at Damascus at the time, how the Muslim armies marched on their western trail and the exact results of their amazing victories. Unfortunately, however, these pilgrims and merchants have left absolutely nothing behind them. We learn that when St. Guillebaud arrived in Syria he was arrested as a spy and was set free only on the plea that his sole object in visiting the country was to pay homage to the places sanctified by the mysteries of the Christian religion. Moreover, while he was at Damascus, he had the honour of an audience with no less a personage than the Khalifah of Islam himself. In spite of all his adventures, however, he has not said a single word about things which would have deeply interested us in the accounts of his journey left to us by one of his cousins.

There is little doubt that the general ideas prevalent in Europe during that period must have kept the more pious element of the people from paying much attention to all these events. They were led to believe that these invasions were the direct result of the Divine Wrath caused by the sins of man. Now it is the rule of nature that piety with such a psychological background has always something of fatalism behind it, with the result that those with such ideas at the back of their mind, neglect human methods and resign themselves to the notion that they will be cured of the disease without as much as touching the medicine.* We can well perceive the tremendous difference between this statism and the dynamic forces which led to the Crusades only a short time afterwards.

We have already noticed how the Saracens took hold of women and children during these disastrous raids. It was a general rule that the imprisoned boys were turned into soldiers while women and girls helped to perpetuate the conquering races, and this method of keeping up their strength independently of any help from Spain and Africa entered the calculations of the Muslims very early. In order to understand their methods fully, we may give an instance of their earliest colonization of Crete. We have

* *Vide supra*, part I.

seen that, subsequent to a rebellion in the vicinity of Cordova, fifteen thousand of its inhabitants had to leave Spain, and after having swelled their number with a further addition of adventurers at Alexandria, they set sail for Crete. The leader of this expedition was so much fascinated by the beauty of the country that he immediately made up his mind to form a permanent Muslim colony in the island and forthwith set fire to the fleet. His companions were astounded to see their precious vessels in flames and enquired of their commander how they would be able to communicate with their wives and children at home. On hearing the question put to him he retorted that he had given them a new land which would in turn furnish them with women in order to make them a present of newly born children.*

When the Muslims first conquered the country their object was to subjugate this beautiful land and bring it as well as the rest of Europe under the law of the Qurân. As time passed, however, the primary consideration left in the mind of the foreigners was the love of plunder, hunger for vengeance and thirst for adventure, while towards the end of the ninth century the settlement of the Muslims in Provence and their raids in the region of the Alps were merely events of pure chance. Here we may mention the method of colonization of the island of Sicily on the testimony of the historian Luitprand. He says that barely two years had passed since the death of Charlemagne and the name of the great monarch was still held in awe by the foreigners when, in 816, the Greek governor of Sicily revolted from the Emperor of Constantinople and sent word to the African prince of Qairuân for help. This Muslim prince consulted his entourage of nobles who advised him to accede to the request of the Christian governor, while at the same time desiring that no colonial settlement should be made in the island and as much wealth removed from it as possible. They were led to believe that as the island was situated so near the Italian mainland it would no doubt receive abundant help from both Greece and France, and that it was impossible for a people alien alike in language and in their religious beliefs to make a permanent settlement there. "What is" enquired one of the nobles, "the distance between the island and the Italian peninsula?" He was thereupon

*Cf. Conde: *Historia*, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 263: M. Et. Quatremère: *Memoires historiques sur l'Egypte*, Vol. II, p. 197: Lebeau: *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Book LXVIII, s. 43.

told that it was possible to cover the distance twice and even thrice in a single day. "Then what is" asked the nobleman, "the distance between Sicily and Africa?" on which he was informed that a ship took twenty-four hours to cross over. "In such a case" said the enquirer, "even had I been a bird I would not have made it my home."* As a matter of fact it was only an afterthought which led to the occupation of Sicily by the Muslims of Africa and even then the real cause was not so much the wealth of the country as the anarchy which prevailed in the island. The same was the case with their settlement in southern Italy to which it was the native princes of the land who called them in order to settle their internecine quarrels.

The above are a few general observations on the character of the incursions of the Muslims into France and the circumstances which accompanied them. We have thought fit to place them before the reader here, for they will serve to clear the problems which still remain to be examined. We shall now deal with the traces of the sojourn of the Muslims in France and the surrounding lands.

If we leave out of consideration the general devastation which followed the earliest invasions of the Saracens we find that they have left few permanent traces in France. It is not that religious zeal had blinded the people of southern France who paid no heed to the aggression of the warriors who believed that they were destined to conquer all that came in their way much in the same manner as the Romans before them. The great distance which separated the people of the north from the inhabitants of the south and the disorders which existed in every grade of society had in fact extinguished all sense of patriotism among Frenchmen.

The fact that the Muslims left so few traces of their French sojourn was due to another cause. When they first set foot on the soil of France the Muslims were entirely fresh from the desert and new to all ideas of civilization as it was understood in the West, so that it was hardly possible for them to achieve anything very considerable in the arts of peace. We notice that there is not a trace of an Arab monument at Narbonne, a town which was under their occupation for forty years and which

* *Vide* the Arab historian Novayry, in Rosanio Gregorio's collection about Sicily, entitled the *Rerum Arabicarum*, etc., Palermo, 1790 in fol. p. 3.

was their outpost against the rest of France. In a city in which we come across traces of Roman occupation at every step, not a fort or wall, not an inscription, can be ascribed to the Muslim domination with any certainty, nor does it appear that any writer has ever alluded to such a sign of their rule.¹

In this connection mention is sometimes made of a building which is now used as church of the village of Planès near Mount Louis in French Cerdagne which is said to have been erected by the Musulmans while they were masters of the country before the reign of Charlemagne, although the building, which is in a perfect state of preservation, contains nothing which might be said to have been part of a mosque. It is in fact shaped like an equilateral triangle with a circle on each side the circumference of which passes through the centre of a fourth circle forming the upper cupola of the edifice. It will clearly be perceived that a building like this could not have served as a mosque. It is moreover sometimes conjectured² that it was the mausoleum of the Muslim leader Manuza who was at one time governor of the Pyrenees.³ But firstly the building is not shaped like a tomb at all; then the question arises as to who could have constructed this 'tomb'; surely not the Christians who could not have forgotten the burning of a bishop alive at the hands of Manuza; nor the Muslims who considered him a traitor and were in fact conspiring to put an end to his life. As a matter of fact the building may safely be dated after the Muslims had evacuated the country, and although the total absence of any ornaments precludes us from fixing the precise date, still everything leads us to believe that it was erected by the Christians after the tenth century A.C.⁴

(1) [The theory propounded by the learned author seems to be very strange. Surely the people who built the Great Mosque of Cordova and the Alcazar of Seville could build monuments of their stay on the soil of France which they occupied for such a long time. The truth seems to be that these border lands often changed hands, and were finally occupied by the Christian hordes, so that it was only a matter of course that what monuments of Muslim occupation there were, were either destroyed by frequent wars or else consciously destroyed by the indignant Frenchmen. Tr.].

(2) *Memoires de la Société des antiquaires*, Vol. X. p. 213.

(3) *Vide supra*, part I, about the middle.

(4) This is Baron Taylor's opinion. In view of the fact that he has made a thorough examination of the edifice, his opinion is bound to carry considerable weight.

• The only question about the early invasions of the Muslims to be dealt with now is that connected with the medals of the Arabs which were at one time used as current coins in France. Such pieces are unearthed in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence, but unfortunately they contain neither the name of any potentate nor of the province in which they were struck, and are therefore of no help whatever to the historian.¹

Before settling down in Provence towards the end of the ninth century and crossing the border of Dauphiné, Savoy and Switzerland, the Muslims had already made great progress in sciences and arts and were making important discoveries in that line. It is impossible to deny that the average Spanish, Sicilian and even African Muslim was far more advanced than the average Christian of France or the surrounding countries, then unfortunately a prey to anarchy and all the misfortunes in its trail. It would be unnecessary here even to trace the outline of the picture of the marvellous civilization and culture of the Spanish Muslims. Who has not heard of the magnificent mosque of Cordova, now used as a Christian cathedral, which was erected as far back as the later half of the eighth century A.C., and who is not aware of the magnificent bridges, canals and monuments of every description which were erected in Spain from this time onwards? And it was not only in the realm of the arts properly so-called that the Muslim excelled his non-Muslim neighbour; his native superiority was also manifest in sciences as well, for we are aware that the Muslims, had translated Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galien, Dioscorides and Ptolemy into Arabic and had even made additions to the knowledge handed on to them by the ancients.

This superiority was in fact acknowledged by the Christians themselves. History has preserved the memory of Sancho, Prince of Leon, who was the victim of an incurable ailment sometime about 960 A.C. and who requested the Khalîfah 'Abd-ur-Rahmân III that a safe conduct might be granted to him to Cordova. When this was duly done he went to the capital of the Western Khilâfat where he was so enchanted by the welcome he received and satisfied by the treatment of the physicians that he remembered it ever afterwards.² It was about this time that Gerbert the monk of Auvergne, who later became

(1) *Vide* the previous note.

(2) *Vide* another analogous fact in Maqqari.

Pope with the title of Sylvester II, went to Spain in order to study physical and mathematical sciences, and he was so successful in getting information and digesting it that he was regarded as a sorcerer by his own countrymen !

It was, however, only natural that but a very small proportion of Frenchmen could drink at this fountain of learning and culture, and the mass of the people therefore remained utterly ignorant. The Saracenic groups, with fire and sword in their hands, ready to subjugate the fair provinces of France, could be of little help to the ancestors of present day Frenchmen, for we have already seen that these groups were composed of adventurers of all climes whose sole desire was to enrich themselves by plunder. The real influence exercised by Arabian civilization came much later, even later than the Crusades of the twelfth century A.C., when Christianity and Islam, the West and the East, were in so many words face to face, and Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, so recently given up to lethargy, manifested a desire to partake of what was best in the culture of Islam. While the knowledge of the Greek language had been entirely lost in the West, the treatises of famous Greek authors had been rendered into Arabic, and it was then that Christians of France and the surrounding lands came to Spain to try and translate these Arabic texts into the Latin tongue. It is really through these translations that the works of classical authors were studied in European universities right up to the fifteenth century A.C.

We shall now say a few words about certain edifices connected with the second occupation of France by the Muslims. It is only natural that but few of these monuments exist which might take us back through such a wide expanse of centuries, and what few do remain, have been altered by the hand of time.

It is greatly to be regretted that the castle erected by the Muslims at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Tropez has been destroyed, but the rock-cut works, a few traces of which are still extant, give the visitor a good idea of the great patience of those who were in their occupation. But unfortunately nowhere is an inscription to be met with, and nowhere can such a writing be seen as adorned the Greek and Roman monuments and such as the Arabs themselves never forgot to employ in Spain and elsewhere.

Writers have described certain strongholds built on high eminences, and attributed them to the Muslim

occupation. Moreover we read of a number of towers which still crown certain mountains and hills in a large part of France and Italy, especially on the sea-coast, which are attributed to the Muslim occupation of those lands. It is said that it was from these heights that the Muslim bands became aware of what was happening round about either by means of artificial light at nightfall or else by some other method, and thereupon concentrated their movement on the object in view.¹ As a matter of fact the Arab authors themselves mention the *Rubats* or points of observation erected in the Languedoc by 'Uqbah about 734 A.C.² We might therefore surmise that the opinion of certain modern authors about these towers, that they were built by the Muslims, is not without foundation; but generally speaking, would it not be far more natural to attribute the watch-towers built near the coast to the Christians who were continuously menaced by the Muslim raiders, and who had no other means of knowing about their approach except from them.

It is not necessary to pause here and discuss various objects of interest which have been preserved in France and which are sometimes traced back to the occupation of the country by the Musulmans. A number of them still exist in the treasures of different churches of the country and the cabinets of rich collectors of odds and ends, and consist of silk cloth, ivory and silver boxes, crystal bowls, arms, etc. The price at which they are purchased gives some idea of the great value which is put on the works of Saracenic art, but it only proves that the ancestors of present-day Frenchmen were ever ready to copy them in their own way,³ for as a matter of fact most of these objects cannot be dated back to a period earlier than the ninth century A.C.⁴

(1) *Vide* the *Peromenade pittoresque dans le Département de la Var* by M. Alphonse Denys, *vide* also, *supra*, part I, about the middle.

(2) Isidore de Beja gives an analogous account about 'Uqbah's predecessor as-Samh. *Vide supra*, part I, about the beginning.

(3) Frenchmen once used a cloth called the *Sarrazine*. *Vide* Dugange: *Glossaire de la Basse Latinité*, at the words *Saracenicum* and *Saracenum*.

(4) Such as the two timbals preserved at Narbonne up to the present day, which were rung every year on the occasion of Corpus Christi. A manuscript history of Narbonne by M. Louis Piquet in the possession of M. Jalabert, an enthusiastic curio collector of Narbonne, says that these date back to the occupation of the town by the Muslims. But the inscription on the timbals themselves says that they were manufactured in Egypt or Syria in the time of the Memluks, so that they cannot be older than the thirteenth century at the earliest.

The second stay of the Muslims must have exercised considerable influence on the development of agriculture. Although no trace is found in Provence or Dauphiné of such magnificent canals as are still the wonderful assets of Murcia, Valencia and Granada, still there is no doubt that there were among the invaders many friends of humanity who wished to give their newly acquired country at least some of the advantages which had become part and parcel of their European homes.

We hear that the black wheat, also called Saracen wheat, which is one of the most important products of France at the present day, originally came from Persia *via* Egypt, whence it traversed northern Africa through Spain along with the Muslim armies, passing finally into France. This valuable plant serves as an eatable as well as for forage, and can be ground into flour which can easily be cooked into a nice palatable dish.

The art of working the product of the cork-tree, which is abundant in the forest still called the *Forest of the Moors*, is also attributed to the Muslims. This tree was cultivated in Catalonia for a long time, and forms one of the chief causes of the prosperity of the country round about Fraxinet even at the present day.¹

It is probable that the Muslims gave a new impetus to the industry of extracting resin from the maritime pine, a tree which is very common in Provence, and turning it into tar used for the purpose of calking boats. Even to-day tar is called *quitran* in Provence, a word which originally came from the Arabic language. We believe that the Muslims kept a navy stationed in the Gulf of St. Tropez in order to maintain communications with their dominions overseas, and this tar must have been utilised by their sailors.²

The Muslims are said to have turned a new leaf in the matter of horse-breeding in the south of France, especially in the Camargue country. It seems that the present-day Camargue horses are the descendants of the native mares and Andalusian horses. The Muslim fleets must have brought a considerable number of horses into France

(1) The centre of the industry is the village of Garde-Fraxinet itself. Vide *Statistiques du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. VI, p. 18.

(2) As regards the exploitation of the pine by the Ancients, vide Pliny the Naturalist, Book XVI, No. 16 ff. The author of the *Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. IV, p. 18, is mistaken when he says that it was unknown before the Middle Ages.

so that there might be no difficulty for the soldiers to ride into the interior of the country. Thus a letter from Pope Leo III to the Emperor Charlemagne mentions that a Muslim squadron, which made a descent on the coast of Naples, had some 'Moorish' horses on board,¹ but as the men had to seek refuge on land without being able to take the animals along with them, the poor animals were forthwith put to death.² As a matter of fact an article in the military code of the Muslims enjoined thus : " When you decide to retire from the enemy's country you should leave neither horse nor beast, forage or prisoner, or anything which might prove to be useful to the enemy."³

We are, however, forced to believe that the breeding of the Provençal horses must have taken place later, for it must have been easier for Catalan and Andalusian horses to cross over when both Spain and Catalonia belonged to a single ruler. The evidence for this presumption is furnished by the fact that the breed is called *egos* in Catalonia, which is only another form of the Spanish word *yegua* meaning a mare. Moreover, a charter of 1184 mentions two Catalan bulls living in one of the farms of Camargue.⁴

We can likewise date back the renovation of the horses of the Landes country to the period when Gascon soldiers crossed the Pyrenees almost every year in order to support their Christian co-religionists, and thus had all the facilities for acquiring what might eventually prove to be useful to their own land.

Dances : Quite a large number of customs are still found in Provence which might safely be dated back to the time when the Muslims were masters of that part of France. There are evening and night dances, the phases of which vary with different localities but are similar in essentials, in which the male dancer stands between two female dancers alternately presenting her with an orange ; or else male and female dancers are placed in two files, each file crossing the other, while the female dancers at the head of each file make a gesture which is in turn copied

(1) *Caballi maurisci*.

(2) *Critique des annales de Baronius*, by M. Pagi, at year 813, No. 20 ff.

(3) Mouradgea d'Ohsson : *Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. V, p. 60.

(4) Vide *Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. IV, p. 24. The author's opinion is somewhat different to ours.

[But both *egos* and *yegua* are really derived from the Latin *equus*; and furnish no evidence of the supposition as put forward by the learned author.]

by all others. There is then another kind of dance in which men touch each other with their swords and act as if they were catching hold of a villager or else defending themselves against their opponents.¹

We are of opinion that either these dances are not the heritage of the Muslims at all or else they have entirely lost their original character. In the East as well as in the southern climes the spirit of jealousy does not allow men and women to mix with each other freely. There are perhaps some women who take part in dances and other open-air festivals, but they go there all by themselves. So far as war-dance is concerned, it is the remnant of the custom of the ancients among whom such dances were greatly prized by the élite of the society.²

We have now arrived at the stage at which we may examine the question whether the Muslims established permanent colonies in France after their incursions or not. Many such colonies are in fact mentioned, and it is probable that in the course of these incursions some Muslim detachments were cut off from the main body of the army and forced to surrender. But history has not transmitted the memory of any permanent colony and we have no means whatever to supplement our knowledge. We must remember that it is not the Muslims only who invaded the fair land of France, for even if we put aside the hordes which preceded them, we see that the Normans and the Huns overran the country, not to mention the Germans (of whom a large part was composed of the Saxons) who were transplanted by Charlemagne in different parts of his vast Empire. In order to distinguish these races from one another it is necessary that we should find some remnant of their primitive manners and customs among their descendants. But in a country like France with its nearly uniform provinces, where everything tends to a similar physiognomy in the long run, it is hardly possible that such distinctive marks should have kept their integrity and continuity for so many centuries. Moreover we have already noticed that even among the Muslim invaders there were persons belonging to a number of races and accepting different forms of religious beliefs.

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 208 : also Millin : *Voyage dans les départements du midi de la France*, Vol. III, p. 360, Vol. IV, p. 197.

(2) Burchhardt : *Voyage en Arabie*, French translation, Vol. III pp. 60 and 182. He has given some extremely interesting details of the dances at present in vogue among the Beduins.

• We do not think that there exists in France a population the origin of which can positively be traced back to the Muslim colonists of the country. We read that there were some people living between Macon and Lyons on the banks of the Saône who were descended from such Muslims as could not regain the Pyrenees after their defeat at the hands of Charles-Martel. It is said that some of the expressions used by this community may be traced back to Arabic roots and some of their manners and customs are also said to be significantly allied to those of the Arabs.¹ But these expressions are as a matter of fact, derived either from Latin or old French or else from a language which has now become entirely extinct, while there is nothing to prevent us from ascribing the peculiarity of the local customs to the Bohemians or other foreign races.²

More; if we were to consult the pages of history we should know that the existence of Saracenic colonies in a particular locality cannot be ascertained. During the first half of the tenth century the Normans and the Huns all made the unlucky land of France their rendezvous, and when these foreign races were heaping ruin upon ruin, it seems that the country round about Tournus and Macon became, by a curious coincidence, the place of refuge of the oppressed, to which the monks and bishops carried with them the relics of the Saints and treasures of their churches from the rest of France.³ If, therefore, an Arab colony had been existing in this part of the country there was hardly any possibility of its becoming the meeting-place of refugees.

We should likewise, reject the theory of those who consider that the Cagots of Bigorre and other parts adjacent to the Pyrenees may be traced back to the Muslim invaders. The Cagots, who are found in their homelands even to-day, always regarded themselves as belonging to a distinct community, and were considered to be an easy prey to contagious diseases. The savant de Marca thought that they were really a remnant of the Muslims and derived their name from the *caas-goths* or 'hunters of the Goths'. But we must remember that in their own

(1) Vide M. Ribaud's dissertation in *Memoires de la Societe des Antiquaires*, Vol. V. pp. 1 ff.

(2) As regards the Bohemians, vide M. Walckenaar's curious letter in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Vol. LX, pp. 64 ff.

(3) *Historiens de France*, by Dom Bouquet, Vol. IX, pp. 7, 566, 669, etc.

country the Cagots are called *Christaas* or the Christians, a fact which has led one of the historians to surmise that they were really primitive Christians who had never left their mountain fastnesses and who were completely isolated from the rest of the population because they did not absorb the ways of the rest of their neighbourhood.¹ Whatever the truth may have been, there is no doubt that de Marca's surmise cannot be upheld, and we can easily connect the Cagots with a number of different communities spread all over Brittany, Auvergne and elsewhere under the names of the Caqueux, Cacous, Capots, etc.²

It is not necessary to go here into details about those Muslims of Spain who migrated into France, especially the southern provinces, during the reign of Henry IV. As the reader is perhaps aware, King Philip III of Spain could not tolerate the presence of men who held religious views in direct opposition to the dominating Christian faith, and thought that as they belonged to the same religion as the citizens of the Ottoman empire which was still in the heyday of its glory, they could be of grave danger to the rich and powerful state of Iberia. It was with these motives that he forced these unfortunate beings to leave their hearth and home and take refuge somewhere else, and of them as many as one hundred and fifty thousand souls went to France. The French government, however, only allowed them to cross the country so that a large part of them went over to the Ottoman Empire and the continent of Africa, while those who remained in France intermixed with the native population and became Christian.³

The question arises whether the literature of the Arabs has left any visible marks on the thought of southern Europe. We hear that the nomads of Arabia were the first to employ the rhyme, amorous poetry and war-songs for the expression of their innermost feelings.

(1) M. Walckennar's letter in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 326, ff.

(2) Cf. Michelet's *Histoire de France*, Vol. I, p. 495 : and *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, Vol. X, p. 217. What we have said of the so-called colony of the Saracens on the Saône, as well as of the Cagots, is equally true of a community on the banks of the Loire on the peninsula of Verón between the Loire and the Vienne, Vide *Voyage aux Alpes Maritimes*, by M. Emm. Fodere, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

(3) Cf. Chenier : *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. II p. 385 : and M. Capefigue : *Richelieu, Mazarin, la Fronde et la regne de Louis XIV*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 88 ff,

However that may be, we know that it was towards the end of the Muslim occupation of southern France that the langue d'oc and the langue d'oïl were first formed, and as a matter of fact Latin existed only in books while the Germanic language had fallen into disuse. The Langue d'oc was the language of the southern provinces of France and of Catalonia, parts which were the home of the Muslims for centuries, and it is no wonder that their language, *i.e.*, Arabic, principally influenced it. But this influence did not probably make itself felt till the final expulsion of the Muslims from the soil of France. The great works of romance-literature which have come down to us date much later than the first half of the tenth century A.C., and there is no doubt that the immediate effect of the occupation of a part of France was only to hinder the development of a civilization which tended to carry its message to all the followers of the Christian religion.¹

There is no doubt that there are a number of words in the French language which are incontestably Arabic in their origin, for instance the expression *salam-alayk*, meaning *safety to thee*, and *alayk-as-salam* meaning *to thee safety*; but such words and expressions might have been introduced after the evacuation of the country by the Muslims, *e.g.*, during the wars of the Crusades. We must also remember that the relations between the people of France and the Muslims did not come to an end with the Crusades but have, on the other hand, only tended to grow to a greater extent than ever before on the changed basis of commerce and mutual friendship.²

One of the effects of the transitory domination of the Muslims was the creation of a host of fiefs and lordships, some of which exist even at the present day. We know that while the Muslims took possession of the rich and fertile valleys of the country, there were other parts of France which were entirely ruined by their incursions, and it was only natural that those who had helped to rid

(1) We are grateful for some of these observations to M. Sismondi's *Histoire de la littérature des peuples de l'Europe*.

(2) It is curious that the learned author has not been able to lay his hand on any other Arabic word in the French language. The sciences of Astronomy, Algebra, and Optics among others are full of Arabic words which have become international now but a very large number of which no doubt came to Europe *via* Spain and France. We are sorry we have not been able to consult the Dictionary of the French Academy, but the Encyclopaedia Britannica gives 400 as the number of Arabic words in French, but we consider the estimate to be much lower than the reality. (Tr.)

the country of the foreigners should parcel out the conquered lands among themselves. This was the state of affairs in the sees of Grenoble and Gap and in lower Provence,¹ and even before the expulsion of the Muslims from those lands it had already become the fashion in the northern provinces of Spain.

This method of adding to one's estates seemed to be so perfectly natural that the princes and nobles made it a regular source of their income and wildly speculated on the expeditions against the infidels in the same way as we should speculate to-day on the sailing of a trading vessel. Thus in 1034 Ermengaud II, Count of Urgel made a gift of a tenth of his prizes to a monastery situated on his lands² and in 1074 Pope Gregory VII wrote to the grandes of Spain informing them that he intended to invest Ebles II, Count of Roucy, with all the lands he might capture from the Muslims provided that he made a declaration that he would hold them in fief from the Holy See and would pay it an annual tribute.³

To sum up, it seems that the influence directly exercised by the Muslims in France was by no means as considerable as is sometimes attributed to them; and even their ravages and devastating forays, however serious they may have been, were nothing compared to those committed by the Normans and the Huns, for the latter races had a vaster theatre to act upon owing to their late arrival and they met with the least amount of obstruction. On the other hand it is not the memory of the damages wrought by the Saracens which remains permanently inscribed in the nature of Frenchmen, but it was their civilising acts, adventurous spirit and might which absorbed all their thought, so much so that the very names *Saracen* and *Roman* or *pagan* became synonymous in the eyes of

(1) It is well to remember the mistake of certain writers who date back the foundation of some eminent houses of France to Charlemagne only in order to flatter their vanity: *vide supra*, part I, end. Others have committed another mistake in attributing to this domination an influence which in fact never existed, and in considering it to be the foundation stone of the municipal franchise and the spirit of liberty which manifested itself in the southern provinces earlier than other parts of France. We are certain that this was the result of the civilization of Rome which has been preserved in Provence and the Languedoc more or less in its primitive form. *Vide* M. Renouard: *Histoire du droit municipal en France*, Paris, 1829, 2 vols. in 8vo.

(2) French National library, Collection of charters, major cartulary of St. Michel de Cuxa, fol. III, back.

(3) *Art de vérifier les dates*, Vol. III, part 2, p. 273.

Frenchmen,¹ and the more common among them began to attribute to the Muslims all that was colossal and gigantic in their country. The town of Orange still presents some of the most imposing remains of the Roman occupation, which are called Saracenic in one of the manuscript poems extant, and the same is true of the old city walls of the town of Vienne in Dauphinè.² Even to-day, whenever any of the large bricks used by the Romans to cover their roofs is unearthed even in parts of France where no Muslim could have set his foot, the natives lose no time in naming it *tuile sarrazine* or Saracenic tile.

While the invasions of the Normans and the Huns are remembered only by the authors of historical works, the name of the Muslim invaders of France has ever been present in the innermost depths of the minds of Frenchmen. It is not easy to give the exact reason for this varying estimate of the acts of three sets of invaders. No doubt the earliest invasions of the Muslims were of such a grandiose character that their accounts can hardly be read without a certain amount of emotion. Moreover differently to the Normans and the Huns, the Muslims were for a long time in the vanguard of civilization, and continued to be an object of terror to the coastal regions of France even after they had given up all idea of governing the land. Lastly there is no doubt that the wars which were carried on in Spain, Africa and Asia in the name of the Cross were bound to throw the name of Islam into prominence in the annals of Europe. All these reasons, however, are not enough to explain the important place which the name of the Saracens has in the estimation of the Europeans, and we are of opinion that the real cause of this singular fact is the influence which the romances of chivalry exercised in the Middle Ages, an influence which has more or less remained intact right up to our own day.

It is difficult to-day, when the chivalric romances have almost been forgotten, to make a correct estimate of the effect which they must have produced. In the Middle Ages they formed almost the only reading matter at hand for the recreation of the nobility as well as the common people. It was in them that the soldiers and those who wished to elevate their own sentiments went to look for

(1) *Vide* the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*, published by M. Paulin, Paris, Vol. I, p. 88, and Vol. II, pp. 57 and 199.

(2) *Vide* Mermet : *Histoire de la ville de Vienne*, part 2, 1833, in 8vo., pp. 148.

lessons of bravery and generosity, and it was through them that men and women acquired the quality of gallantry, a quality which filled a very prominent place in the manners of the period, for the monuments of classical antiquity had generally been lost sight of, and even the ancient national chronicles which could have directed the people on the right path, were never read.

The romances of chivalry, only a few of which have come down to us, were written in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.C. They were mostly in verse and were read by persons belonging to all classes of society and recited before assembled congregations by wandering minstrels called *jongleurs*, who travelled from village to village and town to town. There was hardly any festival or event of importance in a castle or village where some part or other of these poems was not recited before admiring audiences. It is these very pieces which were reproduced by Italian writers, especially Ariosto, in later years and were clothed in a new form in order to find a wider and a more extended currency.

We know that the wars of Charles-Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, which form a large part of the chivalric romances, were chiefly fought against the Frisians, Bavarians, Saxons and other Germanic and Slavic races which continuously threatened the frontiers of the Empire. But at the time when these romances were composed, the French Empire had in fact ceased to exist and the Kingdom of France had been reduced more or less to its present limits, so that those who had to show their mettle had to go and fight against the enemies of their nation on the banks of the Ebro and the Guadalquivir or else in the valleys of the Jordan, the Orontes and the Nile. In view of the fact that the authors of these romances wrote chiefly for the warriors of the land and for those who loved to figure in tourneys and military exercises, they were obliged to bring the ideas and mannerisms of their period before the public. Henceforward the name of Roland and the heroes who were, so to say, inflaming the mind of the people ever since the days of Charlemagne, became a kind of slogan round which the glories of military exploits and the triumph of arms ranged themselves. Moreover the poets came to class the Saxon and other northern races, which had been fighting against the French nation under the universal epithet of Saracens.*

* Some of the ideas detailed above are taken from the articles about the Provençals in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1882.

. It must, therefore, be accepted in principle that the exploits of the knights and warriors of the heroic age were considered to have been undertaken against the Muslims. It is not necessary here to describe the hundred and one occasions on which they could distinguish themselves. Nearly every town of Italy and southern France was supposed to have had its own amir or Muslim prince, if only to glorify the deeds of the Christian lords who were supposed to have dispossessed him.¹ In these poems one meets the Muslims in Christian tourneys and sports in all parts of the earth where there was a laurel to win. Moreover, in order to regain the glory of the Christian knights, who naturally won in the end, the character of the Muslim warriors was raised above the common level and was made a model of nobility and generosity,² and in fact, perhaps, the only persons who were supposed to have been superior to them in courage and bravery were Renaud and Roland.

Here also may be found another proof of the moral superiority of the Muslims of Spain. We read in certain Spanish chronicles how Alphonso the Great, king of the Asturias, found that there was not one in his kingdom who could educate his heir and successor in a proper manner, so that he was obliged to engage two Muslims of Cordova for the purpose. Moreover we read in the romances of chivalry that when Charlemagne was still in his infancy, he was sent to the Muslims of Spain for his education and general culture, and it is this idea which made early Europeans believe that it was only because of this light and learning from contemporary Muslims that he was able to renovate the face of the West.³

It was only when recourse was had to the original documents of French history some hundred years after these occurrences (especially during the last hundred and fifty years), that the romances of chivalry were put on the anvil of historical criticism, and truth sifted from falsehood. We are surprised to find the illustrious Mabillon himself hesitating to declare the utter falsehood of some episodes

(1) *Vide the Roman de Philomene*, op. cit.

(2) In the romance called *Parthenopeus de Blois* the Christian hero is captured by the Muslim by some treacherous act. On hearing this the leader of the Muslims surrenders himself to the French king and declares that he is willing to undergo any punishment the king might wish to inflict on him. The same character is given to another Muslim potentate. *Vide the Journal des Savans*, Dec. 1834, p. 728 article by M. Raynouard.

(3) *Vide Girard d'Amiens: Roman des enfances de Charlemagne* French manuscripts of the Royal Library, No. 7188, fol. 80, back.

in the poem of William the Short-nosed and regarding as a historical fact the so-called occupation of southern France by the Muslims of the time of Charlemagne.*

There is no doubt that if all the Mûsâs, the Târiqs, the 'Abdur-Rahmâns and the Almanzors were to come back to life, they would be shocked to find the great changes which have occurred in the respective position of the Muslims and Christians in Europe; but when the first impressions had been obliterated, they would be agreeably surprised at the important place given to their exploits by the old romance-writers of France; and as their spirit would be accustomed to great and adventurous deeds, it would surely pay homage to the sentiment of courtesy which ennobled the barbaric manners of the ancients, and which now seems, alas, to be disappearing day after day.

* *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II. p. 369.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

(Concluded.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S LECTURES.*

“THE Quran is a book which emphasises ‘deed’ rather than ‘idea.’ There are, however, men to whom it is not possible organically to assimilate an alien universe by reliving, as a vital process, that special type of inner experience on which religious faith ultimately rests. Moreover, the modern man, by developing habits of concrete thought—habits which Islam itself fostered at least in the earlier stages of its cultural career—has rendered himself less capable of that experience which he further suspects because of its liability to illusion.”

Thus Sir Muhammad Iqbal begins his preface to the Six Lectures now before us; and the lectures themselves are an attempt to explain the ‘idea’ implicit in the ‘deed’ emphasised by the Qur’ân and to explain the nature of that ‘special type of religious experience’ in terms acceptable to ‘the modern man!’ One might plead that the language of the Qur’ân is infinitely clearer, and that the type of mind which can require such explanation might well be regarded as a bewildered and to some extent perverted type of mind, of which the great majority of modern men are happily innocent. But the fact remains that there are minds which can accept no truth seriously which is not couched in the difficult jargon of modern scientific philosophy and that such minds, being those of the technicians, are, in a technical age, regarded as the *elite*. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has set out to preach Islam to them in their own language, and his perfect mastery of the jargon is in itself sufficient to ensure for him a respectful hearing. We cannot help wondering what the effect of these lectures was upon those who *heard* them; they are so obviously designed to be read, and read most thoughtfully; so full are they of phrases tightly packed with thought, and

* Six Lectures on the “Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”. By Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore.

paragraphs which only yield their meaning to a second reading. They must have dazed and bewildered the audiences which listened to them in Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh ; and that bewilderment has led, no doubt, to a notion, which we have heard expressed, that Sir Muhammad Iqbal has obscured the clear light of Islam. The notion is born of a misunderstanding ; it is not the truth. Sir Muhammad has, on the contrary, in these lectures, done, perhaps, the greatest service that it is possible for any Muslim to render to Islam to-day. He has demonstrated to the Pandits of modern thought, in their own language and with a display of learning equal to their own, that Islam is really their religion though they know it not.

He has done more than that, for he has brought out certain truths of Islamic teaching which have been misunderstood or neglected by the Muslims themselves. We need give only one instance : the real meaning of "the Last of the Prophets", Muhammad (God bless and keep him !) is the last of the Prophets because his message set men on the path of progress by inaugurating the Inductive Method of reasoning, by adjuring men to study nature and collate facts and phenomena ; hence there is no further need of that Prophetic guidance which was necessary in the childhood of the human race. This, of course, does not mean that God no longer gives men further guidance, but that man is henceforth in a position to seek that guidance for himself, and it is a part of the Divine Plan that he must do so.

The comparative rationality of stories retold for man's instruction in the Qur'ân as compared with the same stories told as history in the Bible and other Sacred Books is so remarkable and has been so seldom noticed that we are particularly grateful to Sir Muhammad Iqbal for calling serious attention to it. For example:

"Turning to the legend of the Fall we find it in a variety of forms in the literatures of the ancient world. It is, indeed, impossible to demarcate the stages of its growth, and to set out clearly the various human motives which must have worked in its slow transformation. But confining ourselves to the Semitic form of the myth, it is highly probable that it arose out of the primitive man's desire to explain to himself the infinite misery of his plight in an uncongenial environment, which abounded in disease and death and obstructed him on all sides in his endeavour to maintain himself. Having no control over

the forces of Nature, a pessimistic view of life was perfectly natural to him. Thus, in an old Babylonian inscription, we find the serpent, (phallic symbol) the tree and the woman offering an apple (symbol of virginity) to the man. The meaning of the myth is clear—the fall of man from a supposed state of bliss was due to the original sexual act of the human pair. The way in which the Quran handles this legend becomes clear when we compare it with the narration of the Book of Genesis. The remarkable points of difference between the Quranic and the Biblical narrations suggest unmistakably the purpose of the Quranic narration.

“1. The Quran omits the serpent and the rib-story altogether. The former omission is obviously meant to free the story from its phallic setting and its original suggestion of a pessimistic view of life. The latter omission is meant to suggest that the purpose of the Quranic narration is not historical, as in the case of the Old Testament, which gives us an account of the origin of the first human pair by way of a prelude to the history of Israel. Indeed, in the verses which deal with the origin of man as a living being, the Quran uses the words ‘Bashar’ or ‘Insan’, not ‘Adam’, which it reserves for man in his capacity of God’s vicegerent on earth. The purpose of the Quran is further secured by the omission of proper names mentioned in the Biblical narration—Adam and Eve. The word Adam is retained and used more as a concept than as the name of a concrete human individual. This use of the word is not without authority in the Quran itself. The following verse is clear on the point:

“We created you ; then fashioned you ; then said We to the angels, ‘Prostrate yourselves unto Adam’.”
(7 : 10).

“2. The Quran splits up the legend into two distinct episodes—the one relating to what it describes simply as ‘the tree’ and the other relating to the ‘tree of eternity’ and the ‘kingdom that faileth not’. The first episode is mentioned in the 7th and the second in the 20th Sûra of the Quran. According to the Quran Adam and his wife, led astray by Satan whose function is to create doubts in the minds of men, tasted the fruit of both the trees, whereas according to the Old Testament man was driven out of the garden of Eden immediately after his first act of disobedience, and God placed, at the eastern side of the garden, angels and a flaming sword, turning on all sides, to keep the way to the tree of life.

“ 3. The Old Testament curses the earth for Adam’s act of disobedience ; the Quran declares the earth to be the ‘ dwelling place ’ of man and a ‘ source of profit ’ to him for the possession of which he ought to be grateful to God. ‘ And We have established you on the earth and given you therein the supports of life. How little do ye give thanks ! ’ (7 : 9). Nor is there any reason to suppose that the word ‘ Jannat ’ (garden) as used here means the supersensual paradise from which man is supposed to have fallen on this earth. According to the Quran man is not a stranger on this earth. “ And we have caused you to grow from the earth ”, says the Quran. The ‘ Jannat ’, mentioned in the legend, cannot mean the eternal abode of the righteous. In the sense of the eternal abode of the righteous, ‘ Jannat ’ is described by the Quran to be the place “ wherein the righteous will pass to one another the cup which shall engender no light discourse, no motive to sin ”. It is further described to be the place “ wherein no weariness shall reach the righteous, nor forth from it shall they be cast. ” In the ‘ Jannat ’ mentioned in the legend, however, the very first event that took place was man’s sin of disobedience followed by his expulsion. In fact, the Quran itself explains the meaning of the word as used in its own narration. In the second episode of the legend the garden is described as a place “ where there is neither hunger, nor thirst, neither heat nor nakedness ”. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the ‘ Jannat ’ in the Quranic narration is the conception of a primitive state in which man is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants the birth of which alone marks the beginning of human culture.

“ Thus we see that the Quranic legend of the Fall has nothing to do with the first appearance of man on this planet. Its purpose is rather to indicate man’s rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience. The fall does not mean any moral depravity ; it is man’s transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of personal causality in one’s own being. Nor does the Quran regard the earth as a torture-hall where an elementally wicked humanity is imprisoned for an original act of sin. Man’s first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice ; and that is why, according to the Quranic narration, Adam’s first transgression was forgiven. Now goodness is not a matter of compulsion ; it is the self’s free surrender to the moral ideal and arises

out of a willing co-operation of free egos. A being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus a condition of goodness. But to permit the emergence of a finite ego who has the power to choose, after considering the relative values of several courses of action open to him, is really to take a great risk ; for the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man ; it is for man now to justify this faith. Perhaps such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was created of the 'goodliest fabric' and then 'brought down to be the lowest of the low'. As the Quran says : 'And for trial will We test you with evil and with good'. (21 : 36). Good and evil, therefore, though opposites, must fall within the same whole. There is no such thing as an isolated fact ; for facts are systematic wholes the elements of which must be understood by mutual reference. Logical judgment separates the elements of a fact only to their inter-dependence."

We are moved to give the reader two other long quotations in illustration of what we have said about the "modern" phrasology and at the same time high worth of these most noteworthy lectures.

"Life is a passage through a series of deaths. But there is a system in the continuity of this passage. Its various stages, in spite of the apparently abrupt changes in our evaluation of things are organically related to one another. The life history of the individual is, on the whole, a unity and not a mere series of mutually ill-adapted events. The world process, or the movement of the universe in time, is certainly devoid of purpose, if by purpose we mean a foreseen end—a far off fixed destination to which the whole creation moves. To endow the world process with purpose in this sense is to rob it of its originality and its creative character. Its ends are terminations of a career ; they are ends to come and not necessarily premeditated. A time-process cannot be conceived as a line already drawn. It is a line in the drawing, an actualisation of open possibilities. It is purposive only in this sense that it is selective in character, and brings itself to some sort of a present fulfilment by actively preserving and supplementing the past. To my mind nothing is more alien to the Quranic outlook than the idea that the universe is the temporal working out of a preconceived plan. As I have already pointed out, the

universe, according to the Quran, is liable to increase. It is a growing universe and not an already completed product which left the hand of its maker ages ago, and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing, and consequently is nothing.

“ We are now, I hope, in a position to see the meaning of the verse—“ And it is He Who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed one another for those who desire to think on God or desire to be thankful ”. A critical interpretation of the sequence of time as revealed in ourselves has led us to a notion of the ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life and purpose inter-penstrate to form an organic unity. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of a self—an all-embracing concrete self—the ultimate source of all individual life and thought. I venture to think that the error of Bergson consists in regarding pure time as prior to self, to which alone pure duration is predicable. Neither pure space nor pure time can hold together the multiplicity of objects and events. It is the appreciative act of an enduring self only which can seize the multiplicity of duration—broken up into an infinity of instants—and transform it to the organic wholeness of a synthesis. To exist in pure duration is to be a self, and to be a self is to be able to say ‘ I am ’. Only that truly exists which can say ‘ I am ’. It is the degree of the intuition of ‘ I-amness ’ that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being. We too say ‘ I am ’. But our ‘ I-amness ’ is dependent and arises out of the distinction between the self and the not-self. The ultimate Self, in the words of the Quran, “ can afford to dispense with all the worlds.”

And again :—

“ Finite mind regards Nature as a confronting “ other ” existing *per se*, which the mind knows but does not make. We are thus apt to regard the act of creation as a specific past event, and the universe appears to us as a manufactured article which has no organic relation to the life of its maker, and of which the maker is nothing more than a mere spectator. All the meaningless theological controversies about the idea of creation arise from this narrow vision of the finite mind. Thus regarded, the universe is a mere accident in the life of God and might not have been created. The real question which we are called upon to answer is this : Does the universe confront God as His “ other ”, with space intervening between Him and it ? The answer is that, from the Divine point of view, there is

no creation in the sense of a specific event having a 'before' and an 'after'. The universe cannot be regarded as an independent reality standing in opposition to Him. This view of the matter will reduce both God and the world to two separate entities confronting each other in the empty receptacle of an infinite space. We have seen before that space, time and matter are interpretations which thought puts on the free creative energy of God. They are not independent realities existing *per se*, but only intellectual modes of apprehending the life of God. The question of creation once arose among the disciples of the well known saint Ba Yazid of Bistam. One of the disciples very pointedly put the common sense view saying: "There was a moment of time when God existed and nothing else existed beside Him." The saint's reply was equally pointed. "It is just the same now", said he, "as it was then". The world of matter, therefore, is not a stuff co-eternal with God, operated upon by Him from a distance as it were. It is, in its real nature, one continuous act which thought breaks up into a plurality of mutually exclusive things."

Sir Muhammad Iqbal's book is designed for non-Muslims of a certain mentality and for Muslims who have fallen under the influence of that mentality through scientific education in a foreign medium. It deserves, however, to be studied closely by all who are interested in Islam, or modern philosophy, or both.

To the leaflet of Errata we should like to add: "For Erratta read Errata"; but such are the vicissitudes of Indian printing.

M. P.

A CONCISE WORLD-HISTORY OF ISLAM.*

To gather even the briefest general account of all the ethnic and political groups, both past and present, which have constituted the Islamic World into 647 pages of large print is something of a *tour de force*; Khân Bahadur Ahsân-ullah has not only done this but also has touched upon the pre-Islamic history of the various races and countries sufficiently to make the reader realise its part in colouring and shaping their subsequent Islamic history. The first Four Caliphs, the Umayyads, the Abbasids and all their

* "History of the Muslim World". By Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah, M.A., M.R.S.A., I.E.S.

tributary and opponent minor dynasties, the Seljuks, the Asmanli Turks, the Muslim dynasties of Spain—all these are treated in such a way as to give the reader a good general idea of their nature and effect on their contemporaries, as well as a knowledge of the principal facts of their history. It is a good proof of the author's self-restraint that he has not let himself expatiate upon the history of Islâm in India, but has kept, the Indian portions of his work within the limits proper to a general survey of the Muslim world, though we notice that he has devoted some pages exclusively to his own province of Bengal. A slight lapse and a pardonable weakness! The history of Islâm in Persia, China, Afghânistân, North Africa, Malaya and many other regions of the earth, including America is traced again from the political, after having been already traced from the dynastic standpoint; and the book concludes with "a brief account of the nations mentioned in the History of the Muslim World", which is an unusual but extremely useful adjunct to a work of this description which can serve as a handy book of reference.

"The history of Islam is so vast and extensive", writes Khân Bahadur Ahsânullah in the Introduction, "that it is impossible, within the limited life-time of an individual, to make a thorough perusal of the subject. Few among us can have either the resources or the extensive study that is required in order to bring together and digest the vast mass of material strewn over thousands of books written by thousands of authors in a hundred different varieties of speech and tongue. But in this age of expansion and at this critical epoch in the life-time of our nation, there arose in my mind a strong desire to write a brief but complete and adequate History of Islam. Hence the issue of this work, in the compilation of which I have spared no pains and effort."

We congratulate the Khân Bahadur on the result of his "pains and effort" in this encyclopædic yet concise and readable volume. In addition to the text, there are 67 pages of appendices in which much statistical information has been clearly tabulated.

M. P.

MUGHAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., are to publish shortly an annotated bibliography of books and manuscripts relating to the Mughals in India on Art, Science,

Biography, History, Geography, Travels, Literature, Philosophy, Religions, Economics, Sport, &c., &c., is now being prepared and will be published early next year. Every effort is being made to make the bibliography as complete as possible. Authors desirous of having their works included in the bibliography are requested to send particulars of their books or magazine articles to the Editor of the "Indian Literary Review", 190, Hornby Road, Bombay, as early as possible. The full title, author's name, number of pages and illustrations, year and place of publication should be clearly mentioned. If possible, a very short summary of the contents also should be given. If any persons or Institutions happen to have any unique manuscript, full particulars of the same should be given.

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